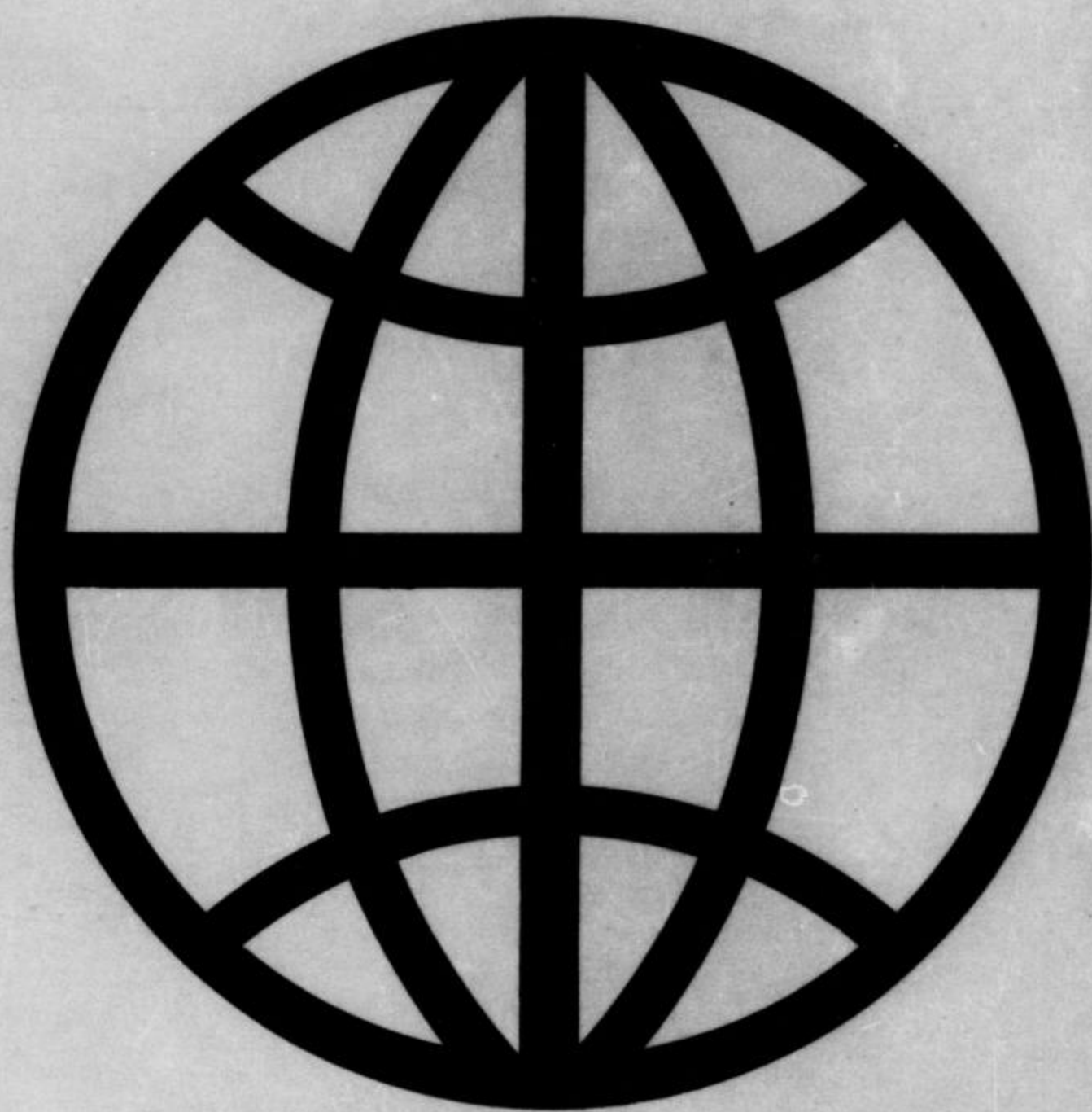


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

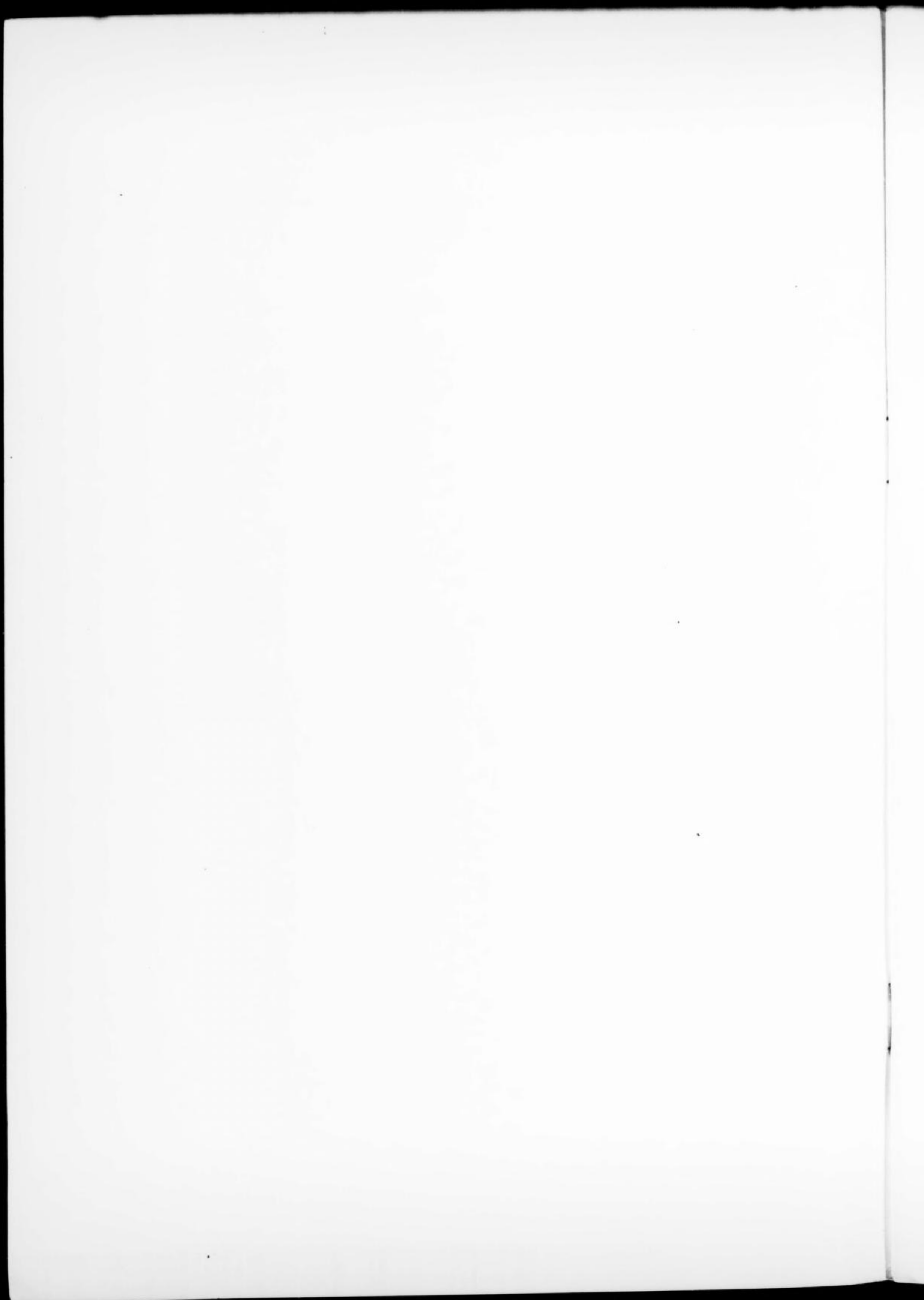
**CLASS STRUGGLES
IN LATIN AMERICA**



PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

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CONTENTS

**3 ON THE EVE OF THE CONSULTATIVE
MEETING IN BUDAPEST**

Z. BRONIAREK
JAN PRAZSKY
L. N.

"SUPER-ESCALATION" IN INDOCHINA
MANEUVERS OF GREEK REACTION
STRIKES IN 1967

7 The world today

16 Strengthening the anti-imperialist front

J. DUCLOS

A. NORDEN

ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN CAPITALIST
COUNTRIES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM
AGAINST AGGRESSIVE BONN POLICY,
FOR SECURITY IN EUROPE

30 Class struggles in Latin America

L. SANCHEZ

S. GUILLAUME

J. GONZALEZ

W. ATIAS

NICARAGUAN COMMUNISTS IN VAN. OF
THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

HAITI AND THE REVOLUTION

ARMED FORCES OF THE REVOLUTION IN COLOMBIA
CHILE: THE REAL FACE OF REFORMISM

53 In the socialist world

A. APRO

Ts. PUNTSAGNOROV

A NEW TYPE OF INTER-STATE ECONOMIC RELATIONS
FRUITS OF FRIENDSHIP

62 In the Communist and Workers' Parties

J. BLUME

B. Z.

T. BABIKER

B. ZACCHINI

18th CONGRESS OF CP OF BELGIUM

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF RUMANIAN CP

IDEOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE
FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY:

N. PASQUARELLI—The Marxist Research Center; A.
MOINE—The Maurice Thorez Institute

PLANNED PARTY BUILDING: A PERMANENT
INDEPENDENT TASK

STUDY OF WORKERS' SITUATION IN TURIN

82 Pages from history

P. LABAN

GRAND VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

88 Our mailbag

J. LAUB

WEST GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS
AT LOGGERHEADS

91 Books and journals

Ts. DAVAGSUREN

A BOOK ON SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

93 Brief notices

WMR***among our contributors***

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On the eve of the consultative meeting in Budapest

The Consultative meeting to exchange views collectively on the convening of an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, will open in the Hungarian capital on February 26. In many countries representatives of different political parties and trends are awaiting this meeting with different hopes and feelings. Communists are actively preparing for it, spurred on by the desire to promote unity on the broadest possible basis. It is engaging the attention of those Communist and Workers' parties which have not yet made a decision or for one reason or another have decided not to participate.

The forthcoming exchange of views is awaited by the forces of peace and progress, the forces of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement of the five continents, for they realize how important united action by Communists on a world scale is for the liberation movement of the peoples. And lastly, the proceedings of the Budapest conference will be closely followed by our adversaries, especially by the more bellicose groups of monopoly capital of present-day imperialism, against whom the struggle of the Communists is directed.

The diversity of their attitudes notwithstanding, the Communist and Workers' parties represent, in their aggregate, the most numerous, organized and militant force in the battle for peace, democracy, freedom and the independence of peoples. As has been noted in our journal, the purpose of the Consultative Meeting is jointly to discuss the convening of an international meeting of Communists, the preparations for such a meeting, its objectives, character and agenda. Hence, it is a question of finding, through consultations between fraternal parties, new avenues for achieving greater cohesion, coordination and unity of action. This is essential in order to bar the way to, and resolutely to repel, the growing aggressiveness of imperialism which constitutes a real threat to world peace and imperils the political and social gains won by the peoples.

This concerns, first and foremost, Vietnam where the U.S. aggressors ushered in the New Year with massed air strikes against North Vietnam and with the threat to extend the war, with the support of the Saigon puppets, to the territory of neighboring countries. This concerns the Middle East where the Israeli rulers, with the backing of the U.S. imperialists, are stubbornly refusing, in defiance of the UN resolution, to withdraw their troops from the occupied Arab territory, thereby conserving a situation of uncertainty and a dangerous seed-bed of war. The aftermath of the Israeli aggression is felt not only in the Arab and African countries; it is felt in all countries and especially in the Mediterranean states. The situation in this area has been further exacerbated by the Cyprus issue and the recent events in Greece where the coup of the reactionary colonels was inspired by the CIA. And in the very heart of Europe, in the German Federal Republic, the forces of revenge and neo-fascism are on the march.

On the Latin-American continent, the U.S. intervention aimed at suppressing the national-liberation movement has become still more blatant and insolent. Washington reckons that it will be able, through the so-called Inter-American Armed Forces and the Organization of American States, to strangle socialist Cuba and to halt the advance of the liberation movement in the other countries of the continent. It is with this in view that the Pentagon is backing the local "gorillas" in their attempts to crush the guerrilla movement now developing in a number of Latin-American countries.

However, the growing aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialists has not yielded the desired results. Their powerful war machine in Vietnam is, on the contrary, stalled by the valiant actions of the National Liberation fighters, and their cherished hopes of decisive victory are fading away. The aid rendered to Vietnam by the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, is steadily increasing in volume and effect, and the powerful movement of solidarity with the people of Vietnam is gaining momentum throughout the world. Even the governments of countries that are the allies of the United States are now joining in the insistent demand to stop unconditionally the bombing of North Vietnam as the first step towards the necessary conditions for talks. This trend has grown stronger since the recent statement by Nguen Duy Trinh, Foreign Minister of the DRV, reaffirming his government's unchanged position.

The aggression against the Arab countries, although it brought their peoples great suffering, at the same time stiffened the will to fight of the more consistent anti-imperialist forces, and stimulated their cohesion. Imperialism's brazen interference in the affairs of Latin America has earned it the implacable hatred of the peoples of the continent and inspired them to still greater resistance. In the United States the Negro civil rights movement and the democratic and progressive movement have brought in their wake nationwide opposition to President Johnson's home and foreign policy. The United States is more isolated than ever before; its policy of arrogant diktat, aggression and war is encountering resistance everywhere. The course of developments clearly indicates that firm unity of the Communist and Workers' parties would make it possible more effectively to repel the aggressive acts of the imperialists, and to uphold the vital interests of the peoples more successfully.

Such, in broad outline, is the international situation on the eve of the Budapest consultations. In previous issues of our journal we cited the views of some of the fraternal parties regarding the character of the forthcoming consultations. Many more have been added since then. And one and all underscore the importance of this meeting, the democratic, collective and frank manner in which it is being prepared.

Comrade Keuneman, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon, stated that his party views the scheduled consultations with hope. Communists in Ceylon, he said, are confident that a free and friendly exchange of views between Communist and Workers' parties will help to raise the unity of the Communist movement to new heights.

The resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India states: "We are confident that this meeting will pave the way for bringing together all the forces of the world revolutionary movement in the struggle against imperialism."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland passed a special resolution supporting the initiative of the parties to prepare for a new international conference and stressed the importance of actively participating in these preparations.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, which has expressed itself in favor of a consultative meeting, noted in a communique published last December, that the meeting "will play a major role in cementing the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist world movement," and that the Communist Party of Argentina "will do everything possible to help achieve this."

For its part "the Central Committee of the CPSU is confident," it notes in a recently published statement, "that a joint discussion of the current problems of the struggle against imperialism, for the basic interests of the working class

and all working people, for peace and the national liberation of the peoples, will help to consolidate the Communist and Workers' parties, the unity of action of all revolutionary and progressive forces. The CPSU attaches great importance to the forthcoming Consultative Meeting at which the fraternal parties will discuss, in an atmosphere of full equality and a comradely exchange of views, questions concerning a new world Communist forum. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has consistently favored convening a new international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, will do all in its power to ensure the success of the Consultative Meeting."

Z. Komocsin, member of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, expressed his Party's point of view as follows in the newspaper *Nepszabadsag*: "Both at the Budapest meeting and the broad conference that will follow it, we must ensure that there is a friendly exchange of views on the items jointly included in the agenda, that there is no interference in the internal affairs of any one of the parties. We must avoid attaching labels on any of the parties and, particularly, we must not permit a situation where fraternal parties are divided into categories, censured and expelled from the international movement."

These criteria have long since governed the relations between Communist and Workers' parties and this undoubtedly facilitated the persistent efforts of most of the parties to create the best conditions for holding an international conference. The forthcoming meeting is not an improvised event; it was preceded by consultations, delegation exchanges, bilateral meetings, a full list of which would take up too much space. Mention should be made, however, of those multilateral meetings and conferences which contributed most to overcoming many of the differences and achieving unity of action. They were the two conferences of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, held respectively in Brussels in June 1965 (on solidarity with Vietnam and the fight for European security, democracy and against the fascist regimes), and in Vienna in May 1966 (on the question of the anti-monopoly struggle and the fight for democracy and social progress), the February 1967 Warsaw meeting to prepare for the conference of European Communist and Workers' parties and the meeting itself, held in Karlovy Vary in April of the same year, which examined problems of European security. Then there were the seminar of the Communist parties of the Nordic countries, held in Finland in November 1965, the conference of the Communist parties of the Arab countries, the meeting of the Communists of the Latin American countries in November 1964. Besides there were a series of conferences, exchanges of views and meetings devoted to specific problems, including those sponsored by our journal, which contributed (even though perhaps indirectly) to achieving better understanding and elucidating many of the pressing issues of today.

There were also the many international conferences at which revolutionaries compared notes with the object of deciding on the best ways of stepping up their joint struggle against imperialism. These included the peace conferences, Afro-Asian solidarity meetings, the Tri-Continental Conference and the Latin American Solidarity Conference.

The time when Communists were accused of not wanting to discuss problems, or of being unable to do so, is past. As the foregoing enumeration shows, Communists are vigorously discussing the crucial issues not only in their own ranks, but also with other revolutionary forces who do not necessarily share our views on all the issues. However, the seminars, exchanges of views and discussions are meaningless to Communists and to all true revolutionaries unless they promote the common struggle against imperialism. Today, more so than ever before, this struggle requires unity. The escalation of imperialist actions must be countered by the united action of the international Communist movement, based on the invincible principles of internationalism. No differences in policy, stemming partly from the specific conditions in the respective countries, must be allowed to prejudice the principles of the international Communist movement, to upset concerted, united action in the struggle against the enemy. Militant Communist unity was, and remains, the reliable foundation of a broad anti-imperialist front

of all the democratic forces, and the guarantee of success in our common struggle against imperialism, and for peace and the freedom of peoples. Our journal, which has always sought to promote proletarian internationalism, unity between the working people and the nations of the world, therefore welcomes the forthcoming Consultative Meeting of fraternal parties. The journal expresses the sincere hope that this Meeting will help to accelerate the long and complex process of cementing the unity of the international Communist movement and thus accelerate the defeat of imperialism and, through the concerted action of the peoples, open before mankind a future of peace, national independence and democracy.

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"Super-escalation" in Indochina

ZYGMUNT BRONIAREK

"Probably with full knowledge of its illegality, contends currency expert Franz Pick, of New York City, tens of thousands of Americans have been arranging lately to have gold bought for their accounts in Canada, England, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Panama and Mexico. Of \$800 million of gold that has changed hands in Europe during November, Mr. Pick says his informants indicate, Americans accounted for \$250 million to \$400 million worth, perhaps including buying by affiliates of U.S. corporations in Europe."

This quotation from the *Wall Street Journal* (December 1, 1967)—the leading financial and economic journal of the United States—is worth mentioning because of the very specific and characteristic situation that set in in that country during the first days of the new year. Possession of gold by United States citizens is illegal, and the criminal penalties sought when there is ample evidence of wilful violation range up to a \$10,000 fine and 10 years in prison. On the other hand Americans have been brought up on the idea that the dollar is the most reliable and trusted currency in the world. Now, if in these circumstances, Americans risk such severe penalties in order to acquire gold, if, in other words, they tend to get rid of dollars, it means that this "unshakable" confidence in the U.S. currency is waning—and waning quickly.

This trend will certainly deepen when the full impact of new restrictions imposed by President Johnson on the export of dollars makes itself felt. For the restrictions are really draconian. In the country of the lauded "free enterprise" the Administration is putting the brakes on the "free flow" of capital in order to dampen the balance of payments deficit and—simply—to save the dollar, the dollar that is skidding on the capitalist money markets.

Johnson's restrictions indicate the extent of the morass in which the United States is bogged down as a result of the Vietnam war. How many times has the President asserted that the United States is "able and willing," both to wage this monstrous war and at the same time realize its domestic program and maintain the dollar as "the world's strongest currency." Now it has been shown beyond a shadow of a doubt that even the richest capitalist country in the world cannot spend up to \$30 billion a year for a distant war without incurring economic displacements of all kinds and without endangering its own currency. It is the more indicative of the deep difficulties of the United States that precisely the financial and economic aspects of the Vietnamese war were often quoted as the most stable ones in the whole gamut of the war's consequences.

The financial difficulties are not the only ones. The resignation of the Secretary of Defense, McNamara, and the announced resignation of Arthur Goldberg, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, emphasize the crisis of the *structure of power* in Washington. For the two men have been most instrumental in the

only as far as fighting in South Vietnam and the bombing of North Vietnam are concerned but also regarding the entire Indochina peninsula. Johnson may go to the Pope and even quote—as he did—St. Paul but it is evident that he does not want any negotiations unless they amount to unconditional surrender by the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. One of his cronies—and one of the architects of the Cold War—ex-Secretary of State Dean Acheson wondered (no doubt reflecting Johnson's thinking) "why there should be such widespread belief that negotiations in themselves are something good." The "doves," even the most moderate, are definitely out; Johnson is at one with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs-of-Staff General Wheeler and the Supreme Commander of the U.S. forces in South Vietnam, General Westmoreland, that a political solution is impossible unless there is a "military solution," that is, military victory.

The first step in this direction is Cambodia—although a physical invasion of North Vietnam is not excluded and contingency plans for landing north of the Demilitarized Zone are ready. The Cambodian Chief of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk—through his Embassy in Singapore—charged the U.S. in November 1967 of sending commandos across the Vietnamese border into Cambodia for sabotage and assassination purposes. Then the rhythm of the American intervention quickened. The *London Daily Telegraph* (December 27, 1967) reported from Washington that "there is nothing in the American assurances (to Cambodia) that rules out limited 'hot pursuit' of the enemy across the border." The same paper emphasized the next day that "no doubt 'hot pursuit' would be to the taste of the American military." Two days later the *Daily Telegraph* reporting from Singapore quoted American diplomats as saying that as far as Cambodia is concerned "military action is the sole alternative, the issue being too vital for any loose compromise." "Contingency plans," wrote the paper's Singapore Correspondent Ian Ward, "have certainly been devised for pinpoint bombing raids . . . on the north-eastern corner of Cambodia close to the Pleiku province boundary of South Vietnam." And *The Economist* (London) spoke of the possibility of "a public invasion of Cambodia."

It is more than evident that in this election year Johnson would like to embroil the whole of Indochina in his war. His purpose is twofold: if he could extract even the semblance of "military victory" he would face his electorate with at least some chance of success. Without victory—he would tell the people that they should not "change horses" in the middle of the war. He relies clearly on the most chauvinistic and reactionary elements in the USA, and that the entire propaganda machine of Big Capital is directed towards persuading the people that the only course in the Vietnamese war is the "tough" one.

The escalation is accompanied by still greater brutality. Napalm goes hand in hand with chemical warfare; bombing of civilians in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is "normal" practice, and the same goes for the civilians in South Vietnam. The war has its own logic: if method "A"—relatively soft—does not yield results, then methods "B" and "C" are applied, irrespective of the suffering involved for the people.

The Vietnamese people continue to fight with the utmost resistance and resilience, their determination becomes stronger, their unity becomes monolithic and their resolve to bring the war to victory is unshakable. West German correspondent Friedhelm Kemna says explicitly: "The bombing of North Vietnam—the hot and controversial policy of this war—failed to bring Hanoi to its knees, and there are no indications whatever that this goal will be achieved in the coming year."

In a recent TV interview Senator Robert Kennedy attacked Johnson at a vulnerable point when he said that the idea of Vietnam having anything to do with

U.S. security was a fabrication of the Administration. "The South Vietnamese Army," he continued, "has almost pulled out of the war. There are 150,000 civilian casualties every year, thousands of children are killed because of our efforts." Kennedy's views are shared by other influential people. "It would be possible," says *The Wall Street Journal*, "to dismiss Senator Kennedy's remarks as merely self-serving, except that they are a good specimen of the type of thinking prevalent in some circles."

The American publication has, of course, its own public opinion in mind but its statement applies to an even larger extent to public opinion in other countries, some of which are officially and intimately associated or allied to the United States. There is no secret what kind of policy is being conducted—as far as Vietnam goes—by the Wilson government in Great Britain; and yet in his own party more people are vehemently protesting against the war (and official Britain's support of it). A group of Left Labor Members of Parliament sent a strongly worded telegram to the Foreign Secretary George Brown—then in Rome—in which they said: "We urge you to act immediately to express in Washington the opposition of the United Kingdom to the extension of the Vietnam war to Cambodia, now threatened by the United States Government."

Public concern in the United States and throughout the world over the escalation is linked with the fear that this escalation threatens the world with a thermonuclear conflict. The insatiable appetite of the "global strategists" of U.S. imperialism is especially dangerous because their new "faith" seems to indicate a tendency to cover the Earth with "local conflicts." People discerned a link between the Vietnamese war and the recent Israeli aggression. The war in Vietnam encourages the aggressive, reckless and reactionary forces everywhere, the forces who look to the United States as their natural protector and ally.

The course pursued by Washington encounters the resolute resistance of all peace-loving people. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are extending their aid to the people of Vietnam. The 1967 Conference of 24 Communist and Workers' parties in Karlovy Vary expressed this determination in their Vietnam Appeal. "We express," says the Appeal, "our firm determination to contribute actively to isolating and defeating the aggressive policy of American imperialism, and to press for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam, for the Vietnamese people's right to deal with their own internal affairs . . . We declare our firm determination to render them still greater help—by mass political campaigns, collection of funds and medical supplies . . . in their just struggle for liberty and independence."

This expression of support, coupled with closer unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces, is therefore particularly significant at the present juncture.

U.S. CASUALTIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM ARE INCREASING

	1966	1967
Total casualties (killed and wounded)	268,000	365,000
Casualties suffered by U.S. forces and other mercenaries	118,000	170,000
Planes shot down or destroyed on the ground	2,130	3,200
Total military vehicles destroyed	3,300	8,500
Tanks and armored vehicles	1,200	over 4,000
Warships and light vessels sunk	97	200

(Figures taken from *Nhan Dan*, official newspaper of the Working People's Party of Vietnam)

The maneuvers of Greek reaction

Recent events have once again turned the spotlight on Greece. They began with the king calling for "liberalization" of the fascist regime, followed by the junta announcing an "amnesty" and the drafting of a new "Constitution." Premier Papadopoulos, however, did not carry out his promise to free the political prisoners and, the effect of the amnesty was, therefore, to cite the *London Times*, virtually reduced to nil. Only a few bourgeois leaders were released; thousands continue to languish in the concentration camps and prisons. As for the new "Constitution," it is designed to invest the fascist government with greater powers.

These maneuvers are dictated by the trends within the fascist regime, the attempts to reinforce the junta, by the swelling opposition in the country and abroad.

Greece is a strategic springboard of the Atlantic alliance in which the United States has a big stake. Washington wants a state of affairs that will give it a stronger grip on the country, and enable it to preserve this NATO springboard for provocations against Cyprus, and for carrying out an aggressive policy in the Mediterranean. NATO's role in the Greek events is all too evident. "The same thing could happen here if parliament decided to withdraw from NATO," writes the Norwegian press, commenting on the Greek takeover. They also make the point that NATO considers Norway to be just as important strategically as Greece.

The moral and political isolation in which the Greek fascist rulers now find themselves is beginning to tell on NATO and the policy of its organizers. Under public pressure even some of the governments of the member countries have adopted a wary attitude towards the junta. The Danish representative in the NATO Council, for example, has proposed expelling Greece from this bloc. More and more voices are asserting that NATO is helping the foes of democracy to fight against the Left, is giving aid to reactionary governments. For the member-countries NATO participation means not only a restriction of their sovereignty in many foreign policy and military matters; it also means pursuing a domestic policy furthering the aims of this bloc.

Although Washington made believe that it was not at all happy about the coup, the points cited by the world press told a different story. "The present dictatorship in Greece could not have lasted a single day had the United States been opposed to it," writes *Orientering*, organ of the Norwegian People's Socialist Party. "The stoppage of oil supplies would have been sufficient to paralyze the whole military machine on which the junta rests."

The inflow of capital, it is true, sharply declined in 1967 compared with the previous year. But it is also true that the U.S. Litton International Development Corporation lost no time after the coup signing an agreement to invest \$840 million in the Peloponnesus in the next few years. The sum of foreign investments upon which the junta has already agreed totals \$1,500 million. The lion's share, of course, is held by U.S. monopolies who brazenly interfere in the political and economic life of the country and virtually control its armed forces.

Greek fascism is not copying the totalitarianism of Mussolini or of Hitler. With the junta finding itself isolated politically and morally, it is anxious to mask its reactionary essence as much as possible. Hence the "amnesty" and the "Consti-

tution" stratagems, the recourse to the "liberal revolt" of the king. The Greek fascists are compelled to cover up their actions by hypocritical assurances of respect for democracy. "We shall create a real democracy in Greece, a democracy such as has never existed before," cried Pattakos, Minister of the Interior, the man who declared that political prisoners should be kept in isolation on the islands for life, that people "who write slogans on the walls against the regime should be shot out of hand."

This "real democracy" began with thousands of Communists and progressives being arrested and shipped to concentration camps on the islands, with scores of eminent men of science and culture being thrown into prison. Civil servants were required to sign a "declaration of loyalty." Refusal to do so was regarded as treason, as an expression of "Left sympathies."

The ideology of the Greek fascists is anti-Communism. Their objective—the "political education" of the Greek people, that is, the extirpation of democracy. Their methods—mass reprisals, concentration camps, intimidation.

The junta cloaked its actions in demagoguery, tried to appease the peasants and the army with sops. But in doing so it failed to take into account the possibilities of the economy which has been on the downgrade since the coup. Many factories have closed. Unemployment is growing. Tourist travel has dwindled. To avert an economic crisis the junta has floated a 1,500 million drachma loan, bonds of which are in many instances paid for by compulsory deductions from wages.

All its demagogic maneuvers notwithstanding, the fascist regime is encountering growing resistance. Soon after the coup, resistance centers appeared in different parts of the country headed in many places by Communists. Three organizations presently direct the anti-junta actions: the Patriotic Front, the Defense of Democracy and the National Democratic Resistance Movement, which are all cooperating with each other.

Of these, the Patriotic Front—the foundation of which was laid by the appeal of composer Mikis Theodorakis—is particularly active. Its aims are: overthrow of the junta, restoration of democracy, release of political prisoners and free elections. People of different political views have joined forces to achieve these aims.

The Greek fascists and their overseas mentors are doing everything in their power to prevent the consolidation of the Patriotic Front, to isolate the Left, and particularly the Communists.

The people of Greece have over the years been pitted against the forces of reaction in exceptionally unfavorable conditions. These are rooted in the relatively low level of economic development and the underdevelopment of the social structure. During World War II, and in the post-war the ruling element, using German, British and American arms, struck heavy blows at the working-class and democratic movement.

It is becoming increasingly clear in Greece and also abroad that the coup is a link in the chain of the reactionary intrigues to prevent a détente and European security and world peace.

The advent of fascism to power in Greece, like the growing threat of fascism in West Germany, is connected with the general trend in imperialism, with its increasingly reactionary and aggressive actions, its tendency to settle international and national problems by force. America's war in Vietnam is a case in point.

Like its counterparts in Spain and Portugal, the fascist dictatorship in Greece is a grave threat to Europe, to world peace. Like them, it is helping U.S. imperialism to build military bases and to carry out its designs in Europe.

The statement of the Karlovy Vary conference of European Communist and Workers' parties condemning the Greek military coup, met with wide response among working people in all countries. This document which analyzed the situation in the country since the coup, and showed that its purpose was to strengthen

the positions of American imperialism and its aggressive instrument, NATO, started a broad movement of solidarity with the Greek people. Its participants demanded an end to the fascist terror and the persecution of democrats. Of immense political importance has been the stand taken by the Soviet Government and the governments of the other socialist countries.

The Greek fascists are plotting new maneuvers to prevent consolidation of the democratic forces and their own isolation on the world arena. But the country's progressive forces are fighting back. "The Greeks who have suffered so much have no intention of submitting to the dictatorship," we read in a statement of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Greece. "All political forces who agree that the destiny of the country should not be in the hands of adventurers, must sink their differences, combine their forces and fight with still greater determination to foil the plans of the junta and its foreign patrons. They must fight to end the repressions and the torture, secure the release of all prisoners, overthrow the dictatorship installed with the help of foreign arms, and restore democracy."

Reports from Greece, despite the censorship, show that the movement against the fascist regime, for the restoration of democratic liberties and rights, withdrawal from NATO, and for a policy of peace and neutrality, is gaining momentum. And in this struggle the Greek patriots are drawing strength from the international solidarity and support of revolutionary and democratic forces in all continents. In this unity lies the guarantee of the success of their great battle against world imperialism.

Jan PRAZSKY

Strikes in 1967

The myth of the class peace between exploiters and exploited still has its troubadours. *Handelsblatt*, a West German financial paper, says, for example, that "the attributes of capitalism that had some years back created social contrasts, have been overcome." *Entreprise*, its French counterpart, writes: "Once, when Marx was right, society was divided into social classes; now it is divided into age groups." And the Japanese newspaper *Mainichi* is in raptures: "This is a time of good relations between labor and capital."

Yet the social conflicts and antagonisms bred by capitalist society involve millions of working people annually in class conflicts. And in the van of these actions is the industrial working class, perhaps the greatest force in modern society.

What attracts attention is the continually increasing number of strikers. In the industrial countries of the West their 1965 total approached the 20 million mark, climbing to 28 million the following year. For the capitalist world as a whole, the respective figures were 37 million and 45 million, and in 1967 the upward trend continued.

The figures for different countries are indicative. The U.S. Department of Labor registered 4,500 strikes last year, a 15-year record, with 2,900,000 strikers and a loss of 41 million man-hours. In Italy labor conflicts last year caused a loss of 100m. man-hours, and in France of 4m. man-days as compared with 2.5m. the

year before. More than 1,500 strikes took place in Britain, involving hundreds of thousands of workers. The "spring offensive" in Japan in which workers of different industries downed tools jointly, involved 7.5m. strikers against 7m. in 1966.

The listing of numbers, while highly indicative of labor-capital tensions, does not, understandably, reflect the nature and purpose of the strike movement.

Strikes for higher wages and fringe benefits are impelled chiefly by the continuously rising cost of living, pushed up by militarization and state-monopoly regulation in the interests of the financial oligarchy.

True, the exigencies of the labor-capital confrontation compel the monopolies to submit now and then to labor demands, but their concessions cannot reconcile the antagonistic class interests in capitalist society.

Capitalism imposes privations on wage-earners even in the wealthy United States. As Vice-President Hubert Humphrey pointed out recently, one out of every five Americans — as many as 36m. in all — lives in poverty, far below the minimal standard, and President Johnson has spoken of 20 million American slum-dwellers, and went on to describe this as a crying shame.

The usual workers' demand for a fair wage is acquiring a new content. The capitalist state is now clamping down on labor conflicts and using its powers to restrict or freeze wages.

Take the highly unpopular incomes policy of the Labor Government in Britain. Touted as a remedy for the ailing British economy, it was in reality a means of attacking the standard of living and tended to increase unemployment, its main purpose being to safeguard City interests. That it failed is illustrated by the recent devaluation of the pound.

In the United States, the Johnson Administration last spring and summer legislatively banned the threatened strikes by railwaymen and aircraft workers.

In some capitalist countries governments retaliated with reprisals. In January 1967 in Argentina a strike of sugar workers was crushed in a bloodbath, and two months later brutal treatment was meted out to transport workers, and in Chile during the national strike blood flowed on November 23 when police opened fire.

In circumstances such as these workers' economic demands are complemented by political ones. Prominent among the latter are protests against the wholesale dismissals and unemployment caused by automation, concentration and capitalist rationalization of production.

The consequences of this, creating a gnawing dread of the future among wage-earners, are best illustrated by the 1967 unemployment figures. Towards the end of the year the United States had nearly three million unemployed, Britain over 600,000, Italy one million, West Germany 526,000, Argentina 1.5 million and France 450,000.

Redundancy and unemployment are a chronic threat to many million wage-earners. Yet in the United States, for example, according to AFL-CIO figures, more than 16 million cannot claim unemployment relief in the event of losing their jobs.

The big concerns in West Germany have let it be known that it would be a good thing to borrow "U.S. experience" and raise the jobless quota to four per cent, dismissing another at least 800 thousand employees.

Working-class organizations are drawing up alternatives and proposals designed to reduce the current unemployment and deliver wage-earners and their families from the dread of dismissal.

Some strikes ended in partial or full victories for the workers. The 49-day strike of 160,000 Ford workers, for example, the biggest in Ford history, resulted in a wage increase and an improved pensions scheme. The wage demands of Chile copper miners, too, were conceded after a 34-day strike.

Strikes in Italy ended in 64 labor-capital agreements providing for higher wages, shorter hours and other improvements for nearly three million workers.

Last year's labor movement was highlighted by a trend towards general strikes, a powerful working-class weapon in the fight for a fair deal. Take the general strikes in France (February 1, May 17 and December 13), the "spring offensive" in Japan and the strikes in Chile (November 23) and Uruguay (July 20). In Italy, which registered the biggest number of strikes in Western Europe, the massive work stoppages in some industries were similar in scale to general strikes.

Some of the strikes in Italy, France, Britain, Japan and the Latin American countries concerned demands that were political as well as economic. A powerful strike wave rolled across Spain in April 1967, involving thousands of workers with demands against the Franco regime. A still more acute situation arose at the end of October, when workers' committees organized a Week of Struggle, which culminated in strikes and demonstrations on October 27, described by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, as "a most effective and militant manifestation against Franco."

The big strikes were marked by increasing workers' unity. Those in Italy, for example, were organized jointly by the three main trade union centers — the General Labor Confederation, the Confederation of Free Unions and the Labor Union. In France, the national strikes also epitomized united action by the General Confederation of Labor and the Democratic Labor Confederation, while the class battles in Spain saw Communists, Catholics, Socialists, Nationalists and, most encouraging of all, workers of no particular affiliation, acting in solidarity. The Japanese trade union centers, too, displayed a unity of purpose, and so did those of some Latin American countries.

The rank-and-file is stepping up pressure on the reformist leaders espousing "class cooperation." In the United States this precipitated a crisis, with the influential United Automobile Workers headed by Walter Reuther, planning a showdown with the AFL-CIO, whose policy, as advocated by George Meany, is arousing discontent among the membership, for it is aimed at paralyzing the trade union center as a body that could wrest wage increases and concessions through collective bargaining, and at heading off workers' initiative in internal trade union affairs.

In sum, the 1967 strike movement in the capitalist world, in defense of workers' rights against monopoly power, revealed the need for still closer working-class unity and more cohesion with the other democratic forces, for past experience shows that united action is the best way to achieve democratic social changes.

L. N.

Role of the working class in the capitalist countries in the fight against imperialism

JACQUES DUCLOS

Going back to the analysis of the present epoch made by the 1960 Moscow Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, one cannot but note that it has been proved right by subsequent developments—the increased aggressiveness of the imperialist world, straining to head off the anti-imperialist forces and regain lost ground.

Incontestably, it is “the principal characteristic of our time that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society” and that it is “the socialist world system and the forces fighting against imperialism for the socialist reconstruction of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society.”

In view of the role it can and should play in world events the international working-class movement must never lose sight of imperialist aggressiveness.

At its June 1967 meeting the Central Committee of the French Communist Party adopted a resolution on this score, indicating that “the balance of world forces will continue to favor the anti-imperialist and peace movement so long as it is vigilant and resolute in combating imperialist actions jeopardizing peace.”

Incontestably, socialism has made headway since 1960, and the 50th anniversary of the glorious October Revolution was an occasion for the peoples to appraise the results. The fight of the workers in the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation struggle, too, have gained in scale.

However, every advance of the anti-imperialist and peace forces is countered with aggression by imperialism's “gendarme,” U.S. imperialism. Though these acts of aggression do not detract from the potential superiority of the peace forces over the forces of war, they do present a distinct and immediate danger to world peace.

This balance of world forces has led us to the two main conclusions from which the French Communists take guidance: for one thing, by redoubling their efforts and cementing unity, the anti-imperialist and peace forces can vanquish imperialism and, for another, efforts to safeguard world peace are more important than ever at the present time.

Seeing that the anti-imperialist struggle, the fight for peace and the revolutionary process are closely interwoven, all consistent actions against imperial-

ism should be centered on frustrating its policy of aggression. By combating imperialism and blocking its warlike ambition, always an innate trait, we shall also be striking a blow for the revolutionary process.

As Comrade Waldeck Rochet, our General Secretary, pointed out in a recent lecture on socialism, peace and national liberation, "these days national independence, democracy, peace and socialism go together. The world revolutionary movement draws its strength from the convergence of the multiple battles fought against imperialism."

In these crucial battles, priority falls to the socialist camp and, first and foremost, to the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country. The future would indeed have been haunted by untold dangers were the U.S. imperialists, gorged with riches, wielding a considerable economic potential and brandishing weapons of wholesale annihilation, in a position to bring the peoples to their knees with their threats.

Yet they would have succeeded had not the Soviet Union developed nuclear weapons as a counter to those of the United States, impelling the U.S. rulers to caution because their country is no longer out of war's range.

Besides, the October Revolution has not only radically transformed old Russia into a powerful and advanced country, whose success in building socialism and communism is serving the communist cause on a global scale; the upheaval of fifty years ago has also changed many things in the rest of the world, and will change many more.

Socialism is now a world system. The socialist countries stretch in a chain across Europe and Asia and, counting Cuba, all the way to America. The once colonially oppressed peoples have become independent. The national-liberation movement and the Communist and Workers' parties have gained considerable influence.

This is a time of passage from capitalism to socialism. And the facts show that the success of the socialist world system, its example, the aid it extends to the embattled peoples and the prominent place it occupies in world affairs, have made it the decisive factor in the revolutionary process.

* * *

The October Revolution, the socialism built in the Soviet Union, the defeat of Hitler and of Japanese imperialism and the emergence of the socialist world system have all had a decisive bearing on the disintegration of the colonial system, lending momentum to the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, while weakening imperialism, less able now to check the independence struggles of the peoples.

The national-liberation movement, whose strength was greatly augmented by the rise of the socialist world system, has itself become an essential element of the world revolutionary process, accentuating the enfeeblement of imperialism, irremediably damaged by the October Revolution and by the accession to socialism of more countries after the Second World War.

Apart from aiding the national-liberation movement, the October Revolution tilted the scales heavily in favor of the workers in the capitalist countries.

The example set by Lenin and the Bolsheviks helped the militant workers to move away from class collaboration and establish real workers' parties of a new type, paving the way for a regeneration of the international working-class movement and its consistent orientation on fighting capitalism, with socialist revolution as the ultimate objective.

Seeing the accomplishments in the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist system, the workers in capitalist countries can compare their present condition with what they would attain by banishing exploitation, which is victimizing them. Communists in the capitalist countries can say with pride and

trust in the future: "That's what socialism has done!" And that, too, is an important factor in their endeavors.

Furthermore, the movements of national liberation powerfully impelled by the success of the socialist camp, have been helped greatly in their growth into an important element of the world anti-imperialist alignment by the battles fought by workers in the capitalist countries.

Take France. Patently, the fight waged by our labor movement against French colonialism directly and considerably aided the peoples of the former French colonial empire.

The interests of the working class are the very opposite of those of the imperialists. It is the only class capable of fighting to the finish, until it accomplishes the socialist revolution, delivering all men from exploitation and oppression. In our time, therefore, despite what some say to the contrary, the workers' struggle is as crucially important as ever.

By intensifying its fight to end monopoly rule, joining efforts with all champions of peace and ranging itself beside the peoples fighting for independence, the working class strikes at imperialism in its own citadels, reducing its capacity for resistance and bringing nearer the day of its downfall.

* * *

Speaking of the tie-up between the national-liberation movements and workers' action in the capitalist countries, one could hardly over-stress the dangers presented to the fight against imperialism by the so-called theories describing our epoch as essentially characterized by a contradiction between rich and poor nations, between industrially developed countries and the rest of the world.

To hear the exponents of these theories, which bear no resemblance whatsoever to Marxism-Leninism, the main contradiction of our time is not that between imperialism and socialism, but between the industrially developed and the less industrially developed nations, distinguishing the antagonistic forces in the world not by class criteria, but geographically—an approach smacking of "geopolitics."

Capitalist ideologists, anxious to uphold their regime, are only too happy to accept these theories, because, in the final analysis, they obscure the blame devolving on capitalism and shift the "guilt" onto all the "rich countries" and their peoples, regardless of class distinctions, sowing confusion and discord in the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces.

The notion that the greatest conflict of our time is that between the "city," meaning imperialism, and the "village," meaning the poor nations surrounding it, casts doubt on Lenin's concept of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism highlighted by an acute class struggle against the workers and the oppressed peoples.

In effect, these theories throw a veil over the class conflicts both in the context of individual capitalist countries and on the international scale, lumping together all social classes and segments in the capitalist countries under the false head of "rich nations." Their approach to the social forces, classes and segments of countries of the "third world" fighting to throw off imperialist domination, tends to be the same, though the history of the newly-free countries indicates clearly that we have to distinguish between the nationalist forces and the forces of revolution, whose aims are not just national, but also social.

These concepts are prejudicial to the unity of the anti-imperialist and peace forces, and to the national-liberation movement as well. What they do is oppose the two natural allies in the fight against imperialism—the peoples fighting for liberation and the working class in the capitalist countries.

The French Communist Party rejects emphatically as alien to Marxism-Leninism and contrary to the interests of the anti-imperialist forces the so-called

theories of "conflict between rich and poor nations" and "of the encirclement of 'cities' by 'villages'," which, moreover, by some inexplicable aberration, lump together capitalist and socialist "rich nations," notably the United States and the Soviet Union. Apart from the injury this does to the world's first socialist country, it betrays a singularly short memory of what the peoples fighting for liberation and the revolutionary movement as a whole owe to the industrialization and "enrichment" of the Soviet Union.

We may repeat after Maurice Thorez that we adhere to "the fundamental principle of alliance between the working people of the imperialist metropolitan countries and the colonial peoples fighting for liberation." It has been verified by the long experience of the French Communist Party, which has always cultivated in its members the spirit of internationalism and has always adhered to the concept that close relations should prevail between the advanced section of the people in capitalist countries and the peoples fighting against colonial oppression.

* * *

In its decline, imperialism is fighting desperately for survival, centering its efforts chiefly on three things:

- a) stepping up exploitation in the capitalist countries and methodically plundering the national resources under the aegis of the monopoly-controlled state;
- b) intervening against the national-liberation movement and the independence of peoples;
- c) maintaining cockpits of tension, which may eventually enable them to mount aggression against the socialist countries and sustaining the climate of war preparation propitious for anti-democratic and anti-social measures against the peoples of the capitalist countries.

The 1960 Meeting took note of the proliferation and sharpening of the inter-imperialist contradictions in the midst of which the workers carry on their battle.

In France, where state-monopoly capitalism has fused monopoly power with the power of the state into a mechanism designed to safeguard the capitalist regime and augment monopoly profits through the exploitation of workers and the plunder of the people, Waldeck Rochet demonstrated that "the social basis for anti-monopoly and democratic action is reinforced by the sharpening of the fundamental contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, the increasing number of wage-earners, and by the realization among non-proletarian strata that their interests are identical with those of the workers. A firmer groundwork has emerged for alliances between the working class and the other non-monopoly strata."

* * *

The French Communist Party never loses sight of the fact that the role of the workers and their Communist vanguard transcends the exigencies of the daily struggles against the increasing monopoly exploitation. It knows that socialism is the only solution for the fundamental contradiction between the socialization of the means of production and their appropriation by a handful of exploiters, and that for this the revolutionary movement must gather strength and assemble for clear-cut and precise objectives all the anti-monopoly forces in a popular movement powerful enough to end the rule of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

It is in this spirit that our Party put before the workers and all the democratic forces a program for genuine democracy, the prelude to a socialist France. True, most Frenchmen are not yet convinced of the immediate necessity of socialism. Our program of genuine democracy, however, responds to the aspirations of broad sections of our people without prejudicing the idea that socialism alone can lead to a happy and peaceful future.

On the contrary, by curbing the power of the monopolies, the most important of which will be nationalized and democratically managed, the genuine democracy we are offering the people would put France onto the high road to socialism.

That is precisely the spirit in which our Party understands Lenin's thesis: "To develop democracy *to the utmost*, to find the *forms* for this development, to test them *by practice*, and so forth—all this is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution. Taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be 'taken separately'; it will be 'taken together' with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. This is the dialectics of living history" (*Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 452-53.)

The fight for genuine democracy, conceived as a stage along the way to socialism, conforms with the aspirations of the people and with the genuine national interest.

It should be said, too, that monopoly rule permitted the increasing penetration into the French economy of foreign capital. In seven years, U.S. investments climbed 163 per cent, while capitalist integration in the Common Market and other international bodies exposes our country to the tender mercies of stronger imperialists.

In these circumstances, the program of genuine democracy advanced by our Party could be a lasting positive element in world affairs. Nationalization of the chief monopoly sectors of industry, and of the big banks and insurance companies, would considerably weaken imperialism as a whole.

It would become possible then to put an end to the pillage of the national resources by the exploiting minority, which would be removed from government. Steps could be taken to check the drain of French capital and interdict penetration of foreign capital. Democratic management of the nationalized sector and control over all sectors of the economy by workers, employees and their organizations would enable the democratic regime to secure a better life for the people, while sharpening the contradictions rending the imperialist system.

By replacing the present regime of personal rule with genuine democracy based on a joint government program framed and applied by all the parties of the Left under the control and with the participation of the people, their organizations and elected representatives, the workers and democratic forces could strike a telling blow at authoritarianism, a common feature in all capitalist states with state-monopoly regimes.

Furthermore, since "no people can be free so long as it oppresses other peoples," democratic France would put an end to the oppression still imposed by French imperialism on other peoples aspiring to freedom, supplanting all neo-colonialism with a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation.

* * *

Some people deliberately distort the sense and implications of peaceful coexistence; it seems they have forgotten the precise definition of it in the 1960 Statement:

"Peaceful coexistence does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence."

The political situation in France bears out the 1960 analysis concerning the

effects of peaceful coexistence. De Gaulle's policy of "détente" vis-à-vis the socialist states has in no way impeded the class struggle in our country.

The closer contact with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has given the Frenchman a better idea of their accomplishments and desire for peace. This has dissipated the tale of socialist aggressiveness peddled by the cold-war warriors.

The fact that no one any longer takes seriously the alleged threat of Soviet aggression against France has given impulse to the people's fight against the arms race policy of the Gaullist authorities.

Thus, the visible decline of de Gaulle's influence at home, the increasing weight of our Party among workers and other non-monopoly strata, coupled with the progress made in uniting the workers and the democratic forces, are causing the Gaullists no little alarm.

* * * *

The genuine democracy we recommend will be neither viable nor effective unless the masses participate increasingly in formulating and affecting home and foreign policy, unless the democratic gains are safeguarded and extended, and unless the masses exercise continuous control over the government that will issue from the alliance of working-class and democratic forces.

On these terms, continuous extension of democracy will enable the workers to prove to the majority of the nation the necessity of socialism, as stressed in the 1960 Statement:

"Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for the peaceful realization of the socialist revolution."

The peaceful way to socialism with a plurality of parties, as we see it, presupposes a sharp growth of class struggle aimed at denying the bourgeoisie any opportunity for armed resistance and preventing the workers' allies from reverting to class collaboration.

The alliance of workers and democratic forces on the basis of a common program with a view to establishing genuine democracy, is not a utopian pipe dream, though it is bound to be difficult.

Headway towards this alliance has already been made. A body blow was delivered to the government in the parliamentary and cantonal elections last March and September by virtue of the agreement reached on December 21, 1966, by our Party and the parties and organizations affiliated with the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (including the Socialist Party).

The agreement contains salient elements of convergence which may serve as a basis for the joint program essential to the Left alliance. Later, a working group composed of delegates from our Party and the Federation drew up a document indicating that points of convergence have proliferated, but that points of difference still remain, particularly with regard to a supranational Europe and other foreign policy problems. We want the discussion to continue, so that the search for agreement can go on, enabling us to formulate a joint program defining a precise policy, for the lamentable experience of the Wilson government in Britain is a lesson French democracy cannot afford to ignore.

Certainly, grave obstacles still stand in the way of the alliance, especially as concerns framing a joint program, and it is in relation to this situation and the attendant difficulties that the Prime Minister launched the anti-communist campaign designed to divide the Left and to safeguard Gaullism. While reviving anti-

communism, the government also relies on the insidious activity of various splinter groups, of which some pronounce themselves followers of Mao Tse-tung and others of Trotsky. Their leftist vocabulary and divisive tactics are grinding the axe of the capitalist monopolies, for whom the Gaullist government is the pillar of power.

Our Party, for its part, addresses itself to the wage-earners in town and country, the workers, peasants, technicians, managers in industry and commerce, artisans, shopkeepers and everybody else, to give them an idea of our program, to win their approval, to summon them to battle, urging them to express their desire for unity.

This popular movement is bound to bring about the necessary alliance and at once to erect formidable obstacles against any revival of class collaboration, thus paving the way for a democratic, independent, peaceful and prosperous France advancing to socialism.

These guidelines for truly revolutionary actions are worlds removed from the loud talk about the need for "making revolution," which creates the false impression that everything is possible everywhere at any time. Yet those who peddle this nonsense are incapable of acting as true revolutionaries should, incapable of analyzing the realities of the hour, of finding the means for influencing these political, economic and social realities and winning the majority for immediate struggle, for socialism.

The efforts of the French working class, with the Communist Party at its head, would be gravely prejudiced if the anti-imperialist and peace forces in the world did not act with enough vigor to compel imperialism to keep the peace, which requires cohesion, notably that of the world communist movement.

That is why our Party declares itself for a new conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Like the delegations of other Parties from the capitalist countries, ours will bring to the conference the French experience in the revolutionary struggle of the workers of capitalist countries, an integral and determinative element of the world revolutionary movement in the fight against imperialism.

Against the aggressive Bonn policy, for security in Europe

ALBERT NORDEN

On Hitler's seizing the helm of state thirty-five years ago, the *Reichstag* enacted bills in March 1933 virtually abdicating its powers and vesting extraordinary powers in the nazi government, giving it the green light to exterminate hundreds of thousands of its political adversaries, to begin arming and to plot the annexations that precipitated the Second World War.

The nazi Reich burned to cinders in the flames of military defeat. The aspirations of the German nation, much chastened, harmonized with the Potsdam decisions of the victor powers to extirpate all nazis and militarists, depose the uncrowned kings of German finance, dissolve their cartels and trusts, and democratize Germany.

Yet today, on all five continents, people are again dismayed by the "German menace." Nor does this apply to the eastern part of the country—the German Democratic Republic, which has rooted out fascism, expelled from public office all nazi teachers, officers, propagandists and officials, upheld democratic and socialist ideas, cultivated a spirit of socialist internationalism among the youth, converted the means of production from private to public property and created thriving socialist farm cooperatives where a mere quarter of a century ago 3,000 Junkers owned most of the land, treating the rural population as their bondsmen.

The German Democratic Republic is the proof that the interests of the nation coincide with the wishes of the rest of the world, particularly of Europe, aspiring to security.

The monopoly regime resurrected in West Germany with the connivance of the Western occupation powers is the political heir to German imperialism and has consolidated the class dictatorship of finance capital so firmly over the 30m. West Germans that today 0.3 per cent of them possess more wealth than the other 99.7 per cent combined. Some 500 individuals or private groups own fortunes of more than 100m. marks each, while some of the wealthiest are worth several billion. And they are the same families and concerns that held the commanding heights back in the days of the Kaiser, in the Weimar Republic and under the Hitler dictatorship.

It is now an elementary fact accepted even by non-Marxists that economic power also means political power. The wishes of the big bankers and industrialists are, indeed, law for the Bonn government.

Some may say this is a lamentable state of affairs, but that it concerns no one but the Germans. This is not so. No one in Europe or in other continents can afford to forget that the big concerns now dominant in West Germany are the

same that inspired the annexationist policies of the Kaiser and Hitler. We could quote hundreds of memoranda issued by them before, between and during the two world wars, formulating the ambitions that the appropriate governments were required to follow, seeking to conquer Western and Eastern Europe and to acquire a vast colonial empire.

West German finance capital cannot become reconciled to the consequences of the Second World War. Through its politicians, its ministers and its generals it denies recognition to the postwar frontiers and has set out to build an armed force second to none in capitalist Europe.

The policy of "rolling back" socialism by military intimidation framed by John Foster Dulles and adopted by the West German chancellors Adenauer and Erhard, has proved a dismal failure. The consolidation of the socialist states, the GDR included, foiled this aggressive scheme. The setback entailed differences in the imperialist camp and created economic difficulties—caused, among other things, by frantic arming—which precipitated a profound crisis in the ruling Christian-Democratic Union (CDU) at the end of 1966.

Came a time of reflection and fresh undertakings. Many hoped that the Social-Democratic Party, the other big force in Bonn, would come to power and pursue an alternative platform. Nine Social-Democratic ministers did, indeed, enter the cabinet in December 1966. But it was farthest from their minds to steer West German policy into calmer waters. They appeared on the stage as the junior partners of the CDU which, though discredited, retained its grip on power with their willing help.

The year 1967 was highlighted not by a new policy, but by a new vocabulary, carefully selected to impart new lustre to the old course and to win public trust. Psychological stratagems like the so-called "new" eastern policy were to screen from public view the effectuation of the old line. There has been no shortage in friendly verbiage about "bridge-building," "easing the tensions," "convergence of East and West," even about renouncing the use of force. Bonn says it is eager to conclude a treaty renouncing force with all comers, excepting—and this exception is the key to its policy of ill will—the government of the German Democratic Republic. The implications are easy to see: under a treaty with, say, the Soviet Union, the latter would be obliged, so Bonn thinks, to stand aloof in the event of an FRG attack on the GDR. At most, Foreign Minister Willi Brandt conceded, the treaty with the USSR could "cover Eastern Germany," a dodge that would imply that the German Democratic Republic was non-existent from the standpoint of international law, turning it into a "Soviet occupation zone," or, by the same token, that the FRG is the only existing German state. The roundabout maneuver follows the same tack as Kiesinger's declared desire to contribute to the system of European security, while drumming up their claim to sole representation for the German people, an approach à la Hitler: assurances of peace, on the one hand, and pretensions to sole representation, on the other.

Kiesinger's "gradual program" contains the same implications. Since strength is lacking to assault the socialist camp as a whole, the attack is to be phased, dovetailing with the objectives of the global strategy of the United States. Zbigniew Brzezinski, until the end of 1967 a close adviser to President Johnson and State Department chief of policy planning, says this in so many words in his book, *Alternative to Partition*.

"To undermine the East European stake in East Germany," he wrote, "the West will have to differentiate sharply between its attitude toward East Germany. . . . The policy must be one of isolation." What he is after is "to convince the East Europeans that the existence of East Germany limits their freedom."

That is, indeed, the crux of the Washington-conceived strategy pursued by the Grand Coalition. Bonn thinks that if its smiles are jovial enough, the socialist countries will not notice what the imperialists are doing against the GDR. And

as its strategists see it, once they succeed in tearing down that westernmost outpost of the socialist camp there will be time to decide what to do next—a tactic that had once prompted Hitler after each new conquest to mollify the neighboring states with assurances of good intentions while preparations for attacking them proceeded in full gear. During the Austrian *Anschluss*, when overrunning the Sudetenland and subsequently occupying Czechoslovakia, and then when poised to attack Poland—each time it was blandly announced that definitely this was the last territorial claim. Strength was massed each time at one hurdle, and when this had been taken preparations were made for the next.

The same is true today. What the Bonn government does is at odds with what it says. It has not given up the Hallstein doctrine, the policy of “sole representation,” of unceasing cold war against the German Democratic Republic. Speaking at a CDU convention on May 23, 1967, none other than Kiesinger, backed by the rest of his cabinet, lifted the veil of peaceful assurances to declare that recognition of the territorial *status quo* was tantamount to “unconditional surrender,” something no one would ever “wrest” from West Germany. Ushering in the New Year, orally and in writing, the Chancellor reaffirmed Bonn’s claim to sole representation, that is, representation of the German Democratic Republic as well.

In a program announced at the beginning of the year, the CDU urged that “the political and social system of the FRG should be regarded as the all-German aim.” By so doing, it as much as admitted its ultimate purpose of absorbing the GDR and replacing the socialist democracy there with the dictatorship of monopoly capital. This is why the Bonn politicians refuse to recognize the German Democratic Republic as a subject of international law. They want it to be regarded as a vacuum which they could fill unobstructed with no international repercussions. It is the old program all over again: the designs against the GDR are the same, though the terms in which they are couched have changed. Bonn’s recognition of the GDR would, in international law, amount to a renunciation of its policy of intervention.

What Bonn wants—one more token of the incorrigible arrogance of the German imperialists—is to have other states pull chestnuts out of the fire for it. To carry forward the Hallstein doctrine, it has submitted to the Commission and Council of the European Economic Community (EEC) a resolution enforcing Common Market trade discrimination against the GDR. The West-German government insists that Common Market countries should limit their trade with the GDR, that the latter should get no long-term credits from them and that all trade agreements concluded with the GDR by EEC countries should be subject to Bonn’s approval. What this amounts to is Bonn guardianship over its allies.

When Willi Brandt visited Britain and Sweden last year he advised Free Trade Association members to reduce their trade with the GDR. Foreign Minister and Vice-Chancellor of the Federal government, he is at the same time Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party. Thus, one cannot get away from the fact that though the SD ministers in the Grand Coalition speak of international détente, they are really working for greater tension. The ruling candidly capitalist CDU is using the Social Democratic leaders as conductors of its policy to win credibility abroad and to create the impression of a willingness to come to terms. The crisis that hit the CDU at the end of 1966 has shifted to the SDP, and this the CDU views as a highly welcome “by-product” of its policy. Many members of the Social Democratic Party and many of its functionaries and voters, are abandoning their Party in disappointment, because they cannot tell its policy apart any more from that of the CDU.

During their Washington talks with President Johnson, August 1967, Kiesinger and Brandt approved of U.S. international strategy. The FRG, they said, would to the best of its ability support the U.S. war against Vietnam, morally, politically, materially and financially; it approved of the Israeli aggression against the Arab

states, and would help buttress the fascist dictatorships in Greece, Spain and Portugal with arms and other material aid. Paying back in kind, Johnson pronounced himself in favor of Bonn's policy vis-à-vis the GDR and supported its ambitions in Western Europe.

The campaign against the GDR is tied in closely with the rest of FRG foreign policy.

Recently, Bonn shipped 40m. marks worth of sophisticated weapons to the Greek dictatorship; its economic contacts with Athens have expanded rapidly since the coup.

It is defying all down the line the U.N. economic sanctions against the racist Rhodesian regime.

Its propaganda factories have been working overtime to back the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and it has made at least 750m. marks available for that dirty war.

In 1967 the Kiesinger government sent President Luebke on a visit to South Korea, granting some 100m. marks worth of aid to the blood-stained Seoul regime.

Political and financial aid, coupled with arms shipments, is flowing to Salazar's dictatorship, helping it fight the embattled peoples of the Portuguese colonies aspiring to independence.

In a nutshell, the more fascist and aggressive the foreign and home policy of a state is, the closer are the contacts that Bonn establishes with it. For international fascism and world aggression Bonn is a supporter and accomplice.

The posture of the Grand Coalition government vis-à-vis the GDR, is, thus, part of the international policy highlighted by support for all aggressors.

At a conference in Tokyo in May 1967, Willi Brandt told the FRG ambassadors to Asian states that removal of the "SUP regime" was still the strategic aim. The purpose behind this is to alter the political system in the GDR. The world should be made to think, however, that the Grand Coalition is willing to make concessions. Yet it will cling to the claim to sole representation, because both partners in the coalition—the CDU and SDP—hold that this will impair GDR prestige. Brandt instructed the ambassadors to prevent the countries to which they are accredited from recognizing the GDR.

Bonn ambassadors never fail to raise a howl whenever any government ventures to open a mission or send a parliamentary delegation to the GDR. The campaign has never been as intensive as it is under the Grand Coalition.

The West-German imperialists conceal their craving for annexations with propaganda tales about the partition of Germany being the cause of European tension. It will be recalled, however, that in the 19th century Germany was a loose agglomeration of independent states and that this never endangered world peace. It was not until the German states united in 1871 into a semi-absolutist Kaiserdom dominated by the big bourgeoisie that Germany began to act from positions of strength which led to the first world war. The existence of two German states, therefore, is not the real cause of disquiet in the heart of Europe. (Besides, it is hardly proper to lament Germany's partition for those who split Germany in 1948-49 to sidestep their Potsdam commitments!)

The cry for unification as a prelude to European normalization resembles the nazi propaganda that European security hinges on all German-speaking people uniting in a single state. That had been Hitler's excuse for seizing Austria, partitioning Czechoslovakia, assaulting Poland and annexing Alsace-Lorraine. Today, the surviving culprits of these evil deeds and their fledglings are again making demands for unifying Germans under a regime whose socio-economic structures are traceable to those of the Hitler Reich. Bonn's sights are trained on a new Greater Germany. That is no exaggeration.

World opinion is disturbed by the neo-nazi menace. Indeed, the neo-nazi party is growing fast. Yet it owes its growth solely to encouragement from the Grand

Coalition. The Soviet Note of December 8, 1967, indicated this clearly: last year, in the Bavarian elections the ruling party of Bonn Finance Minister Franz Josef Strauss (Christian-Social Union) came to terms with the neo-nazis, the two parties pledging that they would not tread on each other's toes, helping the NDP win seats in the *Landtag*. The Big Business community, notably the successors of *IG Farben* and particularly the *Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik*, are financing the neo-fascist National-Democratic Party, and the government apparatus is swarming with former nazis, the guardian angels of the NDP, Hitler's successor party.

In effect, two out of every three ranking officials in the Foreign Ministry are people who had done a stint in Hitler's diplomatic service. The men holding the key posts of the two *Staatssekretaere*, the Inspector of Missions Broad, heads of the development, personnel and foreign missions departments and others are arch-nazis who have never publicly disavowed their past. The Bonn ambassadors in Latin America, Spain and Greece, in South Africa and elsewhere, and the heads of West-German missions in supranational bodies such as the United Nations, NATO, the European Economic Community, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and the West-European Union, had been busy in Hitler's time disguising nazi expansionist policy by diplomatic stratagems, blocking détente and clearing the way for armed aggression.

The heads of the three key departments in the so-called All-German Affairs Ministry under Herbert Wehner, Vice-Chairman of the SDP, had had a hand in the foul wartime policy of Germanizing Poland. As organizers of the cold war against the German Democratic Republic they are merely following the trail they have trodden once before.

Staatssekretaer and Kiesinger's political adviser, landowner Baron von und zu Guttenberg, who in his writings advocates reconquering the eastern territories, did not hesitate during the latest *Bundestag* elections to secure its backing in his constituency.

NDP Chairman Adolf von Thadden was right for once when he said in his concluding remarks at the party convention on November 12, 1967, held with Bonn permission, that "the Grand Coalition has helped NDP growth considerably."

This help has been varied:

- encouraging the NDP outrightly;
- promoting old and new fascists in the machinery of government;
- banning the Communist Party and thereby blocking a legal democratic alternative to government policy, impelling many disgruntled electors to vote for the neo-nazi party, which offers what they think is an alternative;
- and, above all, the fact that the government is in composition—Kiesinger, the first Chancellor with an active nazi background, and the top officialdom—and in policy oriented on revenge, creating thousands of points of contact with undisguised fascists.

Take the *Bundeswehr*. Most of its officers gravitate towards the NDP, sending soldiers to neo-nazi rallies, filling army libraries with books extolling the outrages of the Second World War, etc. Army barracks and warships are given the names of former Hitler generals, and battle standards of the nazi *Wehrmacht* are revered. Road signs at exits from the larger German cities indicate the distance to towns once German that are now Polish, Soviet and Czechoslovak. Publishers handling books glorifying the blood-stained nazi past are doing a roaring trade. In the schools, history textbooks present an essentially obscure picture of Hitler's crimes, and sometimes go so far as to justify them. Intensive inculcation of irredentism* among the youth and soldiers is designed to breed a craving for the "unfree" territories that must be "re-liberated" at any cost. Top CDU politicians

*Jingo nationalist movement in imperialist states designed to bring together politically all nationals living abroad.—Ed.

are nursing the idea of a coalition government with the candidly fascist NDP, just as in 1932 the National People's Party wanted to rule jointly with Hitler.

Can anyone dispute the fact that much of what we see in West Germany bears a close resemblance to the times when Hitler, subsidized by the arms manufacturers, was assembling his forces and embarking on aggression at home and abroad?

Nothing could be more mistaken than to regard the NDP as a self-sufficient growth. It owes its existence to the more than 20 years of Bonn's revenge-seeking policy. The fact that the FRG rulers, including Social Democratic ministers, clamor for the frontiers of 1937 (i.e., for annexation of the GDR, Western Poland and parts of the Soviet Union), the fact that they refuse to declare the Munich agreement null and void since the moment it was signed, and the fact, therefore, that FRG foreign policy is shot through with chauvinism—these are seeds that were bound to bear frankly fascist fruit. When the Bonn government says the "state on the eastern border is unlawful," it only brings grist to the neo-nazi mill.

In 1967, the NDP won seats in the parliaments of a number of FRG Laender, and, clearly, this year the same trend prevails. NDP branches are springing up all over the country. In towns where popular protests deprive the neo-nazis of premises for their meetings halls are made available forcibly by the judiciary. All of us remember the guilt that lies with the nazi judges for scuttling the Weimar Republic and ushering in the nazi dictatorship. Now, they are doing the same thing. The Communists, the most determined and tempered anti-nazis, have been driven underground. Often it is judges affiliated with the NDP that pass sentence on them, and in prison they are handled by wardens who are also NDP members.

Obviously, neo-nazism exists also outside the NDP. It colors the thinking of the government parties, of much of the press, and is becoming the practice in government and state affairs.

The FRG presents a menacing picture. Its President built concentration camps in Hitler's time, its Chancellor headed the nazis' chauvinist radio propaganda abroad, the corps of generals and the ranking civil servants were once instruments of the Hitler government, and as many as 112 of the surviving Hitler-appointed economic chiefs still occupy posts of prominence in economic and public affairs.

The old and the new nazism are fusing; the aggressively reactionary home and foreign policy of the Bonn government is acquiring new attributes. Oriented on a revision of frontiers in the heart of Europe and on comforting all the world's military and fascist dictatorships, it makes the FRG the cockpit of danger in Europe. This would have mattered less if it were any other state, but the FRG is the strongest imperialist power, second only to the United States, which makes it doubly dangerous. The Bonn leaders are not content just to give voice to what are anything but peaceful sentiments. In spirit and method, *Bundeswehr* growth is aimed at aggression.

The recently-framed *Bundeswehr* plan (drawn up after the Israeli *blitzkrieg*, that is, in the autumn of 1967) envisages a swift operation in which territory east of the FRG is to be overrun 120 kilometres in depth in a matter of 48 hours. What Bonn evidently hopes is that behind the NATO screen it will repattern the *status quo* in Central Europe all but overnight. The irresponsibly reckless scheme is being fostered not by outsiders, but by people of high official standing. Not surprisingly, therefore, the cut in military spending originally promised by the Grand Coalition to appease its Social Democratic following, was soon replaced by an increase. With the *Bundeswehr* growing steadily into the biggest of the NATO contingents, increasing numbers of revenge-seeking Bonn officers are being placed in high NATO posts, exerting mounting pressure there in favor of the *Bundeswehr* getting atomic arms.

By this token, relaxation of tension along the 1,400-kilometre frontier between the two German states (coinciding with the line of the imperialist-socialist con-

frontation) is a top priority problem for European security. If it is to be resolved constructively, the threat emanating from West Germany must be entirely dissipated. Normalization of relations between the two German states, coupled with a mutual recognition of frontiers, is, therefore, no "internal German" matter but a compulsive factor of European peace, of the interests of all nations. It would be a shame if the sacrifices of the Second World War were made in vain. The people cannot afford to look on placidly, therefore, while West-German imperialism is jockeying for a position to spread its power throughout Europe.

Since the Bonn government imperils European security by refusing to recognize the frontier between the two German states, recognition of the GDR by more countries would strike a blow for peace, for each such recognition would act as a fresh barrier to West-German revanchism and buttress the edifice of European security.

There will never be a shortage in GDR initiatives for changing West-German policy. This purpose was again served by the proposal made by Walter Ulbricht at the turn of 1968 when he renewed the call for an FRG-GDR treaty renouncing the use of force; stressed the importance of equitable relations; suggested bilateral talks for total disarmament and an atom-free zone in Central Europe, urging unconditional commitments to refrain from manufacturing, sharing possession of, employing or stockpiling nuclear weapons and warheads; advised Bonn to give up its aggressive claim to sole representation, jettison its revanchism and instead recognize the existing European frontiers, the GDR-FRG frontier included; lastly, he stressed the Potsdam-imposed obligation of the two German states to extirpate militarism and nazism and interdict monopoly domination.

This appeal to reason is, naturally, hailed by many West Germans who, unlike their government, have a stake in easing the tension.

Speaking of the dangers to world peace of official Bonn policy it is only fair to state that in West Germany, too, public resistance has grown so visibly that Kiesinger angrily referred to a "recognition party," meaning the West Germans advocating recognition of the GDR and opposing Bonn's cold war policy. The number of these people is increasing. Their voice is heard more loudly. They are more active than before—not least of all because the wage-earner in the FRG is inevitably the first to suffer from Bonn's policy of stoking up tension.

The aggressive West German foreign policy concept is proving an insufferable burden to the economy. To continue with it, the monopolies and their government have to generate economic pressures, curtail social rights, raise taxes and prices, and carry through wholesale dismissals. Explosive social conflicts are brewing, eclipsing anything seen in the FRG in the past. These, the rulers would like to avert. They want to alter the political structure, setting the stage for a dictatorship by emergency law and folding up the franchise. But what these attempts are likely to achieve is that the political explosives will coalesce with the social.

Trade union officials and rank-and-file, the big organizations of the working youth and students, and followers of the Social-Democratic Party not least of all, are incensed by the home and foreign policies of the Grand Coalition. It has sunk in that the cause which once before in German history led to the Hitler dictatorship, must not be allowed to pave the way for neo-nazism.

Growth of the German Democratic Republic and its steady economic, political and cultural headway; the mounting prosperity of its citizens; the firm front it presents in face of the Kiesinger-Strauss policy, the fascist elements and the neo-nazis; the firm stand of the GDR with regard to Bonn's hypocritical "new eastern policy"; elucidation of the role and the true function of the Social-Democratic ministers as abettors and executors of state-monopoly policy; the constructive GDR proposals aimed at accommodating relations between the two German states and our efforts to enliven Marxist thinking in the West-German labor movement—this, cumulatively, is the source whence the democratic and socialist opposition obtains its vigor.

Nicaraguan Communists in van of the liberation movement

LUIS SANCHEZ

In May 1967 Nicaragua was once again saddled with a military dictatorship. Since then, the persecution of militant democrats, the shooting down of students and peasants, a virtual state of siege and strict censorship have been features of the day.

The establishment in mid-1963 of the civilian puppet regime of René Schick suited the new tactics of the Somoza brothers, tactics masterminded by the U.S. embassy. Since the Somoza dicta-

of the people to respect elementary democratic rights. However, it was not long before the oligarchy and its imperialist mentors realized that the democratic movement was taking advantage of the Schick regime to reorganize and consolidate its forces. The Socialist Party of Nicaragua and other Left organizations publicly entered the political arena as forces seeking to establish a new system in the country. And so the Somoza brothers decided to resort to the old, tested terrorist methods and to reinstate the military dictatorship. This was made all the easier by the splitting, pro-imperialist policy of the big bourgeoisie in opposition to Somoza and represented by the Conservative Party.

The moment the candidature of Somoza was put forward for the presidency the Central Committee of the Socialist Party called for the formation of a broad anti-dynasty and anti-imperialist coalition. The slogan, "Enough of Somoza," met with a deep response among the public, and the call for unity became a veritable national motto. The National-Democratic Union (NDU) was founded, which included the Independent Liberal Party, the Party of Republican Mobilization and the Revolutionary Action Party. For tactical reasons our Party, while rendering the Union every support, decided not to join it. The NDU spared no effort to achieve unity with the Conservative Party and the Social Christian Party. Even many Conservative personalities favored unity. (On October 5, 1966 at a public meeting in the capital, Dr.



torship had completely discredited itself, it was necessary to stimulate a change of government, to pretend that the Somoza family had relinquished office, partly to concede the energetic demand

Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, a prominent member of the Conservative Party and publisher of *La Prensa*, the most influential paper in the country, called for united action "even with Marxists." The meeting was also addressed by Alvaro Ramirez Gonzalez, presently first secretary of our Party.)

However, the leadership of the Conservatives had their own plans, encouraged by some U.S. political quarters, and particularly by Senator Robert Kennedy. These plans were to persuade Washington to suspend its support of the Somoza dynasty. The Conservatives concluded an alliance with the Social-Christian Party, attracted to their side the leaders of the Independent Liberal Party and formed the so-called National Opposition Union (NOU), from which the Left groups were excluded. The desertion of the Liberals signifies the disintegration of the National-Democratic Union.

The Conservative leaders were well aware that they could not defeat Somoza, and they feared that their call for a change in U.S. policy toward Nicaragua would not meet with response. They therefore decided, having first assured themselves of the support of part of the officers' corps, to carry out a coup and set up a provisional government — the military-civil junta — which would, after a "reasonable period," hold "genuinely free and honest elections." In the event of the coup miscarrying, NOU would begin armed action in the capital, seize a number of U.S. citizens as hostages and afterwards, invoking the Selden resolution passed by U.S. Congress, demand the intervention of the Organization of American States or—what is the same thing—U.S. armed forces. In other words, there was to be a repetition of the Dominican tragedy, only in more grotesque form.

The design was realized, but not in the way its promoters had reckoned. On January 22, 1967 a rally of 60,000 people was held in Managua to mark the end of the election campaign. It ended in brutal reprisals when the leaders of the bourgeois opposition involved thousands of unarmed people in a clash with troops. Afterwards, having entrenched themselves in the Grand Hotel, the NOU leaders seized a number of American tourists and held them as hostages. Two days later, however, they ignominiously surrendered after being assured by the gov-

ernment that their lives and property would be spared.

This reckless gamble only made it easier for the dictatorship to put its plans into effect. Cashing in on the situation, the forces of reaction, encountering no resistance, threw the country's democratic leaders into prison, banned all broadcasts of the opposition and suppressed its newspapers. The government then began to realize its main objective, repeatedly mentioned by Somoza, that of "waging relentless struggle against communism." A bill was introduced providing for the death penalty for "treason." Lorenzo Guerrero, who succeeded President René Schick after his sudden death, declared that all "blind" opposition to the government, all activity that "overstepped Constitutional and traditional bounds," i.e., all political activity by any party, except the Conservative (the only opposition force recognized by the Constitution) would be regarded as "treason."

The Somoza dynasty and Conservative opposition were able to carry out their reactionary designs all the more easily because of the vacillations in the ranks of the democratic forces (and especially, in our Party), the lack of firmness and clarity regarding the main tasks, methods of struggle and policy of alliances and also because of the organizational weakness of our movement. That is why, as the Central Committee noted at its meeting in June 1967, "the Party was unable to make the most of the elections to consolidate and extend its contact with the masses with the purpose of bringing pressure to bear on the legal opposition... and also in order to promote the establishment of a people's democratic front. . . ."

THE PARTY BEGINS TO CORRECT ITS MISTAKES

In the ensuing difficult situation the Party had to revise its tactics and correct the mistakes which prevented it from becoming a real national political force and the vanguard of the people. The guerrilla centers — a spontaneous response to the government's policy of terror — and the confusion still prevailing among the masses as a result of the treachery of the bourgeois leaders, make it all the more imperative that the Communists elaborate clear political tac-

tics promoting the militant activity of the Party in the van of the masses.

Critically examining the Party's past activity, a Commission set up by the Central Committee noted that "for a long time the Party bore the stamp of the specific features of the situation that existed when it was established in 1944. The situation was characterized by the existence of an incipient, politically backward proletariat and a turbulent political atmosphere at home and abroad. These features were the main factors responsible for the ideological and organizational weakness and political instability of the party of the working people and its proneness to mistakes which undermined it from within, retarded its development and blunted its revolutionary spirit."

It was only in 1964 that the Party was able to elaborate and publish an integral and relatively complete program. The program made an assessment of the political and economic situation in the country, the correlation of forces on the national and international scale, the U.S. domination in Nicaragua's economic, political and cultural life, and showed the way to solve the national problems. The "Plan of Basic Reforms" (as the Program was called) was to be realized through joint actions by all the progressive forces united in the National Democratic Front. Although this program was by no means perfect, copying to a large extent the programs of the Communist parties of the much more developed countries of South America and Western Europe, its adoption was an important event in the life of the Party.

CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

At present the Party is devoting special attention to theoretical work. As Rubén Castellanos rightly pointed out in his article published in No. 6 (1967) *World Marxist Review*, in Latin America the success of the political and organizing work of the revolutionary forces depends in large measure on their theoretical level. For a number of reasons this question acquires particular significance today. For one thing, the acuteness of the political situation is coupled with the sharpness of the ideological struggle, particularly around the problem

of the ways out of the structural crisis. For another, the Cuban revolution has spurred on the development of revolutionary theory on the continent, showing that revolutionary practice there was much more complex and richer than the formulas current until then.

The Party had to wage a struggle in recent years against the tendency blindly to copy the experience of other parties (which does not mean a refusal to generalize and utilize in our struggle those aspects of this experience that are common and useful to us), to cling to formulas rendered obsolete by the development of the world, continental and national revolutionary movements. It had to combat a tendency to renounce the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. The advocates of this concept claimed that U.S. imperialism was the main enemy of Nicaragua, that the Somoza regime was a transient one, like any other bourgeois-landlord government, irrespective of who headed it, that by concentrating all efforts on fighting the dictatorship we were making it possible for the legal opposition, that is, the Conservative Party, to head the popular struggle.

This thesis was evidently based on the formula of the Chinese revolution which the Communist International wanted to apply in the conditions of Latin America at the end of the nineteen twenties. According to this formula it was necessary first to carry out the anti-imperialist stage of the revolution, then the anti-feudal, in order to be able subsequently to turn to the tasks of the socialist revolution. This formula might have been valid for our country at the time of the armed struggle of the people, led by General Sandino, against the armed intervention of North American imperialism (1927-1934), but certainly not later.

The fact is that the "mechanical" kinship with the above-mentioned formula of the tendencies which the Party had to combat concealed something far more dangerous—complacency, the turning of the Party into a debating club, whose members held forth on the struggle against imperialism but did nothing to further this struggle against imperialist domination.

It is true, of course, that U.S. imperialism is the principal enemy of our people as it is of all the peoples of the world. Nicaragua is depending on U.S. imperialism economically, politically and cultur-

ally. The country's debt to Wall Street bankers is in excess of \$100 million. The United States controls our foreign trade. It has turned Nicaragua into a center of provocations and aggression against Cuba.

Nevertheless, at the predest stage of the revolutionary struggle the *immediate principal enemy* is the Somoza dictatorship—the direct instrument of imperialist domination. We cannot put an end to Nicaragua's dependence without first putting an end to the Somoza dynasty. The anti-Somoza, democratic stage of the revolution is undoubtedly closely interwoven with its anti-imperialist trends. The two stages should not be mechanically separated. Still, the main direction of the popular movement and, consequently, of our Party is—or should be—the fight to overthrow the military dictatorship and to win democratic rights. Unlike all the talk in justification of inactivity, cloaked in anti-imperialist radicalism, this does not signify turning over the leadership of the revolutionary movement to the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois opposition. On the contrary, this orientation presupposes a struggle for the hegemony of the consistently revolutionary forces, presupposes imparting to the democratic and anti-regime movement a radical, anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist content.

The elaboration of this concept (it also determines bold vanguard tactics) can be regarded as a victory for the Marxist-Leninist ideology in our ranks.

THE MOTIVE FORCES OF THE REVOLUTION

In our opinion the Nicaraguan revolution is a democratic, anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist revolution aimed at establishing a people's government to enact fundamental democratic and anti-feudal reforms, meaning agrarian reform, liberation of foreign trade from foreign dependence, annulment of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty,* nationalization of the mining industry, abolition of illiteracy (64 per cent of the population are still illiterate). In other words, a government that would lead Nicaragua along the highroad of independent development, give her the possibility to advance to-

*This treaty (1914) granted the U.S.A. monopoly rights to build an inter-ocean canal on the territory of Nicaragua.—Ed.

wards socialism, with due regard for our specific features and in conformity with the correlation of forces on the national and international arena.

The character of the revolution determines its social base. Potentially, it is an exceptionally broad one, although the democratic forces are still dispersed and unorganized. Naturally the social sections most interested in the victory of the revolution are those suffering the greatest exploitation: the working class and the peasantry.

The working class in Nicaragua is, numerically, one of the smallest in Latin America. According to the official statistics there are only 40,000 wage workers (out of a gainfully employed population of 600,000). It is, then, a working class still in the process of formation. As yet it has not become a "class for itself." Its trade union and political organization is still weak. The sole exceptions are the building workers and dockers, but they are controlled by the vertical unions, which in turn, are controlled by ORIT, the pro-imperialist trade union center.

Strictly speaking, it is only now that the Party has begun to make real efforts to win over the urban workers and the very numerous agricultural laborers (employed on coffee, cotton and sugar plantations). We are gradually overcoming the harmful tendency—in our view a continental one—to regard the working class as a problem that has been "solved," as a "naturally" revolutionary class, always marching in the van. (R. Otero discussed this point in the July 1967 issue of this journal.)

At the same time it should be noted that our working class has demonstrated *in practice* that it is the motive force of the revolutionary movement. It was the miners in San Albino, armed and led by General Sandino, who in 1927 started the war of liberation against the armed intervention of the United States. Also widely known are the strike actions of the building workers and dockers. Moreover, we now have a party of the working class, based on Marxism-Leninism, a party which, despite its mistakes, has sustained the revolutionary spirit of the working class, peasants, students and the professional revolutionaries who staunchly withstood the tyranny and brutal repressions of the regime. All this gives us the right to speak of the vanguard role of the working class in our revolution.

The biggest problem at the moment is posed by the peasantry. Nicaragua's economy is based on agriculture. Capitalist production relations have not yet penetrated into the countryside where small farming predominates. The landless peasants have in recent years started a movement for land, a movement which is merging with that of the thousands of small farmers who are being evicted from their plots.

The process of drawing the peasantry into socio-economic life has become particularly evident in the last two years. In 1965 the First National Peasant Conference was held, attended by more than 500 delegates representing over 60 organizations. In January 1967 the Confederation of Peasants and Agricultural Laborers was founded. These organizations unite the most active sections of the rural working people under the leadership of our Party. In the past, however, the Party's "wait-and-see" attitude and its conservative methods caused no little harm. As stated in the resolutions of the June CC meeting: "The absence of a clear Party policy with respect to the struggle of the peasantry; the assumption that we would be able in one way or another to influence the Agrarian Institute to solve their immediate demands, are among the direct causes of the crisis in the peasant movement..." What is more, we had to combat attempts in our own ranks to prevent the diffusion of revolutionary ideas, to conceal the activity and program documents of the Party, to hamper the establishment of Communist branches among the peasants. In some cases the argument was that the peasantry was not mature enough for political activity, in others that since their outlook was influenced by religion and by traditional respect for "strong personalities" they would not stay with us in the long run. And lastly, wide use was made of the defeatist thesis that "reprisals would be unleashed against the Party in the event of the police discovering that we were forming branches in the countryside." It was only when the peasant movement, its organization and militant spirit sharply flagged that the correct line triumphed.

Be that as it may, the peasantry have joined the revolutionary struggle, thereby proving that they are one of the principal motive forces of the revolutionary process in our country, a force acting in close alliance with the working

class under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

The situation with regard to the other potentially revolutionary forces—the students, intellectuals, petty-bourgeoisie and some sections of the national bourgeoisie—is in general terms similar to that in a number of other countries of the continent. The political actions of these sections—although restricted to their vanguard groups—and their support of the policy of joint action with the Party speak of the revolutionary possibilities of these sections and groups.

All the aforesaid relates to the historical and social character of the motive forces of the revolution and its vanguard. Now a few words about the concrete political and immediate practical aspects of this question.

TO WHOM DOES THE VANGUARD ROLE BELONG?

For a long time this disturbing question was reduced in the Party documents to the formula, widely current on the continent, that since we are the party of the working class the vanguard role therefore automatically belongs to us, and to us alone.

But other forces, too, lay claim to this role, for example, the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie, whose most politically articulate spokesman in our country is the Sandino National Liberation Front.

Reality obliged us to reject this convenient and *pretentious phraseology* which concealed political inactivity. We realized that the vanguard role is something that has to be proved and won. We saw the justice of Lenin's words: "For it is not enough to call ourselves the 'vanguard' . . . We must act in such a way that *all* the other contingents recognize and are obliged to admit that we are marching in the vanguard." First of all—to act, to head the masses, their revolutionary struggle. Only in this way, and not by monotonously repeating pseudo-theoretical formulas can this or that political organization affirm its vanguard role. "Vanguard of the revolutionary movement" is not a juridical status based on some document. It is a concrete attitude to revolutionary action, a clear and effective political line and flexible tactics. How much effort was needed, however, before the Party realized this simple truth! How many mistakes did we make because of our complacent and dogmatic

attitude! For whereas in words we did not accept that anybody could so much as dispute our vanguard role, in practice we calmly relinquished it to other forces, including even the parties of the bourgeoisie.

Fighting in the ranks of the Nicaraguan revolutionary movement, along with our Party, are the Party of Republican Mobilization, the Sandino National Liberation Front, the Independent Liberal Party and the Revolutionary Action Party (the latter has practically disappeared). Although these organizations have concluded agreements with each other on joint action on concrete issues these agreements have never crystallized into an integral system and have never acquired an essential quality.

In our policy of alliances we have made some important changes recently. We have rejected the tendency which while recognizing in words the need for unity in the interests of the revolution, maintained at the same time that this unity must be based on unconditional acceptance of our program. By this imposing our terms on other organizations we, in effect, removed the possibility of achieving unity of the revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces.

"Our Party," the Central Committee noted in its statement of June 11, 1967, "has clearly defined the 'Plan of Basic Reforms' as the objective of the entire present stage of the revolution, as the minimum program of an anti-oligarchy, anti-imperialist and democratic government, the realization of which would open the way directly to the socialist tasks. At the same time . . . it would be incorrect to make this 'Plan' the program base of the *immediate* phase of the revolutionary struggle, the phase of the struggle whose democratic, anti-dynasty and anti-oligarchy character presupposes the accomplishment of other . . . more immediate and feasible tasks facing the democratic movement of our country." This approach will make it possible to give the democratic, anti-Somoza movement more of a mass character, to equip it with a minimum program that is less complex and more accessible to the political and social groups opposed, in one form or another, to the Somoza dictatorship.

As a result of this regrouping of political forces, in the course of their joint actions and in the application by the

Party of a correct policy of alliances, the effective vanguard of the movement takes shape. We do not doubt that our Party will qualify for this role.

THE WAY TO REVOLUTION AND THE FORMS OF STRUGGLE

The Seventh National Conference of our Party stated that the overthrow of the dictatorship must take place through the armed struggle of the people, organized and led by the Party. We were guided and continue to be guided by the Leninist thesis that Marxism recognizes all forms of struggle, that it does not invent the forms and that it draws conclusions from the experience gained. Later, the Eighth Conference (1964) noted that the armed struggle should be based on the mass movement, that it should derive from the popular struggle at all levels. This viewpoint was reflected in the watchword: "Rely on the masses!" It was decided that the Party should be ready for all forms of struggle, to change from one form to another, depending on the circumstances.

The resolutions, however, did not establish the concrete forms the armed struggle should take, did not indicate the basic forms and the subsidiary.

Later the abstract character of these resolutions and also the ideological struggle against the Leftist tendencies in the movement engendered the concept that active preparation for armed struggle would force the Party to adopt an adventurist stance, and that this, in turn, would open the doors to the ideology of the radical petty bourgeoisie. As a result, the resolutions were not carried out.

At the same time the Party exaggerated the "constitutionality" of the Schick puppet regime. In particular, it did not think it necessary to maintain a clandestine organization to ensure the safety and continuity of Party work, although the political barometer in the country clearly indicated that a military regime was on its way back. Even while urging the people to be vigilant in the face of the reactionary offensive, the Party justified its indecision on the grounds that the government would not persecute our organization since it knew that we had not organized or participated in any armed movement. Alas, the events of January 22, 1967 were to reveal our

terrible weakness. It was only thanks to our prompt decisions (taken at the eleventh hour) and to the relative slowness with which the reprisals were begun, that we were able to save our organization from catastrophe. Nonetheless, the full weight of the reprisals were hurled against the Communists.

These events taught the Party a great deal. Along with the at times even more dramatic experience of other countries and parties (recall the events in the Dominican Republic after April 1965), our own experience showed that the theses about the Party's readiness to "use all forms of struggle," its ability "rapidly to switch from one form to another" should be something more than mere theoretical formulas, that they should have a clear practical content. It was in the spirit of the newly acquired experience that the June (1967) meeting of the Central Committee called on the Party to prepare concretely for armed struggle, proceeding from the fact that the activity of the Party and also the actions of other revolutionary groups would sharpen the political antagonisms in the country, and that any consistently democratic and revolutionary movement would be bound to lead to a revolutionary situation necessitating the highest forms of struggle. "The revolutionary perspective of our movement obliges the party of the Nicaraguan Communists to prepare to take its place in the van of the struggle and not to limp behind, and least of all behind events," so runs the resolution of the June meeting. These resolutions are a call to discard the ill-starred policy of "simulate death and they won't kill you."

The problem of the forms and methods of struggle, the correlation between armed struggle and the mass movement, continue to be widely discussed in our country as in all other countries of Latin America. We think it would be wrong mechanically to separate the armed struggle from the mass movement, and to oppose the one to the other. The armed struggle in Nicaragua in its diverse forms should be a continuation of the mass movement, otherwise it would be doomed to failure. On the other hand, as noted in the resolutions of the Central Committee, if the mass movement is to achieve its objectives it must in its development acquire the character of armed struggle. The nature of the existing regime, the

methods of its government admit of no other alternative.

GUERRILLA DETACHMENTS, SELF-DEFENSE AND INSURRECTION

What concrete forms will the armed struggle take in our country, what will be the main forms and what the secondary? These are questions for which we still have no clear answer. But we are making headway in our study of this problem, drawing on our experience.

Some consider that guerrilla warfare is the only form that should be employed to overthrow the oligarchic governments and imperialist domination in Nicaragua and throughout the continent. We think that this is an over-simplified view and one, moreover, that does not take into account the conditions and exigencies of our national life.

Much has changed in our countries in recent years and these changes must be taken into account when elaborating tactics designed to lead to victory. It is true that between 1927 and 1934 the forces led by Sandino waged a successful guerrilla struggle against U.S. occupation. Today, however, the struggle is not against direct foreign intervention. The mountain areas, formerly the stronghold of the Sandino forces, are no longer inaccessible. They are now intersected by highways, dotted with military airfields and bases for training counter-guerrilla units, and swarm with Somoza secret agents. The greater part of the peasantry is still under the influence of reaction and it is hard to imagine that they will immediately support the guerrilla detachments. And as we know, this support is absolutely essential.

Such is the reality which must be critically examined and which refutes the concept of the guerrilla detachment as something introduced into the village from the outside and consisting of people from the towns who are alien to the peasants. Nicaragua offers a wealth of experience in this respect. These were the features characteristic of the guerrilla groups organized in Raudales de Chale Haslam, El Dorado, El Chaparral, Bocaycito and in other areas. But all were quickly crushed by the National Guard (sometimes with the help of peasants). No less significant were the events associated with the formation of another guerrilla center in the summer of 1967.

This does not mean, of course, that in principle we consider a victorious guerrilla struggle in Nicaragua impossible. Even as things are, a guerrilla struggle can develop in the mountains and it could end in victory, but on the sole condition that it is supported by the rural masses who are only now beginning to organize and who are not yet conscious of the need for more radical forms of struggle. The eviction of the peasants from their land, which is accompanied by brutal reprisals, has started an armed and unarmed *self-defense* mass movement. Originating practically spontaneously, this movement shows all the signs of spreading. As yet the peasant is fighting for his own property. For the peasant his little plot is what the earth was to Antaeus, it is his all, the basic factor of his physical existence. Hence, to him self-defense means fighting for his land, on his land, together with the members of the family. And it is at this stage that the work of the Party and the other revolutionary organizations should operate as a powerful and important factor. It is this subjective factor that is designed to transform the peasants' movement into a conscious and organized force, to help it pass from the struggle in defense of their own property to the revolutionary battle for the radical reconstruction of agrarian relations. In the process of this activity the self-defense movement can become a guerrilla mass movement that will be able, in close alliance with the urban workers, to destroy the oligarchy, the pro-imperialist regime. For it is obvious that singlehanded self-defense cannot radically change the situation in the country. If the struggle marks time at this level the peasants will become exhausted and it will be easy to crush their resistance.

The orientation on work with the masses and the principle of combining all forms of struggle are imperative and the earnest of the victory of our revolution. The orientation on armed struggle in its diverse forms as the way to win power in Nicaragua does not mean that we reject legal work among the masses.

The June meeting of the Central Committee approved the following decisions on work among the peasantry:

1) to take immediate measures to reinforce and enlarge the Party branches in the countryside, which represent the highest form of organization of the peas-

ant masses; the branches are designed to direct the mass movement and the illegal struggle, vigorously to support and stimulate the militant spirit of the peasantry, to link, through the practical day-to-day struggle, our general policy of revolutionary transformations with the immediate demands of the peasant masses;

2) to create and consolidate the different legal organizations waging a struggle in defense of the specific demands of the peasants, systematically and boldly to use their experience so as to win the peasant masses to the side of the anti-imperialist, agrarian and democratic revolution;

3) to develop a propaganda campaign in the countryside under the leadership of the clandestine Party branches, and to make known to the peasants and agricultural workers our program for solving the agrarian question;

4) to make the most of existing possibilities for legal work, to find and develop new forms and methods, in particular, to press for the application of those points of the existing agrarian law which correspond—even though to a limited extent—with the interests of the peasants;

5) to promote the political and ideological education of the peasants—members and sympathizers of the Party—on the basis of a study of our reality, of the movement for agrarian reform and of Party problems;

6) to elaborate an effective self-defense plan in the regions where the circumstances make this necessary; to maintain **this form of struggle** we must create a powerful system of Party organizations, with deep roots among the masses, that will ensure the material funds for self-defense.

The Party is giving attention also to other possible forms of struggle such as, for example, a popular uprising that could decide the fate of the regime. The very character of the regime, the brutal, dictatorial methods of its administration, the reactionary and anti-national policy of the government in all spheres of its activity, the injury it has done to the various social groups in the country, the fact that it is not the usual type of bourgeois dictatorship, that it represents the power of a tyrannical dynasty which does not voice even the interests of a considerable part of the bourgeoisie—all this is instilling such hatred among

the people, raising the "pressure in the boiler" to the point that an explosion might take the form of a popular uprising. This is one of the possible perspectives engendered by life. This is yet another example showing why the question of the forms and methods of struggle should not be approached in a narrow, sectarian way, fitting the solution of this complex problem into an ossified tactical scheme.

We cannot say that we have all the answers to the questions. Our work, the future actions of the masses will engender ever new forms of struggle, possibly unexpected ones. The main thing, in our view, is boldly to advance, not to give way to despair, to adventurism, not to become passive. The main thing at present is to strengthen the Party organizationally, raise its ideological level, mould cadres capable of heading the revolution and directing the struggle to consolidate the revolutionary power and to effect revolutionary reforms. It is also important to promote the development of a really *mass movement* everywhere, a movement that would be the cornerstone of the revolutionary process, the indispensable base of the revolutionary struggle, no matter in what form it is waged. And lastly, if we are to be victorious *unity* of the revolutionary, patriotic and democratic forces is essential. We do not close our eyes to the existing disagreements, to the differences in criteria and tactics. But we believe that it is necessary and possible to achieve unity of action by taking a joint stand on those issues on which our views coincide, leaving aside for the time being those on which we are unable as yet to reach full agreement.

Such are the three basic tasks of the Communists at the present stage. We know that they will not be easy to accomplish.

On the other hand, we are fully aware of the importance of the global problems affecting the international Communist and revolutionary movement and which are reflected, in one way or another, in our internal life. The optimal conditions for the development of the revolution in our country depend to a considerable degree on the international situation, on the correlation of forces on the international arena, on the unity and cohesion—or the division and dissociation—of the progressive forces of the world. "Today, as never before," states the

resolution of the June meeting, "the Communists must achieve unity of action on a regional, continental and world scale, in order to deliver new and powerful blows to the common enemies of the people, the enemies of peace and social progress, of democracy and socialism."

In affirming this we are not guided by the eclectic notion of denying the existence of profound differences and rushing to achieve a formal unity. In all cases unity must be based on Marxist-Leninist principles, on a collective analysis of the problems of common strategy and on respect for the decisions taken by the respective contingents of the movement.

The Party is elaborating these and other important questions of theory and revolutionary methodology in close connection with national problems, drawing on the experience of other revolutionary movements, on the experience of the Communists of other countries.

Our Party is just beginning to affirm itself as a truly Marxist-Leninist organization, as the principal instrument in the revolutionary process in Nicaragua, the force ready to become the vanguard of the popular movement and the revolution in order radically to enhance the role of the working class in the struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism. Before we could begin to move in this direction we had to contend with big difficulties, self-critically to examine our former positions, our mistakes and defeats. At the CC meeting in April 1967 the Party made several changes in its leading committees.

We are only beginning to reap the fruits of these efforts. We should like to end this article with the following excerpt from the document, "For a Truly Vanguard Party," published on the occasion of the Twenty-Third anniversary of the founding of our organization:

"The Communist Party of Nicaragua meets its twenty-third anniversary equipped with a sound political line... rapidly restoring its prestige in the eyes of the people, in the eyes of the Communist, working class and revolutionary organizations of the world. It is our Party, its members, filled with a militant spirit, revolutionary confidence and the firm resolve to follow their leaders in the fight to carry out their historical mission, that will play the vanguard role in the revolutionary process in our country."

Haiti and the revolution

SAINTIGENE GUILLAUME

A meeting of the Central Committee of the People's Unity Party of Haiti held last May discussed the situation in the country, the political line of the Party and organizational measures designed to improve its work and to further the struggle for liberation.

The meeting was significant in the sense that for the first time a national political organization defined, on the basis of a clear and objective analysis of the internal and the international situation, the steps to be taken to get rid of the Duvalier dictatorship, to abolish the semi-feudal pro-imperialist re-

This struggle is not the subjective choice of the Party, for it has been imposed on our people by those reactionaries in Haiti who exercise their political power in a way that precludes anything like legal channels.

The struggle has been imposed on us by the U.S. imperialists, the accomplices of Duvalier. They deny the people's right to put an end to absolutism, and are ready to intervene in the internal affairs of our country irrespective of the forms of our liberation struggle.

And lastly, the way of armed struggle has been imposed on our people by the misery to which semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism have condemned them—privation, a high mortality rate, malnutrition, illiteracy.

TEN YEARS OF THE DUVALIER DICTATORSHIP

"In the past ten years the Duvalier dictatorship has inflicted heavy blows on our people. Although Duvalier continues the line of the previous dictators he, more than of his predecessors, has been instrumental in abolishing our national sovereignty, in reinforcing the power of the feudal lords and other oppressors, and in aggravating the crisis of our society and its antagonisms to the extreme."*

TERROR AS A METHOD OF GOVERNMENT

In order to maintain its predatory policy, which affects all classes, the Du-

*Here and elsewhere quotations are from the document of the May (1967) meeting of the Central Committee of the People's Unity Party.



gime, and repel imperialist intervention against the just struggle of our people for bread and freedom.

The meeting underscored that the tactical ways could be considered only in the context of armed struggle. It was essential, the meeting noted, for the Party, for all the democratic forces to prepare for a revolutionary armed struggle.

valier clique has set up a monstrous repressive machine. The regime's shock force are the Tontons Macoutes, Duvalier's praetorian guard, who are used in the struggle against the people without any legal or moral restrictions. They are posted at all links of the machinery of state which has thus become the direct instrument of the violence. The public have no protection whatever against these marauders.

The axis of this terror machine is the "president for life" himself, a power-hungry cynic who thirsts for blood and who has often taken part in torturing political prisoners. Reprisals, a daily occurrence, are applied against workers, students, intellectuals, bourgeois, servicemen, peasants, Catholics, Protestants and Communists, and against the families and friends of the prisoners.

INTENSIFICATION OF FEUDAL OPPRESSION

Forcible sequestration of property, and forced labor are widespread in the countryside. The top officialdom, who have waxed rich on direct plunder, have become part of the traditional landlord-feudal class constituting the backbone of the regime.

The more than half a million landless peasant families constitute an army of semi-serf and seasonal workers, who receive virtually no remuneration for their labor. About 175,000 tenant farmers with plots of two hectares or so own a mere 10 per cent of the land, whereas 3,000 big landowners own 70 per cent.

This system of landownership explains the destitution of our peasantry and the plight of our agriculture. Export of coffee, the staple crop, decreased from an annual 30,000 tons in 1950-56 to 23,000 tons in 1961-66.

BUTTRESSING IMPERIALISM

Dreaming of turning Haiti into a second Puerto Rico, Duvalier has granted the U.S. monopolies all kinds of privileges which enable them to fleece the country. The concessions granted to Caribbean Mills, West Indies Fruit, Compagnie Vachon and Hampco are a case in point. In 1957 the Reynolds Aluminium Mining Company received a concession to mine bauxite (400,000-500,000 tons a year). The U.S.-Canadian group

SEDREN has been mining copper since 1960. Both these products, accounting for 18 per cent of our exports, are taken out of the country duty-free.

Hampco exports \$1.5 million worth of meat annually although Haiti can ill afford it, having only 640,000 head of cattle. The fact that Hampco and Minoterie belong to Bobby Baker, a man of notoriety in political and business circles in Washington, who until recently was closely associated with the Administration and President Johnson's family, throws added light on the community of interests between imperialism and its henchman, Duvalier.

In 1955 foreign monopolies controlled 20 per cent of our export; today the figure is 60 per cent. The growth of our foreign debt is making our economy increasingly dependent on the International Monetary Fund, which is run by the United States.

IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE MASSES

Way back in 1959 the Party sounded the alarm in its Program Manifesto: "Our country is bankrupt, things are going to rack and ruin. Either we fight back or we perish."

In the eight years since then the picture has become even more grim. The standard of living has declined to a point endangering the very physical existence of large numbers of the population. The national income per capita (\$70) is steadily shrinking.

In 1950-55 exports totalled \$50 million a year; in 1960-65 they were down to \$35 million. Budget revenue for the same period dropped from \$30 million to \$23 million.

Haiti, under the double yoke of imperialism and feudalism, has the "privilege" of figuring as the most backward country on the Latin-American continent, and one of the poorest in the world. And the corrupt regime of Papa Doc is plunging it deeper still into the slough of misery and destitution.

COMMUNISTS FIGHT THE DICTATORSHIP

The tragedy that has befallen our society has engendered different reactions among the public.

The over-riding one is fear. Wracked by hunger, terrorized by the secret po-

lice, helpless in the face of their oppressors, many have resigned themselves to their fate. Submission and inertia have taken the place of struggle. Thousands are emigrating to Africa, Canada, the USA and Europe.

Many among the urban population long for deliverance from the Duvalier nightmare. The Communists, the most consistent fighters against the dictatorship, are waging a valiant struggle, risking their lives at every step.

Despite heavy losses, the Party is continuing its work, urging and encouraging the people to resistance. It distributes leaflets and other clandestine publications; for the past four years its newspaper, *Voice of the People*, has appeared regularly twice a month.

Of late the Party's activity has entered a new phase, that of armed action with limited, concrete objectives. It took action in April last year to foil the celebrations for the 60th birthday of the tyrant. Revolutionary punitive groups have ambushed Duvalier's police, among them Lysius Jacques, deputy chief of the palace guard; they set fire to the estates of the big landowners in the Cul de Sac region.

These actions caused an unprecedented internal crisis in the Duvalier setup. Fearing a conspiracy among his immediate associates, the tyrant had 19 officers of his bodyguard shot. Many officers, ministers and deputies were arrested or sought refuge in foreign embassies.

This is the first time that the Left have taken the offensive, thereby directly influencing the political situation in the country. However, this is only the beginning. Many Haitians, still in the grip of fear, find it hard to believe that there are people in the country who are ready for action against Duvalier. Our Party therefore sees its task as one of stimulating the liberation struggle, of proving to the people that the Communists, jointly with all genuine patriots and fighters for the people's cause, can overthrow the dictatorship and replace it with a people's regime.

A DIFFICULT PROCESS

The establishment of the Duvalier dictatorship caught the democratic forces unawares. True, they were very weak at the time. The trade union movement had only come into being and there were no student organizations of any kind.

The few individual Marxists were isolated and had no militant perspective.

In response to the police terror and influenced by the revolutionaries in the Sierra Maestra, the first Communist groups were formed among workers, intellectuals and students.

The Manifesto put out by the Party in 1959 was enthusiastically received by the progressives. It defined the aims and showed how they could be realized, it also showed the principal stages of Haitian development and the organizational forms the situation required at the time. The Party urged a united front of the entire nation to fight imperialism and feudalism, and to win a new independence and establish a people's democratic government.

Even though underground, the Party participated in the formation of a broad democratic movement and began to work among the peasantry and the industrial workers.

The authorities retaliated immediately against the nascent Left organizations. The National Student Union was dissolved. Many revolutionaries were persecuted and killed, among them Jacques Stephen Alexis, founder of the Party.

In 1963 the Party united with the People's Party of National Liberation (PPLN) and the National League of Resistance Committees to form the United Democratic Front of National Liberation (UDFNL).

We, for our part, were eager to work jointly with the PPNL, which declared that it, too, adhered to Marxism-Leninism. Together, we achieved considerable success in consolidating the Trade Union Center founded in 1959, and which right up to 1963 opposed the dictatorship. The Front, for its part, was in favor of waging the anti-Duvalier, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle on a wider plane.

MILITANT FRONT

It was precisely because the UDFNL failed to adopt more active forms of struggle called for by the times that it was unable to rally the masses and become a real united front of all sections of the population anxious for national liberation. In 1965 heavy blows were struck the Front (now called the United Party of Haitian Democrats), paralyzing its activity for a while.

This first experiment in establishing a

united front showed that mass actions in one or another form are essential if a political alliance of progressive organizations is to be effective. "A united national anti-feudal and anti-imperialist front can be achieved only on the basis of a dynamic concept of the revolutionary movement."

Our task today is to recreate the national front—which is an effective weapon—on the basis of the UDFNL program and within the framework of an armed organization, which, in present-day conditions, can more effectively than any other rally patriots not belonging to the vanguard.

This view of the process of dynamic integration of the Front, which evolved from our early experience, enabled us to overcome the confusion in the UDFNL and in the Party as to whether the Front should be anti-dictator or anti-imperialist. The CC meeting answered this question as follows: "The different aspects of the revolutionary process in Haiti form a *structural unity*, but it is necessary to differentiate between their relatively independent levels." Bearing in mind that the Duvalier regime is abhorred by all the people, that it is the product and instrument of semi-feudal and semi-colonial domination, the masses can be drawn into the revolutionary and national movement through an armed struggle against the dictatorship. "*The armed front is therefore designed to become, in view of its organization and discipline, the broadest form of a people's union, including patriots of all trends and having an unequivocal revolutionary line and clearly defined leadership.*"

THE OBJECTIVE NECESSITY FOR ARMED STRUGGLE

The CC meeting acknowledged that "as regards the forms of struggle against the Duvalier tyranny, our Party constantly vacillated, showed an inadequate understanding of the Leninist theses which we failed properly to apply to our conditions."

While declaring that we supported "all forms of struggle" we failed to *prepare for armed struggle*. We considered that the essential thing was to focus on tasks that are invariably a component of revolutionary activity but are not primary in the concrete conditions of so brutal and despotic a regime as the Duvalier regime.

We posed the question of armed struggle as "one of the possibilities," depending "on the development of the situation" and the attitude of the ruling classes. This was a relativist approach, one that did not correspond to our conditions, for in our conditions armed struggle is an historically permanent category of the political struggle. The regime of the ruling classes, at present embodied in Duvalier, is a regime of brutal violence thereby closing all avenues to a non-violent way out of the present situation. They have thus engendered the *objective necessity* for armed struggle by the masses.

Lenin stressed that "an oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves" (*Works*, Vol. 23, p. 80).

Another mistake led us to assume that armed struggle could begin only with the eruption—in the future—of a political crisis, a revolutionary situation such as described by Lenin. Only in these conditions, we maintained, would revolutionary violence be justified. But a national crisis has *already* matured in Haiti, the decline of the regime is evident. And these conditions engender a revolutionary potential of exceptional force. The violence of the secret police is so outrageous that even people far removed from Marxism now realize that only by force of arms will it be possible to oust Duvalier.

TO RALLY THE ENTIRE PEOPLE

Our Party is a young party. Our activists and leaders represent the first generation of people in Haiti advocating Marxism-Leninism. We are, of course, greatly indebted to our predecessors, particularly Jacques Roumain, the founder of the Communist movement in Haiti, who showed our people the road charted by Marx and Lenin. However, since it is a matter of the concrete problems of struggle, organization and tactics, we had to learn as we went along, sometimes paying dearly for our mistakes.

Our Party grew in the process of revolutionary struggle, trying to apply in the concrete conditions of Haiti the universal doctrine of the world proletariat, and the experience of all peoples, particularly the peoples of Latin Ame-

rica and Cuba, which is building socialism less than 80 kilometres from our country.

THROUGH POLITICAL WORK TO ARMED STRUGGLE

Recognizing the need for armed struggle as the decisive form of revolutionary action in Haiti, our Party advanced the following guiding principle: "Greater political work among the masses must be the pivot of the preparations for the armed struggle." We must make the most of the negligible opportunities for legal work, carry on underground activity as effectively as possible, do everything to strengthen our Party and awaken the political consciousness of as many people as possible. At the same time we clearly realize, that only dynamic actions can overcome the fear and the inertia.

The Party is tempering real fighters for national freedom and socialism. "It is far more difficult — and far more precious," wrote Lenin, "to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle *do not yet exist* . . ." (Works, Vol. 31, p. 97.)

"In the preparations for armed revolutionary struggle," state the decisions of the May CC meeting, "our Party proceeds from the concepts of a *people's war*, which necessitates a *people's army* to develop actions over a long period; what is more, the rural areas must become the principal theatre of operations . . . Such a people's army cannot be created overnight, it must take shape gradually, proceeding from our existing forces and possibilities and by applying the appropriate forms of struggle and actions." Our peasant activists and our proletarian vanguard should initiate a broad "fugitive movement" which will help arouse a spirit of indignation and action in the ranks of our principal political ally and make for the establishment of a worker-peasant alliance already at this level.

"FUGITIVES"—GUERRILLAS— PEOPLE'S WAR

The "fugitive" tactic adopted by our Party dates from the glorious traditions of the people's struggle in Haiti. During the period of slavery the Negroes who ran away to the mountains formed

groups of fugitives who at night descended into the villages where the slaves lived and sowed the seeds of revolt. These actions became the forerunners of the powerful uprising that laid the foundation of the Haitian nation in 1804.

Later the actions of fugitive Negroes were often an expression of the dissatisfaction of the masses. Thus, when the U.S. occupied Haiti in 1915, the Negro fugitive movement, which grew into a powerful guerrilla war of 5,000 men led by Charlemagne Peralte, spread to a third of the country's territory. The "fugitives" skilfully used the advantages offered by the mountainous terrain to mount "mobilizing" actions which subsequently developed into a broad armed struggle.

"Taking into account modern technical means, the theory and practice of counter-guerrilla warfare, the experience accumulated by the fraternal peoples, specifically, the Vietnam people, and particularly the situation in Haiti," we read in the document of the CC meeting, "it should be noted that a movement of fugitives in our time has more of a political than a military perspective. However, it should help to rally the hungry masses in our country."

The beginning of guerrilla action which would head the general dissatisfaction in a military-political direction, could act as a powerful spur to rallying the peasants for a national-liberation army. Our Party fully realizes that guerrilla warfare is one of the highest forms of the mass struggle. The guerrilla movement can become invincible only if it springs from the masses, and expresses their aspirations.

ADAPTING OUR ORGANIZATION TO THE EXIGENCIES OF THE STRUGGLE

These tactical concepts call for a series of new measures to organize and reinforce political work. Preparations to carry out military assignments, and their realization is the duty of all Party activists (just as agitational work is the duty of all propagandists). We must not regard the Party leadership as a purely political body, as something apart from the military headquarters. In our conditions the Party leadership must become the general military-political headquarters, capable of leading the masses in all circumstances.

The people would never forgive us if we failed to understand the logic of violence preached and practised by the ruling classes of Haiti in the more than 160 years of its existence as a national state. The underground organization of the Party must become a military-political organization if it is to be effective in the armed struggle and ensure its influence in the propaganda, agitational and political educational work essential to giving effect to the Party's tactics and strategy.

RESISTANCE TO IMPERIALISM AND ITS HENCHMEN

We must be ready to foil the machinations of imperialism and its henchmen among the traditional opposition. Determined to prevent our people achieving their aims, U.S. imperialism and its Haitian yes-men are resorting to all means to preserve the regime of oppression even after Duvalier disappears from the scene. The CIA and Haitians in the United States are, accordingly, plotting all kinds of maneuvers (coup d'etat, armed intervention, assassination of the tyrant), to be carried out at the right moment. We must draw the necessary lessons from the events in the Dominican Republic and in our plans consider the possibilities of U.S. intervention and how to repel it. We must establish an effective military-political organization to direct a people's counter-offensive. It is a matter of reacting quickly to any political upheaval and in the ensuing situation to advance towards our national liberation goals of resolutely heading any spontaneous uprising of the people and being prepared at any moment, and at any price, to become the real vanguard.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

On the international plane, the tactical and strategic conclusions drawn by our Party imply systematic efforts to promote solidarity with the fraternal Dominican people and with the other peoples of Latin America. Our struggle must merge with the general stream of the continental revolution.

On the plane of the global struggle against imperialism, our Party seeks to strengthen its contact with the peoples of the three continents where the national-liberation struggle is on the upsurge,

with the proletarian masses fighting against the monopolies in the capitalist countries, and with the socialist camp. We want, too, to elaborate our own line with regard to the international Communist movement, in conformity with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, with the present requirements of the anti-imperialist struggle and the specific interests of our people.

Unity of the world Communist and revolutionary movement is indispensable for the liberation of our people, for the epic liberation movement of the peoples of the three continents still under the domination of imperialism and neo-colonialism. It is only in conditions of unity that the solidarity of the socialist countries with the struggle of the oppressed peoples can be effective.

At the 1960 Moscow meeting of the Parties our epoch was described as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism and the decline of imperialism. The main content of our epoch is the existence of the socialist camp opposed to world imperialism, the existence of the Soviet state which recently celebrated its glorious 50th anniversary. The growing strength of the socialist camp is a powerful factor restraining the imperialists who would otherwise unhesitatingly draw on their economic and technical resources in a desperate attempt to crush the liberation struggle of the peoples. As Rodney Arismendi has noted "the economic aid of the socialist camp, and the support of the Soviet Union in conjunction with firmness and unity of all people, with international solidarity, can serve to protect the independence of even small countries, can compel imperialism to renounce its aggressive plans and counter-revolutionary local wars, and make possible more effective forms of social emancipation."*

Thus liberation wars can end in victory for the peoples who have clashed directly with imperialism and the ruling classes. And the unity of the socialist camp, the coordination of efforts to render aid to the liberation movements are extremely important factors in making possible the victorious outcome of the peoples' struggle against imperialist plunder.

*Problems of a Continental Revolution. Moscow, 1964, p. 9.

OUR DUTY IS TO MAKE REVOLUTION

"Revolutions are not made to order," Lenin wrote, "they cannot be timed for any particular moment; they mature in the process of historical development and break out at a moment determined by a whole complex of internal and external causes." (*Works*, Vol. 27, p. 547.)

The objective conditions for revolution in Haiti have matured to a greater extent, may be, than in any other country of Latin America. The crisis of the regime is affecting both exploited and exploiters. The ruling classes in Haiti can no longer live and rule in the old way. In danger of losing their privileges, the exploiters have resorted to naked brutality thereby fashioning a delayed-action bomb that will inevitably explode in their own hands.

Those of the ruling classes who have been ousted by Duvalier are also eager for change. They have been hit hard by the decline in the national economy, by the tyranny of the landowners and by the excessive taxes and other aspects of the national crisis.

As for the "lower" classes, their position is simply intolerable. The spontaneous uprisings in Artibonita and in the Cul de Sac valley are indicative of the mood of the peasantry. It now rests with the revolutionaries, and the Com-

munists in the first place, when the people will take action.

It is in this sense that the call of the Second Havana Declaration is of particular importance to the revolutionaries of Haiti. Our duty, the duty of revolutionaries is to make revolution. We must help create the conditions that will make it possible for the exploited masses and the entire people to carry out a revolution that will not only sweep away the dictatorship but also the regime of semi-feudal and semi-colonial exploitation.

To do this, our Party must, jointly with the other progressive sections active in the UDFNL among the working class and the peasantry, be equal to the historical moment. We must learn to understand the wisdom of Lenin's words, spoken as early as 1905, that at times of crises the vanguard must be able to make the most of the revolutionary energy of the masses. "But it is essential that leaders of the revolutionary parties, too, should advance their aims more comprehensively and boldly at such a time, so that their slogans shall always be in advance of the revolutionary initiative of the masses, serve as a beacon, reveal to them our democratic and socialist ideal in all its magnitude and splendor, and show them the shortest and most direct route to complete, absolute and decisive victory." (*Works*, Vol. 9, p. 113.)

Chile: The real face of reformism

Twice under the Christian-Democratic government of President Frei, have arms been used against the working class: in March 1966 when troops opened fire on the premises of the El Salvador copper miners' union, killing five and wounding many more, and on November 23, 1967 during the 24-hour general strike in Santiago when six people were killed and many more wounded.

These facts hardly coincide with what was expected of a government which a little more than three years ago promised "revolution in liberty," a sort of

alternative to the revolutionary liberation movement in Latin America.

An objective analysis of the situation in Chile prompts the conclusion that this reformist alternative, linked with the Alliance for Progress, has been a fiasco; whatever the steps taken by the Frei government they have not led to any appreciable change.

The initial trend toward renovation has been replaced by the vacillations of the government, owing to the resistance of the reactionaries to any reform that might hurt their interests. The govern-

ment is dominated by the Right wing of the Christian-Democratic Party.

As before, the wages policy is directed against the workers. They are not receiving any compensation for the decline in real wages caused by the inflation. The agrarian reform is proceeding at a snail's pace. (Its passage through the legislative organs was considerably delayed because of the concessions to the landowners.)

The government pursues a policy of concessions and capitulation to U.S. imperialism, a policy of economic development through a tie-up with U.S. monopoly capital. Many U.S. companies have installed themselves in Chile in recent years, among them the Cerro Pasco, the Bank of America, American Cables, Continental Copper, Ralston Purina and Dow Chemical. The expansion of the petro-chemical, automobile and electronics industries will quite obviously be carried out with the participation of monopoly capital. It is therefore not surprising that the different investor companies dictate terms designed to guarantee their investments and secure still bigger profits. The International Monetary Fund, representing the interests of these companies, has imposed on Chile a policy which is steadily devaluating the national currency and drastically reducing the purchasing power of the people.

The government periodically resorts to devaluation to meet the interests of the imperialist companies. Thus, whereas in January 1965 the escudo exchanged at 2.85 to the dollar, today the rate is 6.56. The devaluation is being justified on the grounds that, apart from attracting foreign investments, it stimulates exports, especially of minerals, and that this, in turn, allegedly boosts production. But the marked decrease in mining production in recent years tells a different story. Taking the 1957 index as 100, we see that volume of production dropped from 165.7 per cent in July 1966 to 156.5 per cent in July 1967. The trend has been downward in oil, gold, silver, molybdenum, iron ore, magnesium, mercury, saltpetre, iodine and coal extraction. Thus, while devaluation means bigger profits for the imperialist companies, it turns the country's development plans into mere scraps of paper.

In its wages policy the government is carrying out the recommendations of the IMF, which state that the basic

cause for the marked rise in prices is the considerable increase in wages, which makes it imperative that the government pursue a more rigid wage policy.

This subordination to the demands of the IMF is reflected in the Wages Adjustment Bill submitted to parliament. The Chilean Trade Union Center noted in this connection that the Bill, which provides for any wage increase keeping behind the rise in the cost of living, compulsory saving, encroachments on social security, tax cuts for employers and increased indirect taxes, abolition of the right to negotiate, to submit petitions and to strike, is designed to finance employers at the expense of the workers and, anticipating protests, they want to abolish the right to strike.

The Trade Union Center, which includes the majority of the organized workers, raised the banner of resistance to these designs. Unity, based on trade union democracy, was achieved in the class battles that developed. On October 18, the federations affiliated to the Center held their first plenary meeting, and on November 2, a common platform of struggle was approved. It was widely discussed by the trade union members and received the mass support of the working people. By mid-November some 30 federations had voted for strike action. By November 23, the day fixed for the strike, the figure had increased to 42 national organizations.

About a million office and factory workers did not report for work that day. The strikers were joined by many shopkeepers and students, thus considerably broadening the social base of the movement. The strikers had the support of the Socialists and Communists and also of the Radicals. As for the Christian-Democratic Party, most of its members ignored the order of the leadership not to join the strike.

The government reacted to the strike movement by calling out troops, supported by light tanks. The troops mounted a "morning offensive," surrounding the workers' districts and a number of university buildings, including the Pedagogical Institute, considered the "center of subversive activity." The idea, clearly, was to intimidate the strikers and break the strike. These new tactics of street reprisals, closely related to the "anti-guerrilla warfare" tactics of U.S. origin, permit one to gauge the extent to which Pentagon methods have

penetrated since the inter-American defense system has gone into operation.

The "anti-subversion" methods are the government's answer to the workers' opposition to its wage policy, especially since this opposition is ultimately directed also against the diktat of the American-controlled IMF. The implications of this struggle should also be viewed in the general context of Washington's policy of reprisals and interference in Latin America.

Neither the violence against the strikers, nor the proceedings started by the government against the national leadership of the Trade Union Center have weakened the determination of the working class to continue the struggle. On the contrary, the plenary meeting of the TUC federations, held several days after the massacre, resolved: "To maintain complete and absolute unity, to hold public meetings to discuss the Wages Adjustment Bill and expose its reactionary and anti-labor character . . . The working class will take the necessary mass actions to defend their union, economic and social rights."

The military reprisals were unequivocally condemned by democratic organizations and public figures. Thus, the Faculties of Philosophy and Pedagogics of the University of Chile, for example, voiced their protest against "the brutal repressions to which our people have again been subjected . . ." and against "the violation of academic immunity, and the violence against the student body."

The Students' Federation whose leadership consists primarily of young Christian-Democrats, placed the responsibility for the events of November 23 on the government and called on the Trade Union Center to "promote worker-student solidarity on the basis of a platform of struggle that puts forward, besides the wages issue, the question of replacing the capitalist system with a system under which the working class would exercise control over the basic elements

of the country's political, economic and cultural life."

The Christian-Democratic government suffered a telling defeat also in the political field, that is, in the December 17 by-elections for the Senate in the southern provinces of Bio Bio, Malleco and Cautin. The Christian-Democrats were strongly entrenched in this region, having won three of the five Senate seats in 1965.

The Communist Party, in line with its policy of unity of all democratic forces, supported the candidacy of Professor Alberto Baltra, leader of the Left in the Radical Party. He had the support also of the Social-Democratic Party and the Left forces generally.

The electoral victory of the Left candidates upset all calculations and forecasts. It clearly demonstrated the scale of popular unity in the fight against the government's reactionary policy.

The Christian-Democratic leaders are now trying to ascribe their defeat to the "ebb" inevitable in the prestige of the men in power.

The present situation has accentuated the revolutionary role of the working class which has come out against a reactionary policy that benefits the interests of imperialism and the financial oligarchy, and is rallying to its side in a powerful resistance movement broad sections of the people, principally the peasants, office workers, students, intellectuals, shopkeepers and handicraftsmen.

The prime task now is to consolidate and broaden the unity. This process in which the unity between Socialists and Communists in the People's Action Front is the basic element, must be continued in order to frustrate all anti-democratic or putschist plans, the reactionary policy of the government and in order to offer a clear-cut and realistic alternative, namely, the conquest of power and the establishment of a really democratic anti-imperialist government.

Waldo ATIAS

The armed forces of the revolution in Colombia

Through October 1-5, 1967, the staff of the Communist-led Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), held a special meeting to draw up the balance sheet of the year's fight and to review the political situation in the country. It was the first assembly of its kind since the inaugural conference in May 1966.

This meeting of representatives of the patriotic forces who have stood fast despite the "extermination operations," acquired particular importance in view of the Lleras Restrepo government's arrogant determination to bring the entire life of the country under its control. It reviewed the economic and social state of affairs, defined the ways in which the patriot forces can establish closer relations with all sections of the population, and charted an optimistic perspective for their armed detachments which, despite the difficulties, are going from success to success.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

In January 1966 the Tenth Congress of the Party noted that "the country is experiencing a crisis of the entire oligarcho-parity system, and the only solution is to oust this regime and replace it with one that will clear the way to democracy and national liberation." Congress pointed out that the regime is becoming more and more reactionary. "The most brutal aspects of this tendency are the extermination operations against the peasant regions, the execution of revolutionaries without trial, the torture." The Tenth Congress resolved that the policy of the Colombian Communists must be to use all forms of struggle with the object of establishing a patriotic national liberation front. It concluded that the armed

movement in defense of the people's interests was fully justified. It noted further that although the armed struggle is not yet the principal form of struggle in Colombia, it will become such "as the class conflicts deepen and the national liberation movement advances."

Developments are bearing out the truth of these conclusions. The government has launched an offensive in the military, political and economic spheres, in the sphere of legislation, labor and education. Although Lleras Restrepo acts in the guise of reformism, his actions hit out at the people's interests. The recent constitutional reform designed to strengthen the executive apparatus; the anti-guerrilla actions against the peasant movement; the planned labor legislation directed against the working class; the ordering of tanks to the University campus — all these facts explain why there is in Colombia an armed movement which enjoys the support of the masses and is combined with revolutionary activity among the people generally. The political situation in the country (and also the maturity of our forces) has resulted in the emergence of a people's armed movement. The demagoguery of the bourgeoisie, of which Lleras Restrepo is spokesman, is aimed, in particular, at isolating the armed movement, neutralizing democratic circles and winning them over. The October meeting concluded that the existence of FARC, which has a decisive role to play in the political life of the country, is fully justified.

A YEAR IN THE LIFE OF FARC

The following recapitulation will give the reader an idea of developments in the period since the establishment of FARC:

—the operations extending from southern bases in the departments of Tolima and Huila, and the Caqueta region, to the departments of Valle del Cauca and Quindio in the central part of the country (March 1967) and to the department of Santander in the north (October 1967);

—the operations between June-October 1966, and between March-May 1967;

—the failure of operations "Cobra," "Estrella" and similar measures by the government;

—the creation of the so-called Ninth Task Force to combat FARC;

—the new aspects of the irregular war waged by the Army.

We shall dwell only on some of these features.

During 1966 and 1967 FARC made its mark on the political life of the country, compelling the Army Command, accustomed to describing the participants of the armed movement as "bandits," to begin to speak about the "guerrillas." Our armed struggle acquired a new quality with the establishment of FARC in April 1966, uniting the guerrilla forces operating in Marquetalia, Rio Chiquito, Pato, Guayabero, the 26th of September unit, and those of the southern part of Tolima (all formerly part of the Guerrilla Bloc of the South). During this period the operations of the units forming the people's army, were coordinated and directed by a staff headed by Manuel Marulanda Vélez, member of the Central Committee of the Party and Commander-in-Chief of FARC.

In March 1967 units operating from bases in the south mounted an offensive in the Central Cordillera, breaking through to the Valle del Cauca and Quindio departments, both densely populated and industrially developed areas. Quindio is one of the principal coffee growing areas in Colombia. Situated in the heart of the country these two departments, intersected by a motorway, link the east and west of Colombia. Hence their strategic importance. Last October FARC launched "Operation Che Guevara" in the Santander department, in the north of the country.

Thus, FARC is now operating in the south, in the central part of the country and in the north. While the government still pretends that it is not worried about the armed actions, the peasant forces, operating under the leadership of FARC,

are extending their radius of action. The methodical character of these operations and their duration are indicative of the deep social roots of the movement.

Confronted by this movement which is based on the peasants among whom the Communist Party has been carrying on work for many years, the government is trying to isolate it from the peasantry. Towards the end of 1967 the government launched, in answer to the October meeting of FARC, "operation Estrella" with troops of the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth brigades. Supported by aircraft, troops encircled the Sumapaz region, one of the most important rural areas in the central and northern part of the country. The peasants retaliated by marching on the capital, once again demonstrating that the Army will have to reckon with the peasants in any action taken against our armed movement.

FARC wants closer contact with the people, based on organization, unity and struggle. "We know that the fight of our people will be a long and difficult one, that it will require sacrifices and utmost devotion. Many of our men and commanders and also many champions of the people active on other fronts have fallen in this struggle. But we know that the oligarchy and imperialism cannot, and will not, solve the problems facing our people. The only way is the way of struggle, unity and militant action by all. The enemy can be defeated by a correct revolutionary policy, by the great force of organization, unity and struggle." (Political resolution of the first meeting of FARC staff.)

THE WAR DIRECTED FROM OUTSIDE

The meeting exposed imperialism's hand in the irregular war unleashed in Colombia. "The government's policy of reprisals," states the political resolution, "is based on the so-called preventive war against the population, elaborated by the government of the United States which finances this war for the most part. U.S. government officials have themselves said so recently. The North American plan of irregular warfare is being tried out in Colombia. Large areas of the country have been turned into zones of military operations where the rights of the people are trampled underfoot, where violence and terror are char-

acteristic of a government which describes itself as a 'reformer.' The Army has become a conglomerate of anti-guerrilla units, trained to see their own people as the sole enemy. At the same time, militarism with all its consequences as the instrument of the ultra Right and most ruthless forces is becoming stronger."

In the period under review, the imperialist intervention was stepped up. *El Espectador* reported on March 9, 1967: "The Army has signed a \$972,000 contract with U.S. Hughes Corporation for 12 helicopters, to be used in the 'zones of violence.'" The government formed the so-called Ninth Task Force of 5,000 men and officers for operations against FARC in the Huila department and in the Caqueta and Putumaya regions. *El Tiempo* commented in this connection on April 24, 1967: "With the formation of the Ninth Task Force, the following brigades will be concentrated in the southern areas of the country (the area of FARC operations): the Sixth in Ibagué; the Third in Cali; the Seventh in Villavicencio and the Ninth in Neiva."

The process of converting the Army into an instrument for anti-guerrilla war is proceeding apace. Already a third of its strength is involved in the irregular warfare and soldiers taking part in operations to "maintain public order" are undergoing special training. About half of the armed forces, roughly 25,000 troops using helicopters, have been thrown against FARC. In addition, the government is pursuing a policy of "military-civilian actions," aimed at neutralizing the population of the rural areas supporting the guerrillas. This was spelled out at a recent meeting of brigade commanders in Bogota: "The projected measures (to isolate the armed movement) are designed to help the civil population of the regions considered 'red' or which might become such, that is, the regions which render, or might render, aid to the armed bands. We hold that only by actively promoting rural and urban development, by correctly combining all available military and civil means, can present and future subversive activity be suppressed at all levels of Colombian society." (*El Tiempo*, October 17, 1967.)

The government is trying to camouflage its repressions with social measures, hoping in this way to kill the revo-

lutionary movement in the countryside. In a statement in *El Vespertino*, April 7, 1967, General Pinzon Caicedo, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, enumerated three elements of the anti-guerrilla struggle: "The work of military intelligence, the operations of the regular troops and the cooperation of the civil population in the guerrilla areas." It is not accidental that the General opens the list with military intelligence, for it is the cornerstone of any "military-civilian action."

General Pinzon Caicedo further stated: "To the orthodox principles of warfare, forming the doctrine of most armies, our Army has added another: perseverance." What the General had failed to mention, however, was that the perseverance is necessitated by the valiant resistance of the people in the irregular war directed by the United States.

FARC CARRIES OUT ITS PLANS

The aims set by the inaugural conference are being achieved. FARC has increased the radius of guerrilla actions. Extending its contact with the masses, it is switching over to a new, more advanced stage that will enable it to match the new methods of the enemy.

The past year was a year of unceasing operations of which the campaigns from June to October 1966 and from March to May 1967, merit special mention.

Resistencia, organ of the FARC, reported in its December issue that 26 encounters took place between FARC and the Army during the first campaign. The heaviest fighting was at Vegalarga (Huila) in August 1966, where the troops lost 15 killed and 15 wounded. An ambushed column was saved from total destruction by the arrival of airborne reinforcements. On September 28 the official press reported the fighting at Balsillas and Tello (south-eastern part of Huila), and the subsequent bombing of peasant areas. On October 18 it reported clashes at Canon del Puerto and operations by the FARC detachment "Camilo Torres" in the Chaparral zone where the troops lost another 15 killed. The press also reported a series of clashes in other parts of the country.

The second campaign from March to May 1967, included a number of successful operations in the south and

central part of the country. At this stage FARC succeeded in an action against troops of the Eighth Brigade in making a breakthrough to the Valle del Cauca department and extending its influence to new groups of the population. In the fighting at La Perdiz (March 3), in the Huila department, army casualties were 16 killed and four wounded. An anti-guerrilla unit was ambushed and put out of commission. At Las Coloradas, in the Valle del Cauca department, an engagement (March 28) lasted 30 hours. At Rioblanco (April 21) in Tolima, troop losses were six killed and 17 wounded. It was after this action that President Lleras Restrepo summoned what the press described as "an unprecedented meeting on the question of public order, in the fortress of Melgar attended by all members of the military hierarchy." (*El Siglo*, April 22, 1967).

The government retaliated with "Operation Cobra" — the most costly of all undertaken in Colombia. It allocated thousands of troops for the purpose, prohibited night traffic in many municipalities, ordered the strict control of food and medical supplies and the forcible evacuation of peasants in Algeciras and other rural areas. More than 2,000 peasants were detained in barracks where many were tortured to wring confessions from them for the "military judiciary."

Determined to crush the popular struggle the government in March last year embarked on an extensive plan of reprisals with a view to severing contact between the urban and rural units led by the Communist Party, to cut the link between the movements in the towns and in the countryside.

Wholesale arrests were spearheaded first and foremost against the representatives of the working class and its Party. The list of political prisoners, numbering about a thousand people, included Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Communist Party.

In a bellicose speech, President Lleras Restrepo announced that he had introduced a decree on military legislation. "I wish to announce," he said, "that since the country is in a state of siege, the government will accordingly apply the laws of war. Our Constitution provides that in circumstances like these, legislation can be enacted as if the issue were war with another country." Enlisting the support of public opinion, the

Party is vigorously countering the offensive of the government. The latter's vacillations stem from the dual nature of its policy: reprisals and demagoguery. With its social base steadily narrowing, it will have to think twice before risking a war against the people.

The course of events has confirmed the correctness of our tactics, namely, that of waging the struggle simultaneously in town and country, legally and illegally, utilizing every contradiction, every breach in the enemy's ranks, and foiling his every attempt to isolate us.

QUESTIONS OF UNITY

The building of the Patriotic National Liberation Front is not an easy matter. Certain ideological questions facing the movement await clarification. Besides FARC there is the National-Liberation Army, ELN, an independent organization formed in 1965. The Party is eager to work with this organization, but its tendency to deny the role of our Party, recently reflected in open attacks against us, is making it difficult to achieve unity.

The October meeting of FARC staff discussed this question and called on ELN to join forces on the basis of mutual respect. The meeting stated: "We reaffirm our policy of seeking unity with the ELN and with any groups that might arise in the future, for we realize that without unity and fraternal cooperation it will not be possible to ensure any serious advance of the revolutionary movement. We are fighting in a war that has been unleashed against our people by imperialism and its local agents. We therefore call on the aforementioned groups to cease their attacks on the Communist Party, for these attacks can only benefit those who have the power, the money and the means with which to strike at the revolutionary movement."

This statement is a cogent reply to the thesis that seeks to deny the role of the Communist Party and artificially opposes the guerrilla movement to the Party. This thesis separates work in the town from work in the countryside, political work from military, legal work from illegal, the fighter in the hills from the fighter in the towns. The advocates of this thesis declare that the policy of combining all forms of struggle is "no good," that the guerrilla movement

gives "birth" to the Party. In Colombia the course of development is proof of the fallacy of this concept. The armed struggle is developing on the background of the extensive work by the Party among the masses and is, in effect, an expression of revolutionary political activity.

These issues are being ironed out in the interests of unity in the course of the ideological struggle, in practice. The FARC message to the National-Liberation Army says: "The purpose of the war waged by imperialism and its local agents against our people is to halt the revolutionary process. We revolutionaries must unite, and we do not believe that unification signifies the subordination of one to another." Saluting the Communist Party, FARC declares that "the first meeting of the staff of the Revolutionary Armed Forces salutes all members of the Communist Party, Party committees and the Central Committee. In our struggle we are guided by the policy of the Party, expressed in the decisions of its Tenth Congress and meetings of its Central Committee."

THE ARMED STRUGGLE IS JUSTIFIED, IT WILL TRIUMPH

The enemy has not succeeded in crushing the armed struggle. On the contrary, despite the coalition of reactionary forces opposing the liberation movement, the armed struggle has resolved a number of social problems in keeping with the multiform development of diverse sections of the population. The FARC meeting noted that "the revolutionary armed struggle against the reactionary policy pursued in the countryside and which is a menace to our people and their future, is fully justified. The guerrilla war is an historical necessity in our country; as the highest form of the popular struggle, it should develop in close association with the interests and will of the masses, as the true expression of their aspirations for change. As we advance we shall develop our initiative and reveal the possibilities of the revolutionary movement in order to defeat the government armed forces who, though well trained

and equipped by U.S. imperialism with the most modern weapons, will never vanquish the revolutionary guerrilla detachments for, unlike the latter, they do not have the support of the people."

The political resolution states further: "The guerrilla struggle can be extended and deepened to become the decisive means of advance towards great revolutionary transformations if it secures the support of more groups of the population and retains this support, if it correctly combines with other forms of popular action, establishes itself as the embodiment of the aspirations of the masses, maintains the closest contact with the masses, if it is conducted firmly and successfully, demonstrating that the oligarchy and the Army are not invincible." The resolution charts the following perspective: "We declare once more that only radical changes in national life, the formation of a new democratic and people's government, the administration of the country by the people, can satisfy the desire of all Colombians for peace, progress and national liberation."

* * *

The important conclusions of the staff of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia will, undoubtedly, further stimulate the struggle of our people. The influence of the Communists who are directing the struggle, was reflected not only in the afore-mentioned documents, but also in resolutions expressing the internationalism of the Colombian guerrillas, saluting the 50th anniversary of the glorious October Revolution, the heroic people of Vietnam, the Cuban revolution and the masses of Latin America battling in different situations.

The armed struggle in Colombia, which the rulers of this country, who are in the service of the American imperialists, have vowed to crush, continues, as it has done for years now. Waged on Leninist principles and in conjunction with the numerous manifestations of the mass movement, this struggle will become a decisive element in the conquest of power by the people.

Jaime GONZALEZ

A new type of inter-state economic relations*

ANTAL APRO

The rise of the socialist world system was an historical event second in importance only to the October Revolution. The taking to the socialist road by many new countries was added proof of the soundness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the inevitability of the victory of the new social system.

The October Revolution shook the foundations of the capitalist world, which until then had been regarded as eternal and indivisible. The development of socialism in the past fifty years has changed the world: the fourteen countries that comprise the socialist world system occupy one-quarter of the land surface of the globe. The October Revolution revealed the general laws of socialist revolution and showed how socialist society can be built in keeping with historical conditions and national peculiarities.

The Soviet Union has always regarded aid to countries taking the socialist road as its internationalist duty. As they grew stronger, the new socialist countries themselves began to help each other. Thus there took shape the principles and methods of socialist mutual aid. Within an historically brief space of time the new socialist countries, some of which had started off from a low economic level, achieved rapid industrial progress, considerably raised the standard of living, engaged in a scientific and cultural revolution and ensured vigorous development of the economy as a whole — all this thanks

both to their own efforts, spearheaded by Communist and Workers' parties, and to fraternal mutual aid.

Their economies are developing faster than those of the capitalist countries. In 1966 the aggregate national income of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid was 3.6 times greater than in 1950, its annual rate of growth over that period averaged 8.3 per cent. Taken separately, national income increased 4.4 times in Bulgaria, 2.5 times in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, 3-fold in the GDR and Poland, 4.5 times in Rumania and almost 4-fold in the Soviet Union. In the rest of the world, total national income barely doubled.

Industrial growth has been particularly rapid. Between 1951 and 1966 industrial output in the CMEA countries grew five-fold, as against a 2.3-fold increase in the developed capitalist countries. Annual growth rates averaged 10.5 and 5.5 per cent respectively. In 1966 most of the increment in industrial production in the CMEA countries derived from greater labor productivity.

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN 1958-66 (in %%)

Bulgaria	13.7	Austria	5.3
Hungary	8.3	Britain	3.6
GDR	6.8	Belgium	5.2
Poland	8.8	Italy	8.8
Rumania	13.6	France	5.2
USSR	9.1	FRG	6.1
Czechoslovakia	7.1	Sweden	4.9

*Written on the basis of a paper read by the author at the 21st session of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

Growth rates are high in all branches, especially heavy industry. From 1951 to 1966 output of electric power in the CMEA countries grew 7.4 times, steel 3.6 times, tractors 3.1 times, cement 6.1 times, mineral fertilizer 4.5 times.

Capital construction plays a big role in the economic development of the CMEA community, where capital investments are estimated to have grown 4.7 times in the 1951-66 period. Bulgaria registered an increase of 8 times, Hungary 2.6, the GDR 5.9, Mongolia 21, Poland 4, Rumania 8.2, the Soviet Union 4.7 and Czechoslovakia 3.6-fold.

In the last 16 years the CMEA countries have substantially increased their foreign trade turnover. In 1966 the foreign-trade turnover of the CMEA countries totalled 37,900 million rubles, more than five times the 1950 figure. For the same period the foreign-trade turnover of the developed capitalist countries grew 3.7-fold and that of the developing countries, 2.1-fold. The CMEA countries increased their trade despite economic boycotts and discrimination on the part of some imperialist powers striving for world domination.

The vigorous economic progress of the socialist countries is not without international significance. It is a source of inspiration to the working people of the world, striking confirmation of Lenin's prevision that the economic success of socialism would influence the entire course of world revolution.

The socialist countries have proved that the working class can not only conquer power but also use this power to create social and economic relationships making for more rapid progress than history has ever known.

Under the impact of the ideas of the October Revolution and the rise of the socialist system the world correlation of forces has definitely changed in favor of socialism. Socialist ideas exert a growing influence on world development, becoming a major factor of social progress. This is due in large measure to the fact that Marxism-Leninism always keeps pace with the times, searches for and provides solutions to current problems, and shows the way ahead. No force on earth can defeat the socialist camp. It is an irrefutable fact admitted by leading capitalist politicians.

The October Revolution and subsequent events have demonstrated the humanism of proletarian international-

ism, its superiority over bourgeois nationalism with its policy of fomenting national strife. Proletarian internationalism is an immutable law of the relations between the Communist and Workers' parties, between the socialist states. It presupposes, among other things, fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union, the country of the October Revolution.

Owing to national peculiarities, the forms and methods of building socialism differ from country to country, but this should not be allowed to weaken the solidarity between our parties and between our peoples. It is one of the great advantages of socialism that it gradually eliminates the antagonisms between nations inherited from capitalism.

Socialism ensures a solid foundation for harmony of national and international interests also in the economic sphere. This is denied only by those who oppose incorrectly-understood national interests to those of the socialist community. Genuine national interests always can be and are combined with the common interests of socialism. Anything that denies the need for socialist international division of labor and for a policy of close unity with other socialist countries is pernicious and runs counter to our principles of internationalism.

The October Revolution ushered in a new era in the sphere of social relations, relations between peoples and states, and in the sphere of international economic contacts.

Let us dwell on the main political aspects of the economic relations between the socialist countries, and the beneficial results of their cooperation.

What are the novel features of the economic cooperation of the socialist countries?

1. It is based on the complete equality of all countries, regardless of size or level of development. Our countries differ widely in size of territory, in their national, economic and social conditions, and owing to this, and to other economic-political factors, they were at different levels of development when they began to build socialism. This has certainly influenced and influences now, their economic development, but not their cooperation in their fraternal community.

The picture is different in the capitalist world, where the economically stronger countries dominate the weaker, that is, where economic relations are

based on the correlation of forces. The history of capitalism is one of relentless struggle, of wars to strengthen one's own economic might, safeguard markets and raw material sources and acquire new ones, seize communication lines and set up military bases.

The socialist countries hold that economic disparities are not immutable. Their mutual economic relations are a powerful means of eliminating these disparities and bringing up the lagging countries to the level of the foremost, and that is what is happening in our community, where growth is fastest in those countries which were at a lower economic level when they began to build socialism.

2. Mutual aid in keeping with proletarian internationalism is the feature of the economic relations of the new type. In the capitalist world, economic relations are based on exploitation, with growing utilization of the resources of less-developed countries by the more-developed being the end result of this kind of cooperation. In contrast, the experience of the socialist countries proves that mutual aid and support, and utilization of the advantages of socialist unity and solidarity are a primary international condition for their achievements and successes.

The forms and methods of economic cooperation that have taken shape in the past two decades fully accord with the interests of individual socialist countries. As the productive forces of our countries grew, socialist relations of production were formed and became dominant, and the planned economy gained strength, the CMEA countries steadily developed international socialist economic contacts. And this is a continuing process.

It should be stressed here that socialist internationalism presupposes, among other things, participation in the international division of labor, and our Parties have pledged themselves in numerous joint statements, to promote all forms of economic cooperation between their countries.

Scientific and technical cooperation is a striking example of relations based on mutual aid. Exchange of scientific and technological achievements and production experience between socialist countries is conducted on a large scale indeed. Inventions in one country are made available to all members of the

community. And in the era of scientific and technological revolution the importance of this kind of cooperation cannot be overestimated, for only through coordination and concentration of research and means is it possible to satisfy the rapidly growing demands of production. With the exception of the Soviet Union, none of the socialist countries have the adequate material basis and personnel to carry on research on the scale dictated by modern development.

As far as this aspect of economic cooperation is concerned, the Soviet Union's contribution is of exceptional importance. By the beginning of last year, the Soviet Union had provided technical assistance in building and equipping 1,400 enterprises, sent 38,000 specialists to big construction projects, and trained about 25,000 specialists for the fraternal countries.

The scientific and technical cooperation greatly facilitates socialist industrialization, helps eliminate the difference in the levels of development, and brings nearer our victory in the peaceful economic competition with the capitalist countries.

3. The economic relations between the socialist countries, like their economies as a whole, are based on planning. While promoting development along their own lines, these countries coordinate their plans in order to accelerate progress and overcome the backwardness inherited from capitalism.

The capitalist countries cannot engage in this planned cooperation, because capitalist ownership of the means of production and the antagonistic interests of groups of monopolies and bourgeois states rule out coordination of their economic plans.

At present, international coordination of economic plans is the principal method of cooperation and promotion of the socialist division of labor. It should be admitted that coordination of national-economic plans is a complex matter, for although the socio-economic systems of the participating countries are of the same type, the levels of their economic development are by far not the same. Coordination of plans, which helps determine the prospects of development, is beneficial to all socialist countries and especially the smaller ones, for it enables them to familiarize themselves in good time with the plans of their partners. In the course of consultations on

plans the socialist countries can coordinate major capital investments, mutual goods deliveries and the trends of scientific and technological development, cooperation in production and allocation of labor.

So far the CMEA countries have carried out coordination of three five-year plans. Among the many problems they have been able to solve in this way were such formidable ones as supply of electric power, fuel and some important raw materials.

Cooperation is growing in the utilization of national resources and production capacities, with countries joining efforts to expand production of fuel, raw materials, electric power and manufactured goods. I can cite, as examples, the Polish—GDR—Czechoslovak agreement on the development of coal mining in Poland, the Czechoslovak—Polish agreement on expanding extraction of copper ore and sulphur, the agreements between the GDR and Czechoslovakia and between Poland and the Soviet Union on increasing output of potassium fertilizer, the Czechoslovak—Bulgarian agreement on copper ore mining, the Czechoslovak—Soviet agreement on extraction of oil, iron and some non-ferrous metals, the Soviet—Hungarian and Polish—Hungarian agreements on the processing of Hungarian alumina. Rumania and Yugoslavia are building a big electric-power station on the Danube.

Cooperation in agriculture is also developing. CMEA organs sponsor international tests of farm machines to select the best for manufacture on the basis of specialization and cooperation.

While planning major capital investments for 1966-70, the CMEA countries informed one another, in the course of multilateral and bilateral talks, on more than 500 planned projects. Currently preparation is under way for coordination of plans for the post-1970 period.

4. Economic relations between our countries are characterized by reliability and stability, which are due to international cooperation in planning and to provisions for economic cooperation built into the national plans.

This is evidenced by the steady growth of trade within the CMEA system, based almost exclusively on long-term agreements which ensure satisfaction of most of our countries' import needs and markets for many export goods.

Prices also play an important role in this respect. While being derivatives of prices on the capitalist world market, they are guarded against the fluctuations inherent in the capitalist market. Thus we are able to conduct trade on the basis of stable prices over long periods usually lasting five years. We aim at making full use of the advantages accruing from the relative stability of prices. At the same time methods of price fixing and negotiating should be developed in full conformity with the interests of the countries and their export-oriented enterprises in promoting trade within the CMEA system.

Our cooperation will be made even more fruitful by international bilateral and multilateral specialization and cooperation in production, which facilitates both the formation of a rational structure of national industries and the elimination of differences in levels of development. It is also important from the viewpoint of the reliability of our cooperation that specialization and cooperation agreements cover, as a rule, five-year periods, thus giving a proper perspective to the various branches of the national industries. It should be pointed out, however, that the opportunities provided by specialization and cooperation in production are far from being fully utilized by us.

An earnest of the fruitfulness of our economic relations is the determination, unanimously voiced by the leaders of our Parties and government at the Bucharest Meeting in 1966, to continue to further cooperation on the principles of complete equality, respect for sovereignty and national interests, mutual benefit and comradely aid, and thus further strengthen proletarian internationalism and the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist world system.

5. As the cooperation of our countries broadens and deepens, their economies are drawing closer and their contacts growing stronger.

This process is economically beneficial to the entire socialist world. It is also politically important that the peoples of the socialist countries should know one another and their harmony grow. This international unity is an objective necessity of our times, and to overlook it would signify ignoring both the national interests of the socialist countries and

the interests of our community as a whole.

The economic relations that have taken shape between our countries over the past two decades are closely associated with the joint leading body of our cooperation—the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. The purpose of the Council, as stated in its Charter, is “to promote, through pooling and coordinating efforts of the member-countries, planned development of the national economies and accelerated economic and technological progress, enhance level of industrialization in the less developed countries and ensure uninterrupted growth of productivity of labor and a steady rise in the well-being of the people of the member-countries.”

The Council, which was joined by Mongolia in 1962 and by Yugoslavia in 1965, has done much in its twenty years, and the leaders of our parties and governments have on many occasions expressed appreciation of its work.

An equally important role is played by direct bilateral contacts. The bilateral inter-governmental commissions on economic, scientific and technical cooperation, whose functions cover an ever-growing range, operate in accordance with the basic principles of the CMEA. They have solved many problems, including those recommended for solution by the CMEA agencies.

Proof of the development of our international cooperation is seen in the work of the organizations jointly established by us. The Friendship oil pipe-line, built by a number of CMEA countries, is the world's longest. We have an International Bank of Economic Cooperation, a common rolling stock totalling more than 100,000 freight cars, interconnected state power grids and joint organizations in the ferrous metals, bearings and other industries.

6. Last but not least, the economic relations between our countries are truly international relations, free from autarchic trends or discrimination against any state. The CMEA Charter stresses the open character of this organization, pointing out that other countries which agree with the aims and principles of the Council are free to join it.

The socialist countries, engaged as they are in peaceful constructive pursuits, never deviate from the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. They favor

economic cooperation with all countries, based on the principles of mutual benefit, equality and non-interference in each other's affairs. We are glad to note the striving of realistically-minded leaders of capitalist countries to extend economic contacts with our countries.

The disintegration of the imperialist colonial system is one of the most significant events of our century. Many new states have emerged on the ruins of the colonial empires in Asia and Africa. Having gained political independence, the young national states have set about eliminating their economic backwardness, and in this they meet with complete understanding on the part of the socialist countries, which see their internationalist duty in helping the newly-free countries in industrial development, in training specialists, and in the struggle against imperialism.

At a time when the socialist countries advocate and pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence, the U.S. imperialists are waging a monstrous war against the people of Vietnam. Our peoples are in complete solidarity with the long-suffering people of Vietnam, and our parties and governments are doing everything to support their struggle.

These economic relations of a new type influence not only the socialist world system, but development all over the world. The Great October Revolution obliges us to devote all our energies and efforts to the further development of the socialist world economy and consolidation of the unity of the socialist world. This calls above all for a sustained effort in our countries to make more effective use of our resources and possibilities. Favorable conditions will be created for this by the economic reform presently being introduced in almost all CMEA countries with a view to accelerating development and raising the effectiveness of industry.

Another condition for the continued advance of the socialist world system is steady growth of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between our countries. The immense possibilities we still have in this field will be revealed when we set about coordinating the national-economic plans for the post-1970 years. To realize these possibilities in the best interest of our peoples, we must look ahead, which means that we must think and work with a long-range perspective. Also, we should bear in mind

that the current economic reforms will not only bring about favorable changes in the internal economic life of our countries but will be beneficial for international cooperation. Just as each country is searching for the most effective methods of management, so should we constantly be on the lookout on an international scale for ways and means of ensuring the most effective development of economic contacts.

Only by building up the economic might of each socialist country and the socialist world economy as a whole will we ensure the most effective economic relations between our countries. This is the only way to realize the basic aims set out in the CMEA Charter, to win victory in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

Our parties have to cope with these formidable tasks for the first time in

history. And although the process of shaping socialist international contacts continues, much has been achieved in the twenty years since the rise of the socialist world system. The socialist community now rests on a solid basis. Forms of political, economic and military cooperation have taken shape, such as the CMEA, the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the system of bilateral treaties, etc. The socialist states have accumulated a rich experience of international cooperation.

To march along the road charted by the October Revolution means working consistently for the unity of our ranks, for the political, economic and military cohesion of our countries. It means strengthening the friendship of our peoples and proletarian internationalism, intensifying our struggle for socialism, for progress and world peace.

DYNAMICS OF WORLD TRADE

1950 = 100

	1955	1960	1965	1966
World total	153	210	305	333
Socialist countries	179	314	451	475
of these:				
CMEA countries	190	324	485	511
Capitalist countries	150	200	292	319
of these:				
developed countries	159	222	336	371
Common Market countries	189	289	473	517
developing countries	132	153	198	212

Fruits of friendship

The principles of proletarian internationalism were first applied in inter-state relations nearly half a century ago, when the young Soviet Republic led by Lenin extended the hand of friendship to the still younger Mongolian People's Republic.

The model of Mongolian-Soviet socialist inter-state relations is doubtlessly useful to others as an object for study and emulation, not merely because it is the first but because it concerns the strongest and an economically weak state of the socialist world system, the world's first socialist country and a country by-passing capitalism in its advance from the feudal system to socialism.

There are examples galore of relations between big and small and between economically advanced and backward countries, and just as many examples of relations between states belonging to different social formations. But taken from the history of pre-socialist society, they represent relationships of domination of economically and culturally retarded peoples.

Modern history contains examples of an entirely different kind, one of the most striking being that of Mongolian-Soviet relations.

Their foundation was laid at the time when Soviet power triumphed in Russia and our people were spurred on by its influence to fight for national and social emancipation, when Mongolian revolutionaries went to see Lenin and he helped them define the tasks of the Mongolian revolution and its perspective.

History willed it that the first Soviet aid to revolutionary Mongolia should be military—aid rendered at the request of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in driving out Russian counter-revolutionaries and Chinese interventionists. With the intervention defeated, Mongolia was able to tackle the many jobs of democratic reconstruction, embarking in the wake of the Soviet Union

on the socialist path. Speaking of Soviet-Mongolian relations, Comrade Y. Tsendenbal noted: "In effect, they were a class alliance of the victorious working class of Russia and the Mongolian *arats* (peasants), which secured victory for our people's revolution and ensured the country's advance along the non-capitalist way to socialism."

A new phase, even more difficult than that of winning independence, began in Mongolia's history. Everything had to be built from scratch. The nation was poverty-ridden, decimated by famine and disease. Radical socio-economic changes were needed to shake off the centuries of backwardness, increase the country's productive forces and raise the well-being of the people. That was where the class alliance of the Russian worker and the Mongolian herdsman proved its worth. In charting the way, the People's Revolutionary Party acted on Lenin's counsel. "It is wrong to assume," he wrote, "that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development. . . . With the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage." (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244.)

Our democratic reconstruction and economic growth were based on the experience of the Soviet people and were accomplished with their aid. An agreement establishing a new type of Mongolian-Soviet relations, signed at the end of 1921, was imbued with the spirit of equality and respect for sovereignty and independence. The Soviet Government gave up all concessions and privileges, annulled Mongolia's pre-revolution debt of five million gold rubles and granted us a loan of one million rubles in silver.

A new relationship based on the most-favored-nation principle evolved in trade. This, coupled with state monopoly in foreign trade, enabled us to drive mer-

chant and usurer capital off the home market and to secure economic independence from the capitalist world. The Soviet Union helped us build up a processing industry for our agricultural raw materials and supplied us on easy terms with equipment, machinery, transport facilities and other essentials.

By the time the first ten years were over we had ended, with fraternal Soviet aid, the dependence on foreign capital and had licked the problems of the general democratic phase of our revolution, abolishing feudal relations and clearing the way for an economy based on socialist principles.

Then international tension mounted in the Far East. Japanese imperialism attacked China, seizing the North-East and menacing Mongolia and the Soviet Union. This necessitated still closer Soviet-Mongolian relations. In March 1936 the two countries signed a ten-year mutual aid protocol, which provided that in the event of an attack on one of the signatories the other would extend aid, including military. When the Japanese attacked Mongolia at Khalkhin-Gol in May 1939, Soviet and Mongolian troops jointly crushed the invading force, expelling it from MRR territory.

The concerted military effort tested the realism of the new type of interstate relations based on sincere friendship and close cooperation, equality and mutual respect for national interests and sovereignty, striking a blow for peace in the Far East and benefiting the vital interests of the two countries.

As socialism advanced in the Soviet Union, its capabilities for aiding Mongolia's economic growth increased. Favorable long-term credits were made available and industries were built with Soviet help, including the mechanized Khatkhyl Wool-Washing Plant, the industrial complex in Ulan-Bator, a biochemical factory, a woodworking plant, and the country's first railway. We were also furnished a fleet of 50 tractors and 200 horse-drawn mowers for ten machine-mowing stations, the operators for which were trained in the Soviet Union. Specialists were trained in Soviet schools and universities for all other areas. A working class came into being, which, with the *arat* herdsmen, constituted a stable class foundation for our friendship with the USSR.

When Hitler Germany attacked the Soviet Union, Mongolia ranged herself

alongside the Soviet people. A resolution of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party, adopted at a meeting in November 1941, read:

"The great and just Patriotic War waged by the peoples of the Soviet Union is a war for the freedom of all mankind and therefore also a war for the interests of the Mongolian people, for the freedom and independence of Mongolia. It is therefore the prime and most important task of the MPR to render the utmost help to the peoples of the Soviet Union in their fight against fascism, because if Hitler Germany, which threatens to enslave all nations, is not defeated, any further free and successful development of the Mongolian People's Republic will be impossible."

Throughout Mongolia funds were collected for Soviet defense. In the summer of 1942, the MPR supplied 100,000 horses to the Red Army, of which 7,000 were gifts of *arats*. In 1943, the MPR bought a column of tanks and a squadron of planes for the Red Army. Trainloads of gifts, including tens of thousands of sheepskin coats, felt boots, fur jackets, gloves, blankets, thousands of tons of beef, butter, etc., were shipped to the battle lines. The above is a far from complete enumeration of Mongolia's wartime aid to the Soviet people.

That the Mongolian army, jointly with Soviet troops, manned its Far Eastern border, containing the Japanese army poised to attack the USSR and Mongolia, was another highly cogent item of wartime aid. In August 1945 jointly with the Soviet Union, Mongolia declared war on Japan, inflicting a crushing defeat on the Kwangtung Army.

Even during the arduous war years, the Soviet Union showed concern for Mongolia's interests and economic growth. In 1941 and 1942 Soviet specialists helped us develop our coal-mining industry and prospected deposits of lignite in the eastern regions; our coal output increased 71 per cent between 1941 and 1946. A large meat plant in Ulan-Bator, begun in wartime, was completed in 1946. Mongolia, for her part, steeply increased meat, leather, footwear, wool and other exports to the USSR. When food shortages hit the Soviet Union soon after the war, Mongolia sold the USSR 120,000 tons of meat and stepped up her lard deliveries.

Postwar Mongolian-Soviet relations, too, were geared to the international

situation, menacing for both countries. A treaty of friendship and mutual aid was concluded in 1946 (and renewed in 1966)—an important act in face of the tensions created then by the U.S. intervention in China's domestic affairs.

The Mongolian and Soviet governments acted jointly in consolidating the national independence and international position of our Republic. At the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the Soviet Union demanded recognition of the Mongolian People's Republic as an independent state, making this a condition for its entry into the war against Japan. And when Mongolia applied for admission to the United Nations in June 1946—which the United States, Britain and other capitalist states obstructed—the Soviet Union backed her to the hilt, stressing her contribution to the United Nations' war effort. For fifteen years Western delaying tactics blocked our admission, which was supported by the USSR, the other socialist countries and by many other peace-loving states, before the Mongolian People's Republic finally assumed its legitimate place in the international organization.

Mongolian-Soviet friendship, based from the first on an enduring class foundation, is also embodied in close political cooperation between our two Parties, rooted in their common aims and ideals, their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, their understanding of the needs and interests of the peoples of the two countries, and their awareness of the need for joining efforts in the fight for a new life. The two Parties observe closely the principles worked out at the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties and attach prime importance to communist unity, working tirelessly for this end.

The Soviet Union and Mongolia have travelled far in their social and economic growth. Their friendship is as solid as ever, but the nature of their expanding mutual aid has changed. The Soviet Union is helping to build new industries in Mongolia—mining, oil, oil refining, and building materials. Among postwar projects completed are the Naushki—Ulan-Bator and Ulan-Bator—Tsamin-Ude railways, a car-repair works in Ulan-Bator, and others. The big power complex at Darkhan, now in the building stage, is being developed with Soviet help and that of the other CMEA countries, and

is fast becoming a symbol of Mongolian-Soviet friendship. Considerable aid by the socialist countries, notably the USSR, will also be extended to Mongolia's industrial growth under our 1966-70 five-year plan. As many as 50 industrial projects, including power plants, repair works, woodworking factories and a number of food plants and consumer industries, are to be built or modernized with the technical help of the Soviet Union, whose economic aid is to surpass that of the previous five years by at least 70 per cent.

Mongolian-Soviet economic relations, both bilateral and through CMEA and the other socialist international organizations, are assuming new forms. Scientific and cultural collaboration is expanding steadily; so is the personnel training scheme. In 1961-65, as many as 1,600 Mongolians graduated from educational establishments in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The bulk of the Soviet economic aid goes to production, paving the way for general economic and cultural growth and a higher standard of living.

Our friendly cooperation, the initial experiment in new relationships between peoples at different stages of historical development, has international, as well as national, impact. Sovereign equality of big and small nations, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for territorial integrity and fraternal mutual aid—principles that governed Mongolian-Soviet relations from the beginning—are now internationally recognized. The experience of our cooperation is doubly valuable today when more peoples with a feudal, and even pre-feudal structure, are winning national independence and embarking on a new life. For them it is an object lesson that the Soviet Union, the socialist camp as a whole, is the most dependable and disinterested ally in the fight for consolidating both their political and economic independence, an object lesson that good relations with the socialist world, rather than artificial isolation from it, help put backward countries on the path to social and economic progress.

The history of the Mongolian People's Republic bears witness to the fact that our freedom and independence would have been in deadly peril if the People's Revolutionary Party had not, in the years past, exposed nationalist intrigues aimed against our friendship with the Soviet

people, at a rupture with the world Communist and workers' movement.

Mongolia's growth over the past 46 years is, in effect, the materialization of Lenin's prevision that backward countries such as the old Mongolia was, can, on gaining freedom and independence, by-pass the capitalist phase in their advance to socialism with the help and support of the socialist countries.

True, much remains to be done in completing the building of the material

and technical base of socialism and attaining the economic and cultural standards of most of the European socialist countries. But we have good grounds for confidence, because our chosen way has been proved right by our revolutionary practice and the building of socialism and because the socialist world system, ever faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, is behind us.

Tsevegjavín PUNTSAGNOROV

WMR

in the communist and workers parties

18th Congress of the CP of Belgium

The 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium, held in Brussels on December 16-17 and attended by 250 delegates, was convened some time before the statutory two-year interval between congresses had expired. This was done in order to analyze the Party's work since the previous congress in December 1966 and to discuss the many tasks facing the country's Communists in 1968. At the countrywide meetings preceding the national congress, local branches discussed the new demands confronting the Party member in the present situation.

The reactionaries, Comrade Ernest Burnelle, the CPB Chairman, pointed out in his report, have moved ahead in their offensive against the interests of the people with a view to establishing an authoritarian, adventurist policy.

RULING CLASS FACES DIFFICULTIES

The authoritarian ambitions of the ruling class are engendered by formidable difficulties — more numerous and more serious than those of the year be-

fore — piling up in the economy and in other areas. The stagnation that has set in in Wallonia and some parts of Flanders has affected the well-being of the people; more than that, it is harassing the ruling class and cramping its freedom of action, complicating the relations among capitalists and impairing the cooperation maintained by them since the end of World War II.

Seen from this angle, the general situation has changed drastically. Even the press of the Belgian financiers is perturbed by the increasing U.S. investment in our economy. Speaking of the economic difficulties in store for our country, Prime Minister Vanden Boeyants wondered whether any of the industries in the country would still be Belgian-owned some years hence and whether Belgium would, as Wilson once said, become America's "drawer of water."

These melancholy reflections, unthinkable from a prime minister a few years ago, show how much sharper relations have grown among the capitalist states, especially with the USA. Besides,

anti-imperialist sentiment and the ideas of peaceful coexistence, showing new ways for resolving the economic and financial difficulties, are also having a telling effect. The capitalist countries that accepted these ideas can now square their shoulders, while those that fell for U.S. guardianship have to contend with redoubled difficulties.

It can be said, therefore, that our ruling class is in a blind alley. Torn by internal contradictions more serious than before, it cannot find solutions acceptable to the workers and other wage-earners.

Take the extraordinary powers the government obtained for itself on the pretext of needing a free hand to improve the economic situation. Has it succeeded?

As soon as it obtained the extraordinary powers, the government devised the tactics of whirlwind attack, swamping the country with a variety of decisions, especially of a financial complexion, whose exact purpose was often obscure but most of which were tailored to comfort the capitalist and, by virtue of their great numbers, complicated the resistance of the labor organizations.

However, the government's extraordinary powers failed to prevent the workers from hitting back effectively, giving rise to the question of whether the government really succeeded in improving its starting position before tackling the problem of an economic upturn.

Certainly it has not succeeded. Its impotence is as obvious as its inability to halt the endlessly spiralling prices.

OFFENSIVE AGAINST DEMOCRACY

While trying to cope with the difficulties, the ruling class has mounted an offensive against the workers. The bourgeois press, with its big guns trained against democracy, has singled out parliament as the main target.

The latest convention of the ruling Freedom and Progress Party went to the length of insisting that the extraordinary powers should be made permanent. In the meantime, the government is inclined to exploit the three-party scheme: resolving problems by agreement with the three traditional parties and ignoring the opinion of the others. We see this at work in the parliamentary committees and working groups and in the selection of members for the Radio and Television

Board of Administration and other extra-governmental bodies. It was in line with this trend, too, that Rightist votes secured the re-election of the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, who is a member of the socialist opposition.

The three-party scheme is becoming a regular practice, enabling the ruling class to control the levers of power through restricted groups closely associated with the traditional parties. Also, it enables the ruling class to obtain the Socialist Party's support in the fight against the people.

The ruling class objects to the idea of a federal system because federalism betokens a democratic remaking of the country's political structures and envisages for Flanders and Wallonia assemblies elected like the National Assembly by popular vote. The reactionaries are exerting themselves, therefore, to rob the federal system of its appeal and dynamism and to fashion it into an unwieldy, bureaucratic mechanism.

Its orientation on authoritarian measures is probably the clearest indication that reaction is in a blind alley; whenever reaction feels sure that it can cope with its difficulties it delights in abiding by parliamentary institutions and dons a democratic mask, but when it comes up against obstacles it cannot resolve through normal democratic machinery, it throws all pretenses to the winds.

Comrade Burnelle stressed that Communists must uphold the parliamentary institutions against bourgeois press attacks and work for improving the functioning of Parliament, which should faithfully reflect the aspirations of the people as an indispensable representative body and an instrument of political control over public life. Much has yet to be done to present a grounded case for the national, provincial and communal legislatures and for their democratic functioning against those whom they restrain, who fear them and endeavor to limit their powers. The future of our labor movement depends on how well we safeguard democracy and promote democratic methods in the political parties and in the trade unions.

For the Communists the fight for a revolutionary reconstruction of society centers chiefly on democracy, on safeguarding the rights won by labor to date and on winning the rights that workers' organizations are clamoring for.

But reaction is far-sighted enough to see that for it greater democracy means less political power. So it is up to the working class to overcome this resistance and fight for the maximum democracy.

GROWTH OF POLITICAL ACTION

The workers' struggles against factory closures and dismissals, for higher wages, fringe benefits and collective bargaining, have surged ahead. But so far, though incontestably important, the actions have been uncoordinated. They have not merged into a single stream and are falling short of real political struggle, preventing labor from gaining the maximum results.

The workers are anxious to raise their struggle to the political level; they are demanding an extension of democratic rights and workers' control, which they need to promote their own economic and political alternative, the only one that can secure genuinely effective solutions.

Their demands give ample evidence of how rapidly the situation has developed; they are close to our socialist aims, for in substance they reject the hallowed principles of "free enterprise," a cover name for rule by a handful of financiers.

The socialist perspective has indeed come into close view: it is no longer a remote goal. More forcefully than ever labor organizations are asserting their determination to participate in running economic and political affairs.

The labor movement owes its growth to the workers' understanding that many vitally important problems affecting their interests are not being tackled. Their political demands are not suspended somewhere in the realm of theory now, but posited by the facts of life. We know from the classics of Marxism-Leninism that there comes a time when capitalist society can no longer cope with the economic, financial and political difficulties bred by its own decline. We have come to such a time now, and many workers are conscious of this.

True, in Belgium this situation is still virtually in its embryonic stage. But every Communist should grasp the implications and join heart and soul in the numerous class battles, telling the workers of the forms in which reconstruction should proceed. The forms may be limited and short-term, but once achieved, will enable us gradually to resolve our problems.

Fighting against dismissals and resisting the attack on the standard of living, congress held, were the two main aims of the labor movement at this time. Action was, naturally, being taken by the trade unions. But that was not enough. The fight must take on a political complexion; it should yield greater rights to workers and squeeze the capitalists. In combating closure of factories and ending dismissals, the workers would benefit most from the legislation recommended by the Communists: the bills designed to extend the Zwartberg agreements*, envisaging greater powers for workers' councils, specifically through the institution of workers' control in the factories, and sequestration of the factories which the owners want to close, despite a capacity for carrying on.

The fight for these political aims would summarize the various local breakthroughs made by the workers, leading to a new surge forward, to greater effectiveness and renewed strength.

In the light of these ideas, the congress resolved to work for united action with the Socialist Party, whose branches appear anxious to restore contact with the masses of workers and take part in their struggle. Factory and local CP branches were recommended to deal directly with the relevant Socialist Party organizations, offering joint action in promoting workers' interests and democratic demands.

UNANIMOUS RESOLUTION

Congress unanimously adopted a resolution discussed by a specially appointed commission. About 45 amendments were submitted to the Central Committee's draft, many of which were accepted, testifying, by and large, to the earnest desire of the membership to help the Party improve its work. The project was benefited greatly by this collective effort, which explains the unanimity of the vote.

The resolution pinpoints the following four aims for 1968:

"1. Fight against renewal of Belgium's membership in NATO, for a broad political discussion of this subject, for European security and the dissolution of military blocs. Fight against the aggressive

*Concluded after the Zwartberg miners' strike (January-February 1966); they prohibit dismissal of miners until the dismissed are assured of other work in the same district.

activities of U.S. imperialism and promote a campaign for an immediate halt to the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

"2. Act in defense of employment and the standard of living, against closure of factories, for a system of control over factory management, for planned economic development and investments, for the formation of state-owned companies in Flanders and Wallonia with powers and facilities to found new industries. Fight for an end to dismissals and factory closures in 1968 and urge the prompt convocation of a national em-

ployment conference. Fight for higher wages.

"3. Fight for the annual budget to be used as a weapon against the big concerns and banks in applying a social, fiscal and financial policy consistent with the country's interests. Fight for a reduction in military expenditure.

"4. Fight for the democratization of public life through creation of federal bodies and through workers' control at all levels in the public and private sectors, and press for referendums on people's initiative." *Jean BLUME*

National conference of the Rumanian Communist Party

A National Conference of the Rumanian Communist Party in Bucharest last December discussed matters of economic growth, socialist democracy and society generally. The agenda consisted of the draft (approved by the Central Committee at an earlier meeting for improving economic guidance and planning, for revising the country's territorial division and rural development, and for measures for improving the forms and methods of public administration.

Nicolae Ceausescu, Party General Secretary, reported on the projected improvements in economic guidance and planning. The debate which followed his report lasted three days, weighing suggestions complementing or amending the directives, for the draft had been the subject of a public discussion in the press and at broadly representative meetings prior to the Conference.

The Conference unanimously approved the measures recommended by the Central Committee. It underscored the progress made in the first two years of the current five-year plan, industrial output going up an average of 12.3 per cent in 1966 and 1967 and exceeding the annual rate envisaged in the plan. Estimates reveal that the 1967 increment over 1965 surpassed the 1938 output by as much as 150 per cent. Productivity of

labor registered an average 9.3 per cent annual rise in the past two years, planned profit increasing by more than 3,000 million lei. Average annual accretion of farm output was 7.1 per cent, with the 1966-67 grain crop registering an all-time high. State investments were considerable, and over 400 new industrial projects were put into operation. The rapid industrial and agricultural growth sent up national income by an average annual 8.7 per cent.

These results illustrate Rumania's steady economic progress. Industry has become preponderant, accounting for nearly 50 per cent of the national income against 30.8 per cent in 1938, the labor force has increased by 230 per cent over 1938 and the number of specialists by as much as 950 per cent. The 1966 national income was more than 4.5 times greater than in 1950, rising on an average 10 per cent a year, and real wages went up 140 per cent. The socialist reconstruction of farming is accompanied by a steady expansion of crop and animal husbandry, enabling us to meet consumer demand and industrial and expert needs.

Economic progress reflects the national effort to expand material production, which annually entails considerable investments, supplied by the na-

tional income, in which the share of accumulation is among the biggest in the world. This progress indicates that the improvements outlined for management and planning are not imposed by any economic difficulties, for Rumania's productive forces, labor productivity and industrial output are rising at rates that rank among the world's highest. For a start these measures, the fruit of thorough investigation and consultation, will be applied experimentally and then introduced without haste, after thorough verification in practice. The guidelines are necessitated by the expansion of the productive forces in order to gear economic planning and management to the new phase and to provide a new operational model that would give fresh momentum to economic and social advance.

In these new measures the Party took into account the experience of the past 20 years of planning, current developments and the long-term outlook, the experience of the other socialist countries and the relevant changes in the rest of the world. Comrade Ceausescu said:

"We know that of late some socialist countries, like ours, are improving economic management and planning. This is needed to attain still higher rates of growth, greater effectiveness in material production and further progress in building socialism. Due to shortcomings here and there in the economy some Western observers produce a perverted image of the facts and portray this effort and the shortcomings as a sign of the 'failure' of socialism, as an admission of the 'ineffectiveness of the socialist mode of production'." However, Comrade Ceausescu added, "continuous renewal and improvement of guidance and planning, of the organizational forms of the economy and of public life are not a sign of any weakness and speak of socialism's capacity for resolving the difficult problems of social development, remedying oversights and shortcomings, and of its resources for progress."

The improvements are based on the tested principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership, unified planning, enhancement of socialist democracy and a combination of incentives with greater public consciousness. The accent is on these factors in order to use to the full the advantages of socialist relations of production and the po-

tential of our economy in raising its effectiveness and profitability and the standard of living. Favorable conditions will be created thereby for aligning economic solutions with the objective laws of the socialist economy and the demands of social growth, with due consideration for international economic co-operation.

The Conference stressed that to assure extended socialist reproduction and a further rise in the standard of living, it is essential to make rational use of available material and labor resources and accurately gauge the labor outlay. All economic categories, such as value, price, profit, profitability, home and foreign markets, etc., should be used thoughtfully, and everything we do should ensure maximum mobility, precision and expedience. The Party is working for a closer fusion of centralized guidance and economic leverage, and is determined to combat one-sidedness, abuse and subjectivism, on the one hand, and exaggeration of objective factors, on the other. It rejects the illusion that administrative measures are omnipotent and opposes any fetishization of economic laws. Speakers stressed that knowledge and use of market demand furnished valuable elements for planning and greater economic effectiveness. But, they added, the market should never be the sole criterion, for economic development calls for long-sighted, conscious deliberation aimed at elevating the role of planning in all public and economic activity.

The General Secretary's report and many of the interventions also emphasized the important role played by the state in economic and public affairs in accordance with democratic centralism and underscored the growing weight of the Party as society's leading political force.

The Conference noted that public interest and harmonious economic development required that the top committees of the Party and of the socialist state, which are representative of the whole nation, should handle the general problems of economic activity, while broader powers should be vested in the enterprises in order to enhance functional mobility and effectiveness, profitability and competitive capacity in foreign markets. Steps are envisaged to enlist greater participation of specialists

and workers in hammering out solutions and in matters related to production and selling. Guidance is to be brought closer to production, eliminating excessive centralism and red tape in decision-making, enhancing initiative at factory level and accentuating methods of collective leadership while elevating individual responsibility.

The factory is the core of the economy. The Conference envisaged for all enterprises with economic liability broader functions and rights, and material and financial resources essential for expanding and improving production. In view of the concentration of industry, groups of enterprises are to be integrated into larger units (industrial associations). To enable them to operate more independently they will have their own plan and will be supplied with the necessary material and financial resources. Some of the functions now performed by the ministries will be turned over to them, enabling the former to devote themselves to more vital issues, coordinating the operation of industries in their charge with the demands of current technical progress and the country's economy as a whole.

The new planning measures are designed to buttress the role of the state plan in orienting production on the demands and possibilities of the economy in line with the trends in the rest of the world. The national plan will have fewer targets than before, affording more independence to factories and industrial associations, stimulating initiative at factory level and enhancing effectiveness. The plan will be based mainly on the recommendations of the factories and the associations, which know their potentialities better and have a stake in using them to the best advantage. In addition to the year-by-year break-down of the five-year plan, briefing factories on their assignments for each year, a general outline is to be drawn up for five years ahead, providing a long-term view and ensuring continuity in planning, an organic fusion of successive five-year plans.

The guidelines also envisage a number of important measures with regard to supply and selling, use of credits, financing investments, fixing prices, raising effectiveness and training personnel.

The Conference devoted due attention to the question of cooperation with the

other socialist countries and to economic, scientific, technical and cultural contacts with the non-socialist world with an eye to the benefits accruing from active participation in the international division of labor.

Distribution of the national income between accumulation and consumption figured prominently among the projected measures with a view to securing a rapid expansion of the economic potential and gearing the wage system to the principle that a wage-earner's income should correspond to the contribution he makes in raising production and its quality.

Other decisions concerned the redrawing of territorial boundaries. Since the present intermediate links between the central and local administrations are too numerous, it has been decided to eliminate some of them. The country will be divided into districts somewhat larger than the present ones. The new division will take into account geographical and socio-political factors, national composition, traditional cultural bonds and the prospective development of the various localities. The district will be the sole mediate territorial unit through which the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers will effect their policy. The towns and communes, being the basic units, will be vested with broader rights. The communes, which are rural units, will merit special attention: intensive development is envisaged of their material resources and manpower. A long-term program of development is planned in order to bring rural conditions closer to urban standards.

Also discussed were measures to improve overall guidance and secure wider public participation in government.

To eliminate duality and duplicating of responsibility and functions, to simplify decision-making and secure rapid fulfilment, it is planned to distribute assignments among the Party leadership, so that the same comrade should be directly responsible both to the Party and to the Government for a certain area of work. In future, economic matters are to be handled by the Council of Ministers, with only the general questions of orientation subject to approval by the Central Committee and its leading bodies.

The Central Committee will continue to handle politico-ideological matters,

foreign policy, defenses and state security.

Measures have been taken to improve the work of the National Assembly, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the various public organizations. Since the latter have a greater role to play as the building of socialism approaches completion, appropriate organizational measures are also envisaged. To improve trade union participation in government, it has been decided to invest the Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions with ministerial powers, and he will participate henceforth in the work of the Government. Chairmen of the various trade unions will be voting members of the collective guiding body of the pertinent ministry.

The splendid contribution of the farm cooperatives to agricultural growth, an important economic sector, prompted the decision to invest also the Chairman of the National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives with ministerial powers, in which capacity he will participate in the work of the government.

Lastly, to secure better coordination in matters concerning the work, life and education of young people, it was decided that the First Secretary of the Communist Youth League should also be a member of the Government and hold the office of Ministers for Youth Affairs.

To improve the forms and methods of administration, the Conference de-

cided that the General Secretary of the Party Central Committee should also be Chairman of the State Council. This will ensure the essential coordination and reinforce the guiding role of the Party in public and state affairs. The Conference decided unanimously, therefore, to recommend to the National Assembly to elect Comrade Ceausescu Chairman of the State Council.

The Conference commended the international activity of the Party and Government leadership and the foreign policy carried forward by the Party and the Government, which promoted fraternal friendship, alliance and cooperation with all socialist countries and worked to invigorate the might and cohesion of the socialist world system, the solidarity of the international Communist and workers' movement and the unity of the anti-imperialist front. It was noted that Rumania's efforts to expand cooperation with all states irrespective of their social system were helping to relieve international tensions, promoting democracy and social progress.

The National Conference ushered in an important phase in completing the building of socialism and in raising the standard of living. Its decisions will no doubt help to accelerate the advance of socialism in Rumania and to strengthen the socialist world system.

B.Z.

Ideological institutions of the French Communist Party

The research institutions on which the French Communist Party relies in its ideological work are the Marxist Research Center, which gives guidance to individual and joint Marxist research in those sciences dealing with nature and man, and the Maurice Thorez Institute, which studies the heritage of Maurice Thorez and the history of the international and French working-class movement.

THE MARXIST RESEARCH CENTER

The Marxist Research Center was founded in 1959. The need for such an institution was set forth by Maurice Thorez in his report to the 15th Party Congress: "The clash of two main forces—socialism and capitalism—is the principal feature of our time," he said. "Accordingly, the conflict of the two ideologies—proletarian and bourgeois—characterizes the development of thought in the present epoch."

Quoting Pastor Burgelin's words at a session of the Synod of the Reformist Church ("Marxism is one of the aspects assumed by the world in our time"), Thorez pointed out that Marxism was gaining influence over more and more people, that interest in it was manifested everywhere as ever greater success is registered by those who are inspired by it.

"The strength of Marxism," Thorez stressed, "lies in its truth, in its ability correctly to reflect objective reality, in the fact that it serves the cause of progress, everything that is growing and developing in society."

It is precisely because of the influence of Marxism, Thorez pointed out, that it is attacked by bourgeois ideologists in a vain attempt to prove that it belongs to the past.

Today, along with the crude and clumsy attacks of the past, resort is had to more subtle methods. Unable to counterpose to Marxism a consistent ideology of their own, the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie are trying—on the pretext of "enlivening" and "supplementing" Marxism—to adapt it to their own concepts, hoping thereby to turn its influence to their advantage and to divest it of its revolutionary essence.

Hence the need for Marxists to launch a counter-offensive.

"The real need for theoretical studies and comparisons in the light of Marxism," Thorez continued, "calls for the creation in the Party of conditions for more intensive scientific work. This work, based on analysis and critical comprehension of all that is valuable in the works of specialists, non-Marxists included, should provide a convincing refutation of ideas hostile to dialectical materialism.

"The Central Committee encouraged the setting up of groups to engage in theoretical research in the various fields of knowledge (history, philosophy, psychology, etc.). And while these groups have done a great deal of work, they have not yet enlisted the cooperation of the majority of our specialists.

"Now we must undertake new efforts to extend the research and win over more representatives of the intelligentsia for the progressive ideas of peace, democracy and socialism. In view of this we have decided to set up, and to finance, a Marxist Research Center, to be run by the library of the Central Committee.*

"We are convinced that this undertaking will strengthen Marxism and its influence on intellectual life, on the course of the ideological struggle which is so important in our time. We are confident that more scientists, researchers and philosophers will find the road to the Party."

Opening a session of the Center in October 1967, eight years later, Comrade Roland Leroy commended the Center's contribution to Marxist research and to propagation of Marxism-Leninism. The Center, he said, has arranged numerous seminars and conferences and has put out many publications. The remarkable success of Weeks of Marxist Thought is proof of the popularity of Marxism-Leninism among intellectuals and students, of the possibility and usefulness of a confrontation of views with non-Marxists.

The 1963 Week based on Maurice Thorez' lecture on social classes in modern France was, Leroy stressed, of very great importance for explaining the character of the current struggle and struggles ahead; the same can be said of the 1966 Week, held simultaneously with a meeting of the CC devoted to ideological and cultural problems. The 1966 Week made it possible to put the conclusions of the Central Committee to the test of discussion and, at the same time, to popularize them among the masses. Dwelling on these conclusions Waldeck Rochet explained how, in the Communist Party's view, the socialist future of France can be built by the joint efforts of a number of parties.

The 1967 Week, which had for its subject "Socialism's Contribution to Modern Society," was associated with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The results of the Center's work are reflected, on the one hand, in numerous journals, especially *Pensee*, *Nouvel Critique*, *Europe* and others, and, on the

other, in sixty issues of the mimeographed *Cahiers* (Annals).

The course of dialectical and historical materialism (90 lectures) worked out in 1962-63 at the request of the Cuban government, and a number of other works, e.g., on cybernetics, have been valuable additions to the Small Marxist Encyclopedia series published by Editions Sociales. The same publishing house has put out the first two volumes of a textbook on the history of French literature, the result of several years' work of the History of Literature Department. Volume 3, covering the 18th century, is due to appear soon. Also published was the research on the theme "The Asian Mode of Production" (one volume), together with works by Marx and Engels on the same subject.

Mention should be made of the publications arising from the discussions held during the Weeks of Marxist Thought ("Marxism and Existentialism," "The Women of the 20th Century," "Democracy and Freedom," etc.), and from the exchanges of views at conferences on such subjects as "Man's Future," "Democracy and Justice," "Democracy and the Right to Health Protection," "Physical Education and the Present-Day World."

All this work, spread over a series of seminars, was done exclusively by voluntary workers.

The research is conducted by departments specializing in philosophy, psychology, medicine, the theory of physical education, aesthetics, linguistics, problems of Asia and Africa, etc.

The departments organize their work independently, mostly in the form of "working groups" each of which studies a particular problem. At present the department of medicine, for instance, has several groups which elaborate such problems as "What is Illness?" and "Medicine and State-Monopoly Capitalism."

Sometimes the working groups study problems which are at the junction of several branches of science, such as structuralism, psychoanalysis, methods of teaching the French language and orthography, the origin of pre-capitalist formations, the concept of the underdeveloped country and the national-liberation movement.

These flexible organizational forms have proved most fruitful. They facili-

*At present this library belongs to the Maurice Thorez Institute.

tate both joint research and individual effort.

The Center also trains young researchers and helps students in their studies.

One of the tasks of the Center follows from its principal purpose. I have in mind the confrontation of views and the dialogue with non-Marxists.

Our Weeks are successful partly because they take the form of a dialogue between Marxists and followers of other ideological trends.

When we first used the dialogue form we encountered difficulties, which could not but give rise to doubts.

Referring to this, Roland Leroy stressed that "the dialogue is necessary, because there are many scientists and researchers who, while not Marxists, contribute to the advance of science. Marxism would not be Marxism if it did not utilize the results of their labor. Hence the need for real contacts and a genuine exchange of views. And on this issue the dialogue as conceived by us has been distorted . . .

"Some think we are cold-blooded calculating people determined to win over to our side people who think differently from us against their will. Others regard us as people ready to renounce our principles in order to attract those who don't think as we do.

"The dialogue as we conceive it is not somewhere midway between these two caricatures; it is the exact opposite of them. We are what we are: Communists, Marxist-Leninists with our own prin-

ciples and firmly determined to uphold them without fearing any confrontation of views. Therefore the dialogue is for us an affirmation of our standpoint and at the same time an opportunity to measure it against others, which we respect and with the help of which we enrich our own knowledge."

The dialogue is not an aim in itself. It makes sense only when common reflection materializes in working for a common future. That is why the dialogue is a form of ideological struggle.

It goes without saying that the work of the Marxist Research Center is but one of the many forms of the ideological work of the French Communists. Also active in this field are the New University, the Central Committee's department of education and Party schools and, of course, the cultural department.

In conclusion it should be noted that, while it belongs to the Party, the Center does not supplant the Party, it does not relieve it of the duty theoretically to comprehend and elaborate problems.

The proof is furnished by the Central Committee meeting in March 1966 which was devoted solely to problems of ideology and culture.

The Party has no intention of debarring specialists from problems that come within their competence and of tackling them at its own discretion. But it is the Party's responsibility to work out the general line and program of action of the Communists in this area, as in all other areas of its activity.

Nicolas PASQUARELLI

THE MAURICE THOREZ INSTITUTE

Installed in its new premises in April 1967, the Institute was founded by the Party to perpetuate Thorez' memory and to carry forward his work. The working people contributed to the establishment of the Institute. The tens of millions of francs raised in a public subscription testified to their appreciation of the importance of ideological work, their respect for science and their awareness of the exigencies of the class struggle in this sphere.

THE CHARACTER OF THE INSTITUTE AND ITS AIMS

Maurice Thorez made a significant theoretical and practical contribution to

the French and international working-class movement, enriching the ideology of the movement in many domains.

Thorez's work combined scientific thinking with an awareness of the preoccupations of the working people, traditions and national interests with the obligations and principles of proletarian internationalism, and everyday practical work with theoretical effort oriented on the future. He developed a fruitful style of theoretical and practical work, and we should preserve and assimilate this heritage in order to utilize all its possibilities. Such is the task that the Maurice Thorez Institute sets before activists and researchers, before those who are working for the future.

In this sense the Institute is not a mere depository of documents, however, valuable, but a living, public institution where books, manuscripts, documents as well as conferences and discussions help reveal the essence of Thorez's ideas.

The tasks and the sphere of activity of the Institute were defined at the first session of its Administrative Council by its chairman, Georges Cogniot: "... A center for the study of the working-class movement and social thought in all forms and all manifestations . . . We want the Institute to become a center of historical research and theoretical elaboration; a meeting ground for people studying history, for scientists, including those from the conventional university and those who are making history—the Party functionaries; a center where all can engage in free discussion, compare views and draw conclusions from the experience gained. . . ."

This research and comparing of views is taking place in conditions of acute class struggle on an international plane, of the battle of ideas, a battle growing in scale and intensity. For all historical events, all significant anniversaries prompt bourgeois ideologists to publish studies designed to falsify history. For these ideologists Marxism is invalid, it is either unsound or obsolescent. The French Communist Party has affirmed itself as an indestructible reality. Hence the proliferation of works on its history and events associated with its activity. Some of them, honest but influenced by bourgeois ideology, deserve attention and discussion; others, based on preconceived concepts, doctor the facts and misrepresent the position of the Communist Party and must be exposed.

It is from this standpoint that the Institute envisages a broad and profound study of the facts of history, not by repeating already established theses or data, but in the light of present-day reality and newly established facts. Its staff acts on Marx's well-known dictum: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it."

Confuting the theories of our adversaries is inseparable from the perspective of building the new world, and this calls for the spirit of dialogue, for ability to apprehend the new in our times, when the scientific and technological revolution is changing the traditional habits and ways of thinking, the ability to

listen to and appreciate all opinions sincerely held to enrich one's knowledge by drawing on the work of men of practice, historians and sociologists of diverse trends, by assessing their experience from the standpoint of Marxist criticism and advancing one's own thinking.

Two practical problems face the Institute. One is how to combine the scientific level of the research with the popular character of its presentation. Some activists and workers' organizations regard the Institute as an establishment somewhat above their level and as being the domain of scholars.

But after its first hesitant steps the Institute has, we think, found its style, and we can say that it has definite success to its credit which reflects a new advance in educational work, ideological strengthening of the workers' organizations and their growing role in the life of the country; further proof of the success is that we now have worker activists who, having extended their range of knowledge, are contributing to the solution of highly complex problems.

The other problem is to achieve the most effective fusion of historical study with research devoted to contemporary problems, to the perspectives and future work.

The Institute should take care to avoid becoming, in the eyes of the younger generation, a censorious guardian of the past before which hats are raised in awe. Its efforts should be directed toward development, towards horizons which become clearer when looked at in the light of the past.

CONFERENCES

So far the Institute has held two conferences.

The first, held in October 1966, had for its subject, the People's Front of 1936. It was attended by representatives from some twenty Communist and Workers' parties or respective institutes. Points discussed included the following:

1. The social forces in 1936 and now. The contribution made by Maurice Thorez to the study of this question.
2. The workers' united front as the base of the People's Front.
3. The People's Front as an expression of the alliance of the industrial workers, working peasantry and the urban middle classes.

4. The successes, difficulties and lessons of the People's Front.

The point of departure in the discussion was, in a measure, Maurice Thorez' dual concept of the Front, namely:

a) the People's Front as a new and original form of alliance which is neither a simple electoral combination nor a revolution in which the decisive role is played by the working class;

b) democracy, which, in the conditions of the times, must be rehabilitated, safeguarded and viewed as something in the process of steady development.

The new forms of this multi-class alliance, the new role of the working class and the movement of large masses of people made the People's Front a discovery fruitful for both its time and the future. Looking back on the relevant problems from the vantage point of thirty years, the conference was in a better position to illustrate and link them with the general international situation; certainly it enriched our knowledge of that fertile period in the history of the working-class movement.

One of the most valuable points made by the conference was that progress and big social and political events do not come about spontaneously. Without a strong Communist Party rooted in the working class and animated by new and bold ideas there would have been no People's Front in 1936. This fact helps to appreciate vital problems of the struggle of the masses and their alliance against monopoly domination. Seen in this light the prospect of the peaceful advance to socialism is not an "invention," not a parting of ways with the past, but the development of long-existing prerequisites which now find favorable conditions for materialization.

On the other hand, the conference was a manifestation of internationalism and an example of the cooperation of the Parties. As an international confrontation of views, it made it possible to assess the repercussions of the People's Front in many countries, from Chile to Poland, and to reaffirm its very great significance and the original forms of its realization depending on the historical and national conditions. From this standpoint we can appreciate why the Seventh Congress of the Comintern displayed such interest in the People's Front and why Dimitrov drew upon its experience in shaping the strategy of

the working-class movement in the pre-war years.

The discussion did not exhaust these problems. On the contrary, by reviving the spirit of 1936 it gave fresh impulse to their study, of which the recommendations of the conference are the best proof. These concerned, among other things, the establishment of a commission to collect reminiscences, information and documents related to the period, and an international commission to write the history of the People's Front as a phenomenon of international significance.

The theme of the second conference, held a year later, was "The October Revolution and France." The conference assembled scholars, activists and people who had witnessed or taken part in the events of the period in France; their purpose was to establish how and to what extent the October Revolution influenced developments in France, in particular the founding of the Communist Party. In other words, the aim was to look into the national consequences of a great international event.

Accordingly, the agenda included the following points:

1. The role of the October Revolution in renewing the French working-class movement.

2. The October Revolution, proletarian internationalism and the nation, and, associated with this the role played by Maurice Thorez.

3. The French intellectuals and the October Revolution.

The interest in the conference was seen in the large number of participants in the discussion and in the character of the latter, illustrated by the polemical but pertinent contribution made by Professor Renouvin of Paris University. Waldeck Rochet, who spoke on "What it Means to Be a Revolutionary in Present-Day France," showed in his summing up the direction of the efforts already made and those presently being undertaken. The presence of scholars from the Moscow Institute of Marxism-Leninism, including Academician Mintz, was an expression of the solidarity of the two countries and of the two Communist parties.

In a moving contribution, Comrade Vottero, a veteran of the French Navy, spoke about the events and struggles in which he had taken part.

It should be said that the value of the

contributions was due largely to the style of work of the Institute, which combined in fruitful cooperation "those writing history and those who make it."

The fusion of these two ways of thinking—one "from below," straight from practice, and essentially reflecting it, and the other "from above" and essentially reflecting work already done, was most fruitful. It made it possible to pinpoint many instructive things and gave greater scope and depth to the discussion of events and of the role and actions of the workers' organizations and individuals.

No one will deny that the October Revolution is the outstanding event of our century. Yet attempts are being made to detract from its significance. A campaign in France tried to present the October Revolution and the emergence of the French Communist Party as historical accidents which could have been avoided given a certain measure of perspicacity. Attempts are being made to prove that socialism in the Soviet Union, like the Communist Party in our country, has no real historical foundation. In efforts to belittle the role of the masses, of the working class, some people depict the October Revolution as the accomplishment of a single genius—Lenin.

The contributions discussed the conditions that obtained in France at that time, the role of the working people and their organizations, as well as the role of individuals. But here too the problems were not exhausted. The need for further research was stressed, and thus there opens before us a new sphere of activity of the Maurice Thorez Institute.

LOCAL RESEARCH

Work on a purely national plane calls for decentralized activities and initiatives at regional and local levels and their coordination. With this aim in view the Institute has a correspondence network which extends to about 30 departments.

Speaking at the first conference of correspondents in April 1967, Comrade Joannés, director of the Institute, specified their tasks: "As we see it, the correspondents are authorized representatives of the Institute in their respective departments. This means, first, that they act on its behalf, explain its aims and describe its activities, ensure its influence, stimulate local initiative through

conferences, discussions, seminars, and so on, in order to strengthen the influence and prestige of the Institute.

"The correspondents should form more or less considerable groups of young and older activists and students interested in the history of the working-class movement and the history of social thought, and undertake, jointly with them, systematic study of the rise of the social and political movements in their departments, namely, the working-class movement, the trade union movement, the fight for the interests of the working people and for democracy, political parties, etc. Such work would certainly provide material for papers, higher-school diploma theses and dissertations which would be valuable for both the Party and the Institute."

Some works of this kind have already appeared in print, others are in the preparatory stage. To mention but a few: "The Beginning of the Trade Union Movement in the Eastern Pyrenees" by E. Frenay, "The People's Front in Var Department" by Girault, "The Trade Union Movement in Doubs Department" by J. Charles, "The Workers' Movement in Lyons Area" by Moissonier.

This work has two aspects: through preparation of a genuine history of the French working-class movement, which in this way, would be the joint product of historians and worker-activists and based on both national and local data, and the provision of materials on local history of very great benefit to workers' organizations in imparting a more concrete character to their mass activity.

This research calls for consultations and the collection of relevant publications, manuscripts, records of pictorial and other documents, as well as reminiscences by veterans. It was noted with regret at the April conference of correspondents that all too many documents pertaining to the working-class movement had disappeared and that many activists who have passed away had never been asked for their precious information. It would be unpardonable if we failed to make full use of the experience of the past.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE

The first eight issues of *Annals of the Maurice Thorez Institute* have taken their place among the numerous journals devoted to history and the French working-

class movement. Victor Michaut, who is in charge of the *Annals* wrote in a preface to the first number: "As an organ reflecting theoretical and practical work, *Annals of the Maurice Thorez Institute* will promote the study of politics as a science. Much space will be reserved for history: the history of communism in France and of the socialist movement in general, the history of the trade union movement and of the international working-class movement, the history of the Resistance, the history of social thought. The *Annals* will regularly carry heretofore unpublished reminiscences and monographs, bibliographical notes and documents useful for teachers in Party schools."

The journal has several departments of a very flexible but permanent character:

Historical Documents: including those not previously published. For example, the first issue carried the texts of the 1934 agreement on unity of action and Maurice Thorez's speech on that occasion; Jacques Sadoul's letter from Petrograd, dated November 7, 1917 appeared in No. 6;

Researches: such as Pierre Hentges' "Maurice Thorez and the National Tradition" in No. 2;

Reminiscences by Party Veterans: reminiscences by Benoit Frachon about the 1917-25 period can be found in No. 5 and those by Pierre Delon about the first steps towards the united front in Paris in 1934 in No. 6;

Monographs: as E. Frenay's on the Eastern Pyrenees, and Roger Pierre's on Drôme Department;

Reviews and Bibliography: No. 1 contained A. Legendre's bibliographical notes on "The Communist International, the French Communist Party and Problems of the United Front and the People's Front."

And lastly, verbatim reports of the conferences organized by the Institute appeared in two special issues of the journal. They are indispensable aids for the study of the People's Front and of the impact of the October Revolution on France.

The tasks of the Institute include publication of works by Maurice Thorez. In recent years there have appeared three volumes of his selected works, covering the years 1924-27, 1938-50 and 1953-64. In 1966 much interest was shown in "France's Road to Socialism," a 120-page

collective analysis of the present-day conditions in France, with an outline of prospects of peaceful development towards socialism.

In 1967 the Institute published "The History of the French Communist Party During the Resistance" which fills a gap in the history of those years.

The Institute's well-stocked library is frequented by readers from all walks of life, including many French and foreign students. Its files, containing tens of thousands of documents, often unique ones, are used by Communist activists and by representatives of the National Library, television and cinema. In 1967 the Institute organized expositions devoted to the October Revolution in many workers' organizations, municipalities, cultural centers, bookshops, etc.

The Institute has become an international center. Last year it was visited by delegations from European, American and Asian countries.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

To contribute to the current ideological struggle and improve the mass character of its work, the Institute is planning for a series of conferences on topical themes:

- the centenary of the first volume of *Capital* and the current problems of French society;

- the 50th anniversary of Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*;

- profit-sharing and the myths about solidarity between labor and capital;

- the French Communist Party during the Resistance;

- revolutionary socialism in France in the pre-World War One years;

- Leninism and the current problems of the international working-class movement;

- the origin, present and future of the "extended hand" policy.

Other projected undertakings are connected with a number of important dates to be observed in the coming years, such as the 30th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two (1969), 50th anniversary of the FCP and the centenary of Lenin's birth (1970), the centenary of the Paris Commune (1971).

In March the Maurice Thorez Institute and the Institute of the History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will hold a joint seminar to discuss the ex-

perience of the united front movement and the People's Front in the 1930s, the Resistance movement during World War Two, and the role of the two parties in the struggle for the national liberation of their countries. Questions of the common and specific features of the advance

towards socialism in both countries will also be discussed.

Thus the tasks of the Maurice Thorez Institute, which is playing its role in the political and scientific life of France, are growing with the passing of time.

André MOINE

Planned party building: a permanent independent task

The Third Congress of the Communist Party of the Sudan in 1956 was held under the slogan "Transform our Party into a great social force!" Since then the task of building the party, of bringing it to the position where it could effectively influence the mass movement, has occupied a central place in the attention of its leadership and cadres.

Out of the struggles and experiences of these years two conditions have emerged. The situation created by the emergence of these conditions places realization of the slogan of the Third Congress within the reach of our Party.

On the one hand, the movement for social change has grown enormously, drawing towards independent political action definite class forces fighting in the ranks of the national-democratic revolution. This is a new feature which cannot be obliterated from the political life of our country. Far from being of a spontaneous or temporary character, it has come about as a result of the resolute struggles of the Party in the heart of the revolutionary movement. That is why it is seen as a fundamental condition for the growth of our Party. The numerous threads linking our Party with the growth of the forces of the national-democratic revolution provide the firm foundation for its transformation into a powerful social force.

On the other hand, on the basis of the experiences accumulated and after carefully studying the conditions of the country, the Party was able to discover the laws governing its growth and develop-

ment. The 4th Congress, held last October, clearly formulated these laws. We shall attempt here to outline them in brief.

First. The Party is developing into a mass force through a process which involves independent and creative application of Marxism-Leninism in working out a political line and in discovering forms of organization suitable to the conditions in the Sudan.

Secondly. The transformation of the Party into an effective mass force calls for continuous efforts to create and build various modern mass organizations. It can function effectively only in an atmosphere of a network of organizations which help to elevate the level of the social concerns and aspirations of the masses. This task has always fallen on the shoulders of the Party. The modern mass organizations presently functioning in the Sudan appeared as a result of its initiative. But the discontinuation of this work at the traditional boundaries of the mass organizations led to the appearance of a serious feature among the revolutionary classes. The daily life and activities of many of the organizations march in isolation from the political movement. This can but obstruct the progress of the Party towards the positions of effective influence on the masses. Hence, careful attention to the mass organizations and raising their effectiveness in the day-to-day life of their members is a task the carrying out of which provides better conditions for the growth and development of the Party.

Thirdly. Because of the uneven development of different regions of our large country, the growth of the Party does not take identical forms everywhere. In the big towns its transformation into a mass force depends on winning over the industrial, and other, workers. Its organizations among the workers are its solid base. But in areas of the traditional economy, as experience has shown, this line cannot be followed blindly. The educated sons of the tribes and the dispersed pockets of service workers from among these tribes, play a vanguard role. Hence to stick to one organizational formula in Party building would be inconsistent with our experience and with the conditions of our country.

Fourthly. The Party must base its activities on a detailed and concrete study of the various regions and localities of the Sudan: their national and tribal peculiarities, their economic patterns, their social and class structures, etc. All Party organizations can thus work according to a directory which enables them to avoid a squandering of effort and to make full use of the energies of the cadres.

Preparing for the 4th Congress, the Party organizations conducted intensive studies of the peculiarities of their localities. This was not, as the Congress observed, mere academic research. "It was the result of a long struggle within the Party, of examining the position of the Party and the mass movement and of applying Marxism as a scientific, planned method of Party building." According to these studies the Party organizations are working out plans for activating the mass movement and for building the Party.

The Party organization in the Gezira cotton-growing area, for example, after studying the situation there, worked out its own organizational plan. It felt that in the countryside the future of the revolutionary movement depends on organizing the agricultural laborers who number 270,000-300,000 constituting 36 per cent of the entire population. Peasants number 76,000, the majority of whom (69%) are in the category of poor peasants. This determines the real reserve for the working class, the core of which (numerically and politically) comprises the 19,000 workers (70% of the total number of workers in the area) employed in the Guneid sugar plant, on irrigation and

on the railways. Active work should be conducted among teachers. In the countryside most of the 2,488 teachers teach in elementary and sub-elementary schools, and are generally oriented towards the Left and exert considerable influence on the peasant masses.

In Port Sudan, the big port on the Red Sea, the Party organization, after studying the social structure of the town, decided to devote most of its efforts to the main concentrations of the revolutionary forces. These constitute 73 per cent of the workers (of a total of 17,000), 64 per cent of the white collar workers (of a total of 2,470) and the students (totalling 1,230). Besides working out a plan to activate trade-union, student, youth, women, teachers' and other organizations, attention is paid also to improving the work of the Party branches. In residential areas, for example, the Party branches are called upon to organize action for, among other things, certain reforms. Only 25 per cent of the houses are provided with drinking water; 22 per cent with electricity; 67 per cent have no lavatories, and about 70 per cent of the population is completely illiterate.

The Port Sudan Party organization is also responsible for conducting activity among the Beja, a nomadic group of tribes inhabiting the Red Sea Hills. The Party organization is of the opinion that the basic social force with which we should begin our work of finding pioneers for socialist ideas and for organizing the masses are the 78 teachers of elementary and sub-elementary schools, health workers, workers in the veterinary stations and the 150 workers employed on a shell-growing project. Efforts should be made to draw them towards the Party and towards democratic political work.

The Southern Sudan is one of the more backward regions of the country. The population (four million) is composed of numerous tribes and ethnic groups distinctly different from the predominantly Arab North. Almost all the South lives under a primitive natural economy. "The general direction of our organizational line," according to a statement by the Party organization there, "is the expansion of the Party through a broad anti-imperialist party capable of combining the efforts of the Communists, revolutionary-democrats and other anti-imperialist nationalists . . . This decision was arrived at after years of experience and

after a detailed review of the social conditions in the South . . . The material conditions there indicate that the interests of the various sections are not antagonistic and they can all be won for a program of progress."

The above-mentioned examples have been cited to show how the Party organizations in the towns, in the agricultural areas and in the tribal communities and ethnic groups went about the task of working out their organizational line. The fifteen Party organizations have fulfilled this task with varying degrees of success. Their work involved studies of the economic patterns; of the structure of the working class, the peasantry and the bourgeoisie; of the mass organizations, their shortcomings and defects, etc., etc. During these studies, bordering sometimes on efficient research work, much knowledge was gained which will help our efforts to expand the revolutionary mass movement and to enlarge the Party.

Summing up the results, the Congress noted:

"The task of building the Communist Party to become a mass force is now our main task. If we can get our cadres to march along the path mapped out, and if we can provide a modern and suitable executive apparatus, then the linking of our Party with the mass movement and its rate of growth as a force within it can be achieved. Hence our Party will now be able to do what it has failed to do repeatedly in the

past: to make its building an independent and permanent task, according to plans realized over fixed periods." Those attempts failed because they were not based on a realistic study of the social forces among which it works and which defines the different levels within these forces, their different sections and their vanguards.

"Clarifying the matter of the vanguards, their attitudes and influence," the resolution continues, "places the planning of Party building on firm ground, and enables us to follow it up as a permanent and independent task on a par with the political and ideological work and the day-to-day activity of the Party. This, undoubtedly, is a turning point, indicating that our Party has indeed entered the stage of maturity. The Communist Party possesses today . . . clear theoretical groundwork based on a summing up of its experience in applying Marxism to its methods and work among the popular vanguards . . . The principal task our Party faces after the Congress is to apply this theoretical groundwork through a realistic and practical plan in order to achieve, step by step, the desired improvement in our internal work, to provide the needed and suitable leadership for carrying out this plan and to make the task of Party building a permanent feature irrespective of the political conditions facing the Party, irrespective of the concerns and troubles of the day-to-day work."

Tigani BABIKER

Study of the workers' situation in Turin

At a conference in Turin under the auspices of the Italian Communist Party last December, some 4,500 delegates, many of them young people, discussed how to improve the situation of workers at factories and in society. The discussion centered on working-class conditions, described by Fernando Di Giulio as "the epitome of the social contradictions stemming from the country's economic development of the past few years." The conference was preceded by a countrywide discussion, debates and meetings in factory shops, and by investigations and opinion polls among Communists, members of other parties and people of no political affiliation. Below is a brief survey of two of the opinion polls, held in Piedmont and in the Turin commune.

More than 4,000 people took part in the poll held on the initiative of the Communist parliamentary deputies in Turin and the Piedmont region.*

Over 718 replies solicited in 24 big factories in Turin, including five Fiat plants, are analyzed below. In addition, more than 1,000 written answers were polled concerning working conditions, labor safety, hours of work, pensions and the role of the unions in the factories.

The second investigation** largely concerned conditions on the factory floor, chiefly working conditions and health.

With the poll being territorially restricted, too much should not be read into the results, and the figures obtained should not be viewed as statistically exact. However, the general picture yields a fairly good idea of the situation. Above all, the material is valuable because collected directly on the factory floor.

Despite the wide range of difference between the various situations, the chief

elements of the Turin poll are corroborated by similar investigations in other cities.

To begin with, we should note that the conditions of life and work are overshadowed by the difficulty, often impossibility, for hundreds of thousands to find jobs (to say nothing of the tens of thousands compelled to emigrate).

Italy still has one of the lowest percentages of gainfully employed—37.8 per cent in 1966, i.e., 900,000 fewer than in 1963, the year of peak employment before the down turn in the economy. Despite somewhat livelier business of late, it is estimated (for precise figures have not yet been published) that in 1967 the total of gainfully employed was 700,000 lower than in 1963.

Employers took advantage of the cut-back to reorganize production, which in many cases, though not all, involved installing new machinery. This had a visible effect on employment: redundancy caused wholesale dismissals, while exploitation of those at work was intensified. In many factories, production climbed visibly, though the number of workers was either only slightly in-

*Referendum — inchiesta sulla condizione operaia (indetto dal gruppo parlamentare comunista piemontese), Torino, 1967.

**Partito Comunista Italiano-Federazione di Torino, *Inchiesta sulla condizione operaia*, Dicembre 1967.

creased or, often, even reduced. True, productivity climbed also due to the more sophisticated production techniques, but the fact remains that in the modernized factories the management made the most of the new machinery to wring greater physical and nervous outlays from the workers.

Exploitation and work rates intensified to an all but intolerable degree are one of the gravest problems on the industrial scene. Most of the workers polled in Turin declared that their work is now more exhausting, that operating the new machines required greater attentiveness and strain. Last year, they said, output went up, but working conditions deteriorated. At least two of every three workers complained that "cutting the time for jobs," i.e., speed up and intensive working, were the main feature of the deterioration in working conditions.

Workers complained most about the excessive speed-up, the unsuitable environment and the overlong working day; "cutting the time for jobs," reducing the worker to an automaton and mounting incidence of nervous disorders. The tempo on the job leaves the worker exhausted. Investigations carried out by the management showed that after ten years on the assembly line, he loses his ability to work.

Here are examples of how output has been raised by intensified exploitation: in the Fiat enterprise annual output per worker rose from 4.9 cars in 1957 to 10.57 in 1967; in the Olivetti enterprise annual output per worker was valued at 1,862,000 liras ten years ago, while today it has risen to 5,483,000; in the RIV-SKF plant output is up 30 per cent, with 4,000 fewer workers.

In an eight-hour day the operative making parts for Fiat's 124-Sport model lifts weights totalling 30.5 to 34 tons.

In most textile mills work rates and machines per worker have been steadily increasing. The number of looms per weaver ranges between 36-40 and even 48, while employees are dismissed wholesale due to modernization and concentration, and the integration of work cycles in the new mills.

A dramatic aspect pinpointed by the workers was that conditions on the factory floor were deteriorating. Workers complained of noise, dampness, heat, bad lighting, poor ventilation and of hav-

ing to handle harmful substances. This, coupled with excessive speed, is affecting health. Seventy to eighty per cent complained of fatigue, overstrain, loss of appetite, impaired respiration, rheumatism and indigestion (most workers attributed this last complaint to the very short lunch break).

Illness, accidents and occupational complaints (old, legally specified illness and new, stemming from the intensive exploitation), are the major single cause of absenteeism.

Industrial accidents in the Turin commune have tripled in recent years. The loss of work time due to illness has climbed from 5-7 to 15-20 per cent. The following figures speak for themselves: of the 489 workers polled in the Fiat enterprise 279 said that last year they missed a total of 9,846 working days or an average of 35 days each. One hundred and thirty-two said they lost a total of 1,972 days recovering from accidents. At Pirelli, 77 out of 140 said 1,776 working days, or an average of 23 days each, were missed by them due to illness last year, and a count at the RIV-SKF assembly plant showed that 25 per cent of the personnel is continually on the sick list.

The main reason for staying at home, the workers said, was over-fatigue. Workers fail to report to work now and then due to excessive physical or nervous wear. "The speed is terrific," one worker said, "and the only way we can protect ourselves is to stay at home from time to time, though this hurts the family budget." Another said: "Officially, neurosis is not recognized as an occupational illness, but it is widespread among workers."

Some 22,860,000 accidents and industrial ailments — 82,557 of them fatal — have been registered in Italy over the past 20 years, with 996,888 people permanently disabled. This is pure statistics, however, and does not cover premature aging, chronic illness, and physical and nervous wear and tear.

It appears from what the workers say that accidents are caused, firstly, by the excessive speed and the consequent fatigue, and, secondly, by the low standard of labor safety. Of 686 workers questioned in Fiat, 321 pointed to over-intensive work as the main cause of accidents, 272 blamed fatigue, and 111 complained of insufficiency of protective

devices. Other causes, such as carelessness, sudden onset of illness or carelessness on the part of workmates were named much less frequently.

This shows that the problem of working conditions and health looms large not only for the individual worker, but for society as a whole, underscoring the need for urgent measures, including legislation. The vast majority (94.3 per cent) thought it would be wise to have labor safety committees elected by the workers, which, together with the factory doctors, could examine conditions. Moreover, 80 per cent held that the doctor's functions in the factories should be regulated, because at present he tends to care more for the employer's interest than he does for the workers' health.

Closely associated with intensity of labor is the length of the working day. Only 20.9 per cent of the workers expressed themselves as satisfied with the proposal contained in the National Council of Economy and Labor bill for a 45-hour week. In replying to another question, 81 per cent favored a 40-hour week, while 91.8 per cent insisted that overtime should be purely voluntary.

The answers were accompanied in many cases by suggestions in which the demand for a 40-hour week (without reduction in pay) was associated with the intensity of labor and speed-up, on the one hand, and the need for more jobs, on the other. Employers, it was said, often prefer overtime to avoid taking on more workers. The point was made that the overtime is often imposed, the workers being unable to refuse it for fear of reprisals. However, for some workers overtime is a welcome addition to the family budget.

How much do workers earn?

Here are some of the earnings recorded in the investigation: an average 100,000 liras monthly in the Fiat enterprise, 87,000 in Olivetti, 86,000 in Pirelli, 80,000 in RIV, 85,000 for men and 66,000 for women at Phillips, 65 to 67 thousand at Paracchi and 55 to 60 thousand at CVS-ETI.

House-rent makes the biggest dent in the worker's earnings. A Pirelli worker pays a monthly average of 24,000 liras for his housing, a Superga worker 22,000, a Philips worker 24,000. Thus, rent accounts for one-quarter to one-third of the worker's wage. Fares to and from work are another big expense—an average 4,400 liras monthly for the Pirelli

worker, 2,700 at Superga, 4,200 at Philips.

Many workers complained that their proficiency rating was ignored, and that they were not getting the rate for the job.

Pensions are another vital issue. Ninety-one per cent wanted pensions raised. Eighty-eight per cent insisted that social security should be made more democratic and placed under workers' control. The suggestion of a reform envisaging a pension amounting to 80 per cent of the average wage after 40 years of work found support from 77 per cent. Most others wanted pensions after 30 years on the job. "In view of the present inhuman tempo," one worker said, "30 years is more than enough." "After 40 years," another added, "you die from over-fatigue." A third said: "By the time you've worked 40 years and qualify for your 80 per cent pension you are either dead or a physical wreck."

The proposal for reform of the health service and for a new system of social insurance guaranteeing all citizens free medical treatment found almost unanimous approval (92.2 per cent); that sick pay should be at least 80 per cent of the wage met with almost the same degree of unanimity.

Most workers wanted legislation to ease the tax burden, which makes considerable inroads into their earnings.

Workers' rights and democracy in the factories were also discussed. Indicatively, only 18.6 per cent approved of the bill stipulating just motives for dismissal. Seventy-three per cent said guarantees were needed to ensure its observance, while 68.6 per cent insisted on its being amended.

Asked whether Communist protests in Parliament against police interference in labor conflicts and in behalf of the rights of the strikers, were strong enough, only about half those polled replied in the affirmative. This should be taken as a criticism which, coupled with other remarks, indicates the need for broader action in defense of the rights and the dignity of the worker against the authoritarianism in the factories.

Here are a few selected remarks:

"The employer should not have a free hand in transferring us from one job to another, in cutting the time per operation, or in firing us when it suits him."

"Whenever the skill rating is raised, the usual thing is that a man who took

part in a strike is ignored and gets no fringe benefits. This is an attack on democratic rights."

"Things are made intolerable by cutting the time for jobs and ignoring the rights of the worker. The moment the worker goes through the factory gate he is regarded not as a human being but as an appendage to the machine."

"Freedom is an empty word. In the factory it is non-existent."

This explains why 81.7 per cent of the workers polled advocated a legal definition of the rights of employees, of the principles on which the factory rules and regulations and the function of overseers are to be based.

More than four of five workers wanted legislative guarantees for trade unions to do their work directly in the factory, a right usually denied them in Italy. Also they want the trade unions to be assured of premises in the factory grounds. Most of the answers relating to the trade unions revealed a spirit of

unity. Unity, above all a single trade union center independent of employers, government and political parties, was seen as the best way to extend workers' influence in the factories. One worker said: "The unions must be strengthened; and all of us should set about building a single, independent trade union."

"Unity, that's what the unions need," was the comment of another worker, who added, "The stronger the unions the better it will be for the worker."

Another wanted a united trade union center that would be independent of the political parties and financed by the workers themselves. "Given this," he added, "we could in a few years' time meet the monopolies on equal terms."

The consensus: work for unity.

Unity, most workers held, will not be achieved until their problems are taken up and for this the unions need greater democracy and closer contact with the people.

Bruna ZACCHINI

WMR

pages from history

Grand victory of the people of Czechoslovakia

Twenty years ago a decisive class collision culminated in Czechoslovakia's taking the socialist road. The years that have passed since then are the proof that the events of February 1948 were a watershed in the socio-political evolution of Czechoslovakia, a fount of Marxist-Leninist experience and an example of Communist skill in organizing the political activity of the masses.

CONSISTENCY OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND REALIZATION OF CLASS DEMANDS

The rulers of the pre-Munich republic failed to solve the fundamental social problems or to safeguard the national existence of the Czechs and Slovaks. The bourgeoisie—the ruling class in those days—failed to cope with the grave economic crisis of the late 'twenties and early

'thirties, and failed to uphold democracy against internal reaction and international fascism. Narrow class interests prevented a democratic settlement of the nationality issue. This enabled fascists at home and abroad to take advantage of the discontent in Slovakia to establish a clerical-fascist regime. Munich and the ensuing fascist occupation showed up the inability of the bourgeoisie to uphold the independence of the Czechoslovak state. Ineffective foreign policies, subservience to the country's Western capitalist allies, surrender, and outright betrayal of the nation by the bourgeoisie created a situation endangering the very existence of our peoples.

The course of World War II and the participation of the masses in the national-liberation movement facilitated the framing of a program of deep-going social and political changes to be effected after the liberation. As the war went on new demands were formulated with a view to guaranteeing the political independence of our country through a new orientation at home and abroad meeting the vital interests of the people.

February 1948 was not an isolated phenomenon in the historical development of the Czech and Slovak peoples. It arose from the desire of the Czechs and Slovaks for national and social self-determination and self-assertion. It was the sequel to the revolutionary process that set in at the formation of the Czechoslovak state and which gained in intensity as the people resisted the fascist occupation. The February events were an expression of the progressive, socialist traditions which played an important part in the two peoples' political and social struggles before the war and led to a series of noteworthy achievements by the Communist Party.

Those events were also a result of the changed international situation and the new balance of world forces due to the Soviet Union's decisive contribution to the defeat of fascism. The possibility of drawing on the moral and political prestige gained by the Soviet Union through its role in liberating Czechoslovakia was a factor in carrying out the genuinely democratic, and ultimately socialist, changes demanded by the people.

The Communist Party fought on behalf of the working people and for national liberation. It did so everywhere — at home and abroad, on the war fronts and

in the prisons and concentration camps, in Moscow and in London, in armed action and in political struggle. It became the natural and acknowledged leader of the revolution towards which the anti-fascist and national liberation movement was advancing.

The national and democratic revolution, whose main objectives were outlined in the Kosice program, was spearheaded against the invaders and their collaborators. In the period after 1945 it abolished in the main the economic power of the big pro-fascist bourgeoisie and tangibly reshaped the economic structure of society. The united working class, the principal force in the effort to establish a new system based on people's democracy, brought its social weight to bear through the factory councils and the united Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. The Communist Party, representing the working class, did not, however, confine itself to promoting the interests of this class but took into account the interests of other classes and social strata. This determined the Party's specific tasks in connection with the land reform, and its attitude to the peasants, civil servants and urban craftsmen. By meeting the urgent needs of the peasants, the Party gained their confidence. It secured support for people's democracy and socialism by a sizable section of the intellectual community, office employees and craftsmen. A class approach, the effort to do away with the social inequality engendered by exploitation, and the policy of a special approach to the different social groups were an important prerequisite for the victory over the bourgeoisie. This policy was oriented on establishing broad alliances in the National Front.

A feature of our revolution was that it took place simultaneously in the dissimilar conditions of the Czech lands and Slovakia. And it is interesting that the "evenness" of the revolutionary process derived from the progressive developments, that the dynamic revolutionary demands advocated by the Communist Party were decisive in the advancement of both parts of the republic. The solidarity and mutual support of the revolutionary forces, the Czech and Slovak Communists, on the basis of proletarian internationalism helped to isolate the reactionary elements and achieve victory for the socialist forces throughout the country. This made it possible to solve

the nationality question in a spirit of equality and brotherhood.

A feature of the new state of people's democracy brought into being by the national and democratic revolution was that it transcended parliamentary democracy with its traditional division into representative and executive authority. "In terms of state policy," wrote Klement Gottwald, "our regime is not a mere new edition of the pre-Munich republic. It is not a regime of nominal, parliamentary democracy but of people's democracy, which manifests itself in the representatives elected by the people enacting legislation and enforcing this legislation."

The National Committees, which sprang up illegally during the occupation as organs of the national-liberation struggle subsequently became organs of state power. Their members are elected and controlled by the people, who can recall them. The National Committees are both representative and executive bodies. The revolution abolished the basic aspects of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and replaced it with a democratic regime providing for greater participation in government by the people, a kind of people's self-government offering wider scope for initiative.

Politically, the class alliance of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, the urban middle classes and those of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie who had fought against the invaders found embodiment in the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks. Shortly after liberation the fundamental tasks involved in resolving relations between the Czechs and Slovaks were fulfilled and Slovak national organs established.

Political development at home was strongly influenced by the international working-class movement after World War II, when the revolutionary, democratic and national liberation movement was on the rise in a number of European countries.

PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL ALTERNATIVE TO BOURGEOIS CONSERVATISM

The elections to the Constituent National Assembly in May 1946, which was to draft a new Constitution, bitterly disappointed the Right. Having polled 38 per cent of the votes, the Communist Party reinforced its position in the government, national committees and

other state organs. Klement Gottwald, chairman of the Communist Party, was elected head of the government. Despite the victory of the Democratic Party in Slovakia, the elections again proved the correctness of Communist policy. After its election success the Party set the task of winning a majority of votes in future elections in order to secure preponderance in the National Front and strengthen its influence among the people.

In the National Front, the class struggle proceeded in new, more favorable conditions. Internally, it reflected itself in agreements and compromises between the parties. To maintain the positions it still held, the democratic bourgeoisie who had participated in the Resistance movement had to agree to important democratic measures which were proposed by the Communists and which made it possible to put forward new, socialist objectives later on.

Communist policy envisaged bringing the majority of the population into the solution of political and social problems. Since peaceful development of the revolution implied unity of the socialist movement in the country, the Communists backed the progressives in the other parties to weaken the more reactionary elements in those parties which still had a following among the population. A bitter fight was waged, aimed at turning the republic towards consistently socialist changes.

In the middle of 1947 the revolution experienced unforeseen difficulties. Those of the bourgeoisie who had taken part in the fight against the occupation and who had cooperated with the other forces in the National Front turned against their allies of yesterday. Alarmed at the outcome of the victory, they joined in the reactionaries' efforts to restore the past. This volte-face was also a result of the slackening of the relations between the principal members of the anti-Hitler coalition shortly after the war. A resurgence of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism had set in in the West. The temporary U.S. atomic monopoly deluded the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie into hoping for a shift in the balance of world forces.

Their strategic plan was aimed at reversing the progressive policy of the state and at returning the country to something similar to the pre-Munich relationships. They hoped that the revo-

lutionary energy of the people would be spent in political strife, that they would become tired and lose interest in politics. In short, they hoped that the revolutionary wave would ebb. To further their aims, they seized on every opportunity, above all the shortage of consumer goods and especially foodstuffs caused by the severe drought in 1947. Their propaganda played up the "alluring" proposals of the Marshall Plan, which was expected to offset the growing economic and political cooperation with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

The reactionaries hoped to effect a radical turn in developments without the people by resorting behind the scenes to methods familiar to them from their pre-Munich coalition policy. The people were to be presented with a *fait accompli*, and the country returned to "normalcy," that is, to bourgeois liberalism. The reactionary bourgeoisie hoped that the Communists, who had assumed the chief responsibility for the new republic, would fail in the exceedingly difficult conditions of the time, that they would have to adopt unpopular measures as they wrestled with the challenging problems, and that this would lose them the support of the masses, if only in part. Last but not least, it counted on its international allies—on psychological, ideological, political, economic, and if necessary, military aid from the Western powers.

The Communist Party strove to further the revolution and to encourage the people's political activity. It did not give the reactionary forces any respite that might have helped them to bolster their positions. It took the initiative, never contented itself with the results achieved, set new tasks and carried revolutionary demands deeper. While fostering the activity of those outside the Party, it never slackened its effort to rally membership for active and disinterested service in the cause of the republic and socialism.

The Party membership grew as tens of thousands of courageous and devoted comrades joined the ranks.

WHO WILL WIN?

The second half of 1947 saw a persistent search for a way out, with the various parties and forces trying to gain a decisive superiority in political life, which was dominated by the prospect of an inevitable class collision. None of

the political adversaries, however, could say which of the specific political issues would precipitate the decisive battle.

In the situation that had taken shape, both political camps considered that their principal task was not only to maintain their influence, but to extend it and secure optimal conditions for achieving victory.

The controversy over the "millionaire's tax"* became a serious political conflict. Although the Right were defeated, they succeeded at first in forming an anti-Communist government majority, on which they relied for support in developing their tactics.

In the second half of 1947, in view of the new situation at home and abroad, the Communist Party began to specify its plans, including tactical ones. It was as determined as ever to win the majority of the people, and set out to secure the backing of the middle strata in town and country. As the contest went on, the two camps tried to build up their influence and extend their positions in government. This helped to isolate the reactionaries in the National Front, dampened the confidence of the anti-Communists in the bourgeois parties and brought nearer the decisive clash that seemed certain before the elections.

Events in Slovakia in the autumn of 1947 played an important part in deciding the further course of the revolution. During the Slovak political crisis, caused by the exposure of a conspiracy against the state traced to the leadership of the Democratic Party, the Slovak Communists succeeded, through an all-Slovakia congress of factory councils, peasant conferences and conferences of the Resistance, in restricting the monopoly position of the Democratic Party in the Slovak National Council and in consolidating the people's democratic system in Slovakia. The holding of representative congresses which met within a short period helped in decisive measure to encourage the initiative of the masses and to rally them. It proved most effective as a method of concentrating the revolutionary forces preparatory to the offensive.

*The tax, levied on the big capitalists, was designed to cover the expenses entailed by the higher purchase prices for farm produce. The bourgeoisie proposed covering them from the budget, which would have lowered the rate of industrial development and the standard of living. On October 21, 1947, the government approved the "millionaire's tax" proposed by the Communist Party.

With the political crisis in Slovakia solved, the crystallization of political trends and the progress of the revolution quickened throughout the country.

In November 1947 the Central Committee of the Party resolved to take the offensive and win the absolute majority of the working people. The Party would give battle before the elections, scheduled for May 1948, to make sure that they would confirm the victory of the progressive forces. The battle was to be fought over further progress of people's democracy—revision of the land reform of 1919, adjustment of salaries, national insurance, the agricultural tax and the drafting of a new Constitution. To provide the broadest possible basis for the offensive, the Party early in February prepared drafts of further nationalization of the enterprises employing upwards of 50 people, and wholesale home trade and foreign trade. The election campaign was marked by a clear-cut differentiation of the two camps and clearly revealed their class base.

The Communists' role in the post-war rehabilitation, and the advancement of far-reaching economic demands enabled them to win an absolute majority of the electorate. If successful, they would be able to ensure the parliamentary transition to socialism. However, the Party did not lose sight of other possibilities. A peaceful course of the revolution, provided the Right were unable to use the armed forces, was feasible, and the Communists had this in mind. They knew that a peaceful transition of power to the working class would make the subsequent political and economic advance to socialism much easier.

The political struggle gained in intensity. The reactionaries in the government, in parliament and in the National Front resorted to obstruction in an effort to paralyze the government and precipitate a governmental crisis. The conflict reached peak on February 20, 1948. The Cabinet ministers representing the National Socialist Party, the Popular Party and the Slovak Democrats tendered their resignations. The Right resolved to attack—at a time when the influence of the Communist Party was growing and when congresses of factory councils and peasant commissions were taking place. They feared that their concept might be defeated. Their action was a political demonstration and also a form of political pressure on the Communist and

other progressive ministers. The ministers who had tendered their resignations were convinced that they could not lose provided President Benes refused, as he had promised, to accept their separate resignations. They linked their move with the resignation of the entire Cabinet, which was expected to result in the formation of a new, so-called "officials' " government of experts or of a coalition government without, or with very few Communists. The reactionaries banked on yet another possibility, namely, that those ministers who had tendered their resignations would withdraw them in the event of the Communists making substantial concessions.

Subsequent developments showed how those calculations underestimated the Communists' strength and tactical skill. The Party immediately took the offensive. It insisted that the resignations be accepted and a new government formed. It appealed to the people, explaining to them the nature of the antagonisms and the reasons for the crisis, and showed very clearly that the tasks were: a progressive solution of the crisis, civic unity irrespective of party allegiance, and the formation of action committees—organs of a regenerated National Front.

The Communists' constructive proposals were approved by the Congress of Factory Councils on February 22, 1948. On February 24 there was a one-hour general strike all over the country in support of these proposals. A marked differentiation set in in the parties which had precipitated the crisis. On February 25, President Benes accepted the resignation of the reactionary ministers and appointed new ministers proposed by the head of the government. The Cabinet was renewed in full conformity with the Constitution. The renewed Cabinet submitted its program to the National Assembly and obtained a vote of confidence. The solution of the crisis was confirmed by the National Assembly according to the Constitution. The assembly approved the new government program by 230 votes.

The way taken by the Communist Party in leading the working people to political power and to a peaceful transition to socialism bore out the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the revolutionary transition to socialism implies the use of different ways and forms of the socialist revolution. Our Party creatively used all the opportunities which a favor-

able internal and international situation afford, and, moreover, extended these opportunities and created new ones. It had an explicit and convincing political program and was backed by the organized strength of a powerful working class, which in the decisive days of February 1948 moved to form its own militia so as to counter a possible armed action by the national bourgeoisie and intervention by international bourgeoisie. The February victory was the fruit of a long and complex struggle in which the Party drew on the finest traditions of its own development and on those of the world Communist movement. And this certainly accounts for the universal significance of February 1948.

LESSONS OF HISTORY

February 1948, which saw the triumph of those social forces who determined the nature, content and purpose of socialist development in Czechoslovakia in later years, was a big success for the Communist Party.

In February 1948, the progressive forces clashed with the conservative and reactionary forces. History passed its verdict on those who placed their narrow class interests above the interests of society and so forfeited the opportunity to take part in guiding the country. Those who wanted to block progress had to give way and were condemned by even their one-time supporters. February 1948 showed that to the fore come only those social forces capable of seeing clearly in intricate situations, who choose the most progressive solutions and who know how to rally the people.

The February victory was a result of all the previous activity of the Communist Party. The Party translated the conclusions of Marxism-Leninism into a program which immediately after liberation became an expression of the cherished aspirations of the working people, spurring them on and on. Knowing the peculiarities of the given period was an important condition if the theoretical and practical tasks of our society were to be solved in a really revolutionary spirit. The Party based its program and activity on a constructive generalization of international experience and proceeded from a knowledge of the new conditions for the development of the people's and democratic revolution. The Communists helped to extend the positions of the working class in the government,

consolidate the National Committees and democratize public life step by step, and proposed specific measures to expedite economic rehabilitation. They realized that victory in the coming struggles would go to the social force which showed the greatest efficiency in ensuring economic rehabilitation and progress and a resultant higher standard of living, and which could unite the people in support of anti-capitalist, progressive goals.

The extensive political work conducted among the masses, both before and after February, likewise helped to lay the socio-political foundation of the revolution. The Party was determined to win the confidence and support of the people at every step and in every economic issue. This called for systematic analysis of the experience of the masses, for continuous and solid links with them. The Party would not have succeeded without the ideological unity of its ranks, the cooperation of all its members in shaping its policies, without an understanding of the fundamental tasks by every member, and a steady effort to accomplish them.

As it developed the strategy and tactics of the revolution the Party took into account the potentialities, requirements and characteristics of our peoples, their historical experience, the growing political awareness of the masses and their resolve to change the social system.

February 1948 was the culmination of the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat. The struggle which the socialist forces waged under Communist Party leadership for social reform—the principal form of class struggle—was decisive in solving the problems facing our peoples. The program of our Party reflected the most progressive traditions and trends of world development. The program which enabled the Party to win in February was focussed on vital socio-political changes inside the country, on a democratic peace and European security, on a fight against imperialist attempts to change the situation in Central Europe created by World War II, against all revanchist schemes. In implementing its program, the Party and the people of our country had the support of the Soviet Union, which safeguarded socialist progress in the People's Democracies morally, economically and politically. Being the exponent of the best traditions of our peoples, the Party ensured the

victory of socialism. Today it shows the way to further social progress as it continues to promote the interests of the working class. As the Party of the working class, it also expresses in its policy the interests and demands of all working people generally.

February 1948 is a symbol of the Czechoslovak people's loyalty to socialism and to the international solidarity of the working class; it is proof of the triumph of creative Marxism-Leninism.

P. LABAN

OUR MAILBAG

West German Social Democrats at loggerheads

West German Social Democrats at Log. Early in 1967 a growing number of Social-Democrats insisted on calling an extraordinary congress of the Party. Many Party officials and Land organizations wanted the congress to say that the Party executive and the Parliamentary group of the Party should reject the Kiesinger-Strauss government's plans for emergency legislation, and that the attitude taken by the Social-Democratic ministers in the Coalition cabinet should be reviewed. Something like 40 regional conferences were held in the autumn at which the party leadership was criticized, often sharply.

The executive, beginning to maneuver, decided to hold a conference of functionaries in November with a view to keeping the membership posted. On the pretext of "informing the members," it wanted with the help of the functionaries to curb the discontent in the party and at the same time to win support for the Coalition to carry on. All this was to predetermine the course of the next congress, set for March 1968.

At the Bad-Godesberg conference, Brandt, Wehner and Schiller tried to justify the grand Coalition's program as a whole. Brandt explicitly demanded that NATO be preserved and extended and

upheld the claim to spokesmanship for the whole of Germany. He stressed, as he had done before, that changing the status quo in Europe or, in other words, following a policy of aggression, was the key objective of the foreign policy of the Federal Republic.

The Right Social-Democratic leaders' integration in the system of state-monopoly capitalism was only too evident from Schiller's speech. He extolled the effort to improve state monopoly regulation measures for the proper functioning of the capitalist profit economy as Social-Democratic policy.

Wehner, referring to a Government declaration, enjoined the conference to regard "the process of settling our internal relations" as the "decisive prerequisite" for combating the German Democratic Republic. Thereupon the Federal Minister of Justice said in no uncertain terms that "the process of internal settlement" implied the emergency legislation which Luecke, the CDU Minister, had submitted and which the Social Democrats were helping to draft. Such was the purpose of the course steered by the party executive at the Godesberg conference.

The Godesberg conference highlighted the contradiction between many mem-

bers, officials and even entire organizations of the Party and the Right-wing leaders. It is a sign of the influence and growing activity of the Left that the Right are constrained to disguise their real policy and to emphasize the "more far-reaching objectives."

In assessing the situation in the Social-Democratic Party the fact that most of the members are highly critical of the stand taken by the SD ministers in the Government can be taken as the starting point. There is a growing demand for the interests of the working people to be upheld in the government. Whereas many SD officials are embarrassed because Social-Democratic voters have swung to the Right, backing the National Democrats, Helmut Schmidt, chairman of the Parliamentary group, was cynical enough to allege at a Party meeting in Hamburg that the swing was simply "an indication of a gloomy frame of mind of these people."

On the whole, the executive tries to justify cooperation in the government by arguing that the Party had to cooperate with a view to overcoming the cyclical, financial and structural crises which had threatened to develop into a political crisis. It contends that the problem is to achieve a new boom, which could not come without sacrifice. But now—a year later—the second phase is setting in and labor, too, would benefit from the boom.

The economic policy of the government has been scathingly criticized in the Party. At a party conference in Bremen, the electoral defeat was attributed to the fact that in 1967 most of the workers had earned less than a year ago.

One of the speakers at the Schleswig-Holstein regional conference said amid cheers that the basic concept of Schiller's economic policy was wrong.

At Godesberg, Steffen, first chairman of the Party in Schleswig-Holstein spoke of the need for revision of the power relations in society. Walter Moeller (Frankfurt-on-Main) charged the executive with allowing the Social-Democrats' participation in the government to be used by the employers for "tightening discipline." Other speakers insisted that something be done at last for the workers or the Party would lose its base and fall out with the unions.

Brandt, replying to the debate, admitted that "the social policy decisions, on the one hand, and the tax decisions, on

the other, may be seen as not being fair enough." But now, he added, by ensuring a new boom, the parties to the agreement would be able to maneuver, a policy of letting the workers earn enough for accumulating savings would be pursued and the working people allotted a share in the growing profits and in management. In this respect, the Party leaders have given a whole range of promises. But nothing is said about the fact that because of the medium-term finance planning there is already evidence of measures through which monopoly pressure on the workers will be increased before long.

The emergency laws are another issue on which the party rank and file differs from the leadership. Of the 850 people who attended the Godesberg conference, 350 took part in work on the emergency laws. Only isolated speakers wanted the emergency legislation to be rejected as a matter of principle. The majority side with the deputies who have submitted 16 amendments to the legislation.

The demand for rejection of the emergency laws was more coherent at the regional conferences. The Frankfurt sub-district, for example, rejected the emergency legislation in toto.

After Godesberg the group of Social-Democratic trade unionists called on all trade unionists not only to reject the emergency laws in the unions but to oppose them also in the Party.

The party executive tried to reassure the opponents of the emergency legislation by arguing that the draft had been "disencumbered," the seven points proposed by the SD party had been taken into account and the parliamentary group would vote only for emergency laws that provided safeguards for democracy and protection for citizens.

The government's plans for a reform of the suffrage are closely associated with the emergency laws. The leaders of three main parties are basically at one in wanting to revamp the general election law in a way that would enable one party to gain an absolute majority in the Bundestag. In view of the present developments in West Germany and the wear and tear affecting the SDP, more and more Social-Democrats feel that a majority vote on the British model would ensure the CDU/CSU a government monopoly for quite a long time. How persistently the CDU/CSU seeks majority suffrage was shown by Luecke in a

statement to *Quick* on October 25 last. "Unless the grand coalition wins majority suffrage," he said, "it will forfeit its right to exist and will have to be regarded as a failure."

This is inflammable stuff in the SDP and the government. A Social-Democratic conference in Bremen resolutely opposed the idea of a simple majority and demanded that it be rejected. It instructed Bremen ministers to vote in the Bundesrat against a Bill which would result in rigged elections. But Alex Moeller, Social-Democratic deputy to the Bundestag, has already written to Kiesinger and Barzel supporting without any qualifications majority suffrage. Helmut Schmidt and Willi Brandt did likewise at Bad-Godesberg. To put members' minds at ease, they promised that an extraordinary congress of the party would be held late in 1968 to decide the matter.

Also undergoing discussion in the SDP is the so-called new eastern policy. In the first months of the Kiesinger-Strauss government most Social-Democrats were under the illusion that Brandt had really brought a new positive trend into the policy towards the East. Since then, this has been questioned ever more strongly. As people in the Federal Republic become aware that recognition of the GDR and respect for its sovereignty are in the best interest of the West German population, the demand is openly raised in the SDP that the claim to representation for all Germany be withdrawn, the GDR recognized and the European frontiers respected. It must be said, however, that in the SDP the so-called new eastern policy is hardly seen, if at all, as a component of the German imperialist strategy of aggression against the GDR and the other socialist countries.

It is in this light that one should assess the demand, voiced at various regional conferences of the Party, that the Federal Government hold talks with the Government of the GDR, also on the basis of the proposals made by Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR.

One of the more important developments in the SDP is the formation of groups of Social-Democratic trade unionists. To date groups have been formed in the Rhineland-Palatinate, North Hessen and in some communities in North Rhine-Westphalia. This is the first important initiative which the SDP has

taken since 1945 to uphold the interests of the workers in more organized fashion and in closer accord with trade union decisions. The district executive of the party in North Hessen, too, declared **formally for a bigger workers' influence in the Party.** The attitude of the trade union groups was exemplified by the North Hessen group, which emphatically identified itself with the unions' measures against monopoly inroads in the social sphere, and backed the rubber workers' strike in Hessen. At a meeting of the North Hessen group Lehlbach, leader of the Rhineland-Palatinate group, insisted that more workers be elected to the leading committees of the Party. While these groups are against splitting the SDP, they are seeking recognition as an organizational component of it.

Bitter controversy rages over these issues. At the Godesberg conference Brandt tried to block the formation of the groups on the grounds that they were identical with the unions.

Schmidt, using the smear tactics, referred to the representatives of the labor wing of the SDP as "instigators," "poisoners of wells" and "windbags." Lehlbach, Chairman of the Trade Union Federation in the Rhineland-Palatinate and leader of the group of Social-Democratic trade unionists there, rebutted Schmidt's charges. The fact that the SDP was in the grand coalition could not, he stressed, silence the unions, which represented the interests of labor, on the measures being carried out under medium-term finance plans. Speaking of the attitude to economic legislation, Lehlbach referred to numerous explicit decisions of the Federation and the unions against the emergency laws. Turning to what he characterized as Schmidt's "incompetent tirades," Lehlbach said that the SDP was "the exponent of the hopes and interests of millions of employees. Disappointing these hopes and ignoring these interests could, of course, prove fatal to the SDP."

Against the background of these clashes in the party there is mounting criticism of party leaders, some critics even insisting that men like Wehner and Helmut Schmidt be voted out of the leadership.

As the class struggle in West Germany gains in intensity more Social-Democratic workers are brought into action and learn to distinguish between the words and deeds of the Right leaders. Many of

these workers realize that it is essential to overcome the influence wielded by Wehner, Schmidt, Schiller and Brandt in the party leadership and to clear the decks for a new SDP policy. These Social-Democrats, clearly, are taking their cue from the trade unions' progressive decisions, which they want to make the starting point of the party's policy to-

wards the working class. The preparations for the regular congress of the party, scheduled for March 1968, will, necessarily, proceed along lines of combating the political concept of the Right leaders and of promoting an autonomous policy of the Social-Democratic Left.

Josef LAUB

BOOKS AND JOURNALS

A book on scientific Communism

The theory of scientific communism is an important aid in the revolutionary fight for social and national liberation and the building of socialism and communism.

The influence exerted by communist ideas is growing, and among the factors making for this are the steady progress of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the extension and deepening of the world revolutionary process. And the response of imperialism to this is anti-communism.

In the circumstances, it is vital that Communists and the public generally should acquire knowledge of scientific communism. A number of texts has been put out on the subject of late. *Fundamentals of Scientific Communism*,* compiled by a group of Soviet Marxists, is one of them. It is a valuable aid to those interested in the ways and perspectives of historical progress, for it contains a systematic, orderly examination of the basic problems.

The authors demonstrate the inter-relationships of the composite parts of Marxism-Leninism, showing the specifics of scientific communism, a necessary development of Marx's philosophical and economic theory.

The book examines the international

essence of scientific communism, revealing the fallacy of Right and "Left" revisionist attempts to divide scientific communism on national, racial and geographical grounds. It is punctuated throughout by the Marxist-Leninist idea of the unity of the national and international tasks of the working class as a compulsive factor of the world revolutionary process.

Well-argued criticism is levelled at the various aspects of the anti-communist ideology, with the accent on the reactionary substance of jingo nationalism.

The work is arranged in four parts. The first, headed "From Utopia to Science," deals with the emergence and development of scientific communism, with the feat performed by Marx and Engels, who turned socialism from an utopia into a science, stressing its creative character and its incompatibility with dogmatism.

The book contains a profound exposition of the Leninist phase, showing the role played by the Soviet and other Marxist-Leninist Communist parties in adapting the teaching to the new epoch.

Part two, "The Road to Communism —The Road for All Mankind," examines the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship, the character of the present epoch and the vital problems of the world revolutionary movement.

**Osnovy nauchnogo kommunizma*, Akademiya, obshchestvennykh nauk pri TsK KPSS, Politizdat, 1967, 575 str.

The impact of the October Revolution is brought out and a study made of the radical change over the past fifty years in the balance of world forces, producing favorable conditions and a new outlook for the revolutionary movement.

In their examination of the current phase in the world revolutionary movement, the authors demonstrate the role of the socialist world system and of the international Communist movement, workers', national-liberation and general democratic movements, and affirm the objective necessity of the unity of all revolutionary forces of our time.

Among the points examined are: the extension of the social base of socialist revolution; the relationship between the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism; specific features of the revolutionary situation in modern conditions; the peaceful and non-peaceful ways of revolution; the differing ways and forms of the socialist revolution, and the greater possibilities for the newly-independent countries to opt for non-capitalist development.

The writers associate the fight for the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems with the world revolutionary process and stress that peaceful coexistence was advanced by V. I. Lenin as a basic condition for socialist growth. They quote the program documents of the world Communist movement to show that peaceful coexistence is a specific form of class struggle, creating the best possible conditions for building the new society and advancing the working-class and national-liberation movements.

The world Communist movement is seen as the most influential political force, and the basic principles of the strategy and tactics of Marxist-Leninist parties and the need for unity are elucidated.

The third part, "Socialism—the First Phase of Communist Society," surveys the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, defines the common objective laws governing the building of socialism and furnishes a detailed description of socialism as the first phase of the communist formation.

Much space is devoted to the objective factors conditioning the variety of ways to socialism and the rates at which socialism is built in the different countries.

The question of the dictatorship of the

proletariat, and the different forms of this dictatorship, comes in for special attention. The authors emphasize Lenin's postulate that the principal purpose of the proletarian dictatorship is to build socialism.

The Soviets and People's Democracy are seen as forms of proletarian power and the point is made that however different the forms of proletarian dictatorship may be from country to country, its political organization has a number of common features. Mention is made of the point in the Program of the CPSU that in the Soviet Union proletarian dictatorship has grown into a state of the whole people.

The authors deal in detail with the rise of the socialist world system and examine the character of the relationships between socialist countries, based on proletarian internationalism, mutual aid, equality and sovereignty. Also treated are the objective and subjective difficulties besetting the growth of the socialist world system; national and international interests, we read, have to be taken into account in cementing the unity of the socialist states.

Part four, headed, "Growth of Socialism and the Transition to Communism," portrays the higher phase of communism and the necessary growth of socialism into communism.

The authors draw on the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, the Program of the CPSU, the decisions of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU and the documents of the world Communist movement to generalize the processes under way in Soviet society.

The study covers a wide range of problems related to the various aspects of the communist upbuilding in the USSR, including the preconditions for the transition to communism, eradication of class distinctions, elimination of the distinctions between town and country and between mental and manual labor, the flowering and coming together of the nations, family relations, the political organization of society, socialist democracy, communist education of the people, and the fight against hostile ideology.

Drawing on the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries the book shows that socialism is the most humane and just society, whose main purpose is to promote the wellbeing of people.

It elucidates and reaffirms the Marxist-Leninist postulate that the world of exploitation will be inevitably supplanted by a society of free producers, that communism—the highest form of social organization—is bound to triumph. The success of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries is giving impetus to and expediting the progress of

other peoples. The Soviet Union, which blazed the trail to socialism, is now laying the road to communism—the future of all mankind.

The book is to be recommended to all those seeking knowledge of the theory of scientific communism.

Tsereviin DAVAGSUREN

Brief notices

Napalm, Redigert av John Takman. Oslo, Ny dag, 1967, 192 pp.

Napalm, Edited by John Takman. Oslo, Ny Dag, 1967, 192 pp.

Sub-titled "An international symposium on the U.S. war against Vietnam and Laos," this is a collection of articles by prominent personalities and scientists in the Soviet Union, Vietnam, the United States, Britain and Sweden, representing a documented investigation of various aspects of the American war against Vietnam.

It contains a description of the bombing, shelling and of the toxic chemicals used by the aggressor, an account of a visit to a bombed village, and a listing of the companies pocketing vast profits from the manufacture of napalm. One of the articles studies the war in the context of international law and brands it as a crime against humanity.

Those of the authors who visited Vietnam cite the heroism of the Vietnamese freedom fighters. The book reveals staggering facts, crying out to the conscience of humanity.

E. G.

PAVLICEK Vaclav. Politické strany po Unoru. C. I. Praha, Svobodné slovo. 324 pp.

PAVLICEK Vaclav. Political Parties After February. Part I, Prague, Svobodné slovo, 324 pp.

This is a study of problems related to the plurality of political parties in Czechoslovakia since February 1948,

showing how the idea of a People's Front was put into practice. It analyzes the conditions in which the People's Front emerged and compares them with the experience of other Communist parties. Historical documents are included, illustrating the nature of the People's Front, its various bodies, the relationship between Church and State, and the growth of the rejuvenated parties.

S.F.

Soziologie. Schoepferische Arbeit. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, 122 pp.

Sociology. Labor Made Creative. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, 122 pp.

This symposium devoted to sociological research in the socialist industrial enterprises is the first of a series of similar books by the Council of Sociological Study in the German Democratic Republic.

Some of the articles deal with sociological investigations of the productive function of socialist labor and the sociological aspects of labor in the midst of the technological revolution. A study is made of the research pin-pointing the objective factors in the changing relationship between mental and manual labor, of methodological aspects of the research, and of the relationship between theory and practice in sociological investigation of refresher and proficiency training.

The introduction is by Erich Hahn, Chairman of the GDR Council of Sociological Study.

R.S.

G. MORRIS. *CIA and American Labor. The Subversion of the AFL-CIO's Foreign Policy*. N.Y., International Publishers, 1967, 159 pp.

Last spring Victor Reuther, Director of the International Department of the United Automobile Workers' Union, which has 1,600,000 members, revealed in a sensational exposure that the AFL-CIO and some of its affiliated unions had allowed the Central Intelligence Agency to use them as a cover for its clandestine work abroad. The book by George Morris, a veteran of the labor and Communist press, contains a graphic account of the relevant facts.

Morris shows that a part of the trade union elite in the United States had been used by U.S. intelligence for subversion against progressive working-class organizations, people's movements abroad and governments that Washington wanted deposed. The book gives an inside look into these activities, revealing the methods employed by the CIA and some trade union officials, such as Jay Lovestone, and by George Meany in Europe, Asia, Africa and, most extensively, in Latin America.

The author also examines the foreign policy of the AFL-CIO leadership intimately associated with clandestine subversive activities.

He also probes the historical and ideological roots of the delegation among trade unionists and lays bare the contradictions and differences rending the U.S. trade unions, pointing to a distinct shift towards a more peaceable policy among some of the unions and to the emergence of an opposition against the "friends of the CIA."

The revelations in 1967 of the CIA tie-up with student, trade union and other organizations confirm Morris' exposé.

V.P.

Georg KLAUS, Hans SCHULZE. *Sinn, Gesetz, Fortschritt in der Geschichte*. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, 277 pp.

Georg KLAUS, Hans SCHULZE. *Sense, Law and Progress in History*. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, 277 pp.

Using the evidence of historiography this book deals with an important feature of contemporary knowledge: the convergence of natural and social sciences.

Chapter I analyzes the various methods of historical research. Chapter II demonstrates the unity of science on the basis of the theory of systems. Chapter III, entitled "The Speculative Bourgeois Philosophy of History and 'The Sense of History'," is a critical survey of historiography, opposing the Marxian historical materialism to Hegel's teleological historicism.

Chapter IV, "Progress in History," analyzes the objective criteria of social progress. It reveals the apologetic purpose of the phases advanced by Walt Rostow and his West German followers, who are anxious to prove that the United States has attained the highest level of development.

The concluding part of the chapter suggests that "the possibilities of growth of the productive forces" should be taken as the universal objective criterion of progress, noting that it should be complemented by a concrete secondary criterion based on politico-juridical and moral relations.

The fifth and final chapter relates cybernetics to such concepts as order, organization and structure. The criterion of social progress is here associated with optimization.

The book will be of interest to students of the methodology of historical knowledge.

A.B.

Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication.

MARX K., ENGELS F. *Sytchineniya* (Works). Vol. 19, Sofia, BKP, 1967, 558 pp.

MARX K. *Kapital* (Capital). Jubilee edition of the first volume. Moscow, Politizdat, 1967, 905 pp.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. *Biografia* (Biography of V. I. Lenin). Third edition, Moscow, Politizdat, 1967, 695 pp.

A magyar internacionalisták a Nagy Októberi Szocialista Forradalomban és a polgárháboruban (Hungarian Internationalists in the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Civil War). Vol. I, Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1967, 600 pp.

BODNAR A. *Polska- ZSSR współpraca gospodarcza. W 50 rocznice Wielkiej Socjalistycznej Rewolucji Październikowej* (Polish-Soviet Economic Cooperation. Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution). Warsaw, KiW, 1967, 103 pp.

BRUNHOFF S. *La Monnaie chez Marx* (Money According to Marx). Paris, Editions Sociales, 1967, 190 pp.

GOMULKA W. *Przemowienia: lipiec 1964—grudzien 1966* (Speeches. July 1964—December 1966). Warsaw, KiW, 1967, 599 pp.

ZHIVKOV T. *Intenzivno razvitiye na sotsialisticheskata iкономика* (Intensive Development of the Socialist Economy). Reports, articles and speeches. Sofia, BKP, 1967, 606 pp.

JASZUNSKI G. *Piecdziesiat lat radzieckiej polityki zagranicznej* (Fifty Years of Soviet Foreign Policy). Warsaw, KiW, 1967, 124 pp.

CUNHAL A. *Put k pobede* (The Road to Victory). Moscow, Politizdat, 1967, 334 pp.

Marea Revolutie Socialista din Octombrie si Romania. (The Great October Socialist Revolution and Romania). Group of authors. Bucharest, Editura politica, 1967, 309 pp.

Ot Oktyabrya k stroitelstvu kommunizma (From the October Revolution to the Building of Communism). A collection of articles. Moscow, Nauka, 1967, 400 pp.

Ruku v ruce. 50 let spoluprace ceskoslovenskych a sovetskych odborů (Hand in Hand. Fifty Years of Co-operation of the Czechoslovak and Soviet Trade Unions). Prague, Prace, 1967, 237 pp.

STEINER H. *Soziale Strukturveränderungen im modernen Kapitalismus. Zur Klassenanalyse der Angestellten in Westdeutschland* (Changes in the Social Structure under Modern Capitalism). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1967, 270 pp.

Strana Sovetov za 50 let. Sbornik statisticheskikh materialov (The Fifty Years of the Soviet Land. Statistical Review). Moscow, Statistika, 1967, 352 pp.

TODOROV A. *Otrazheniya. Spomeni za vliyanieto na Oktomvriiskogo vyoryzheniye* (Reflections. Recollections about the Influence of the October Armed Uprising on the Bulgarian Army). Sofia, DVI, 1967, 112 pp.

TOGLIATTI P. *Opere I. 1917-1926. Opere di Togliatti in sei volumi a cura di Ernesto Ragionieri* (Works, Vol. I. 1917-1926. Togliatti's works in six volumes, edited by Ernesto Ragionieri). Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1967, 215 pp.

W. I. Lenins Ruf "An Alle" (Lenin's Appeal to "All"). Written by a group of authors from the Higher Party School. Berlin, 1967, 296 pp.

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