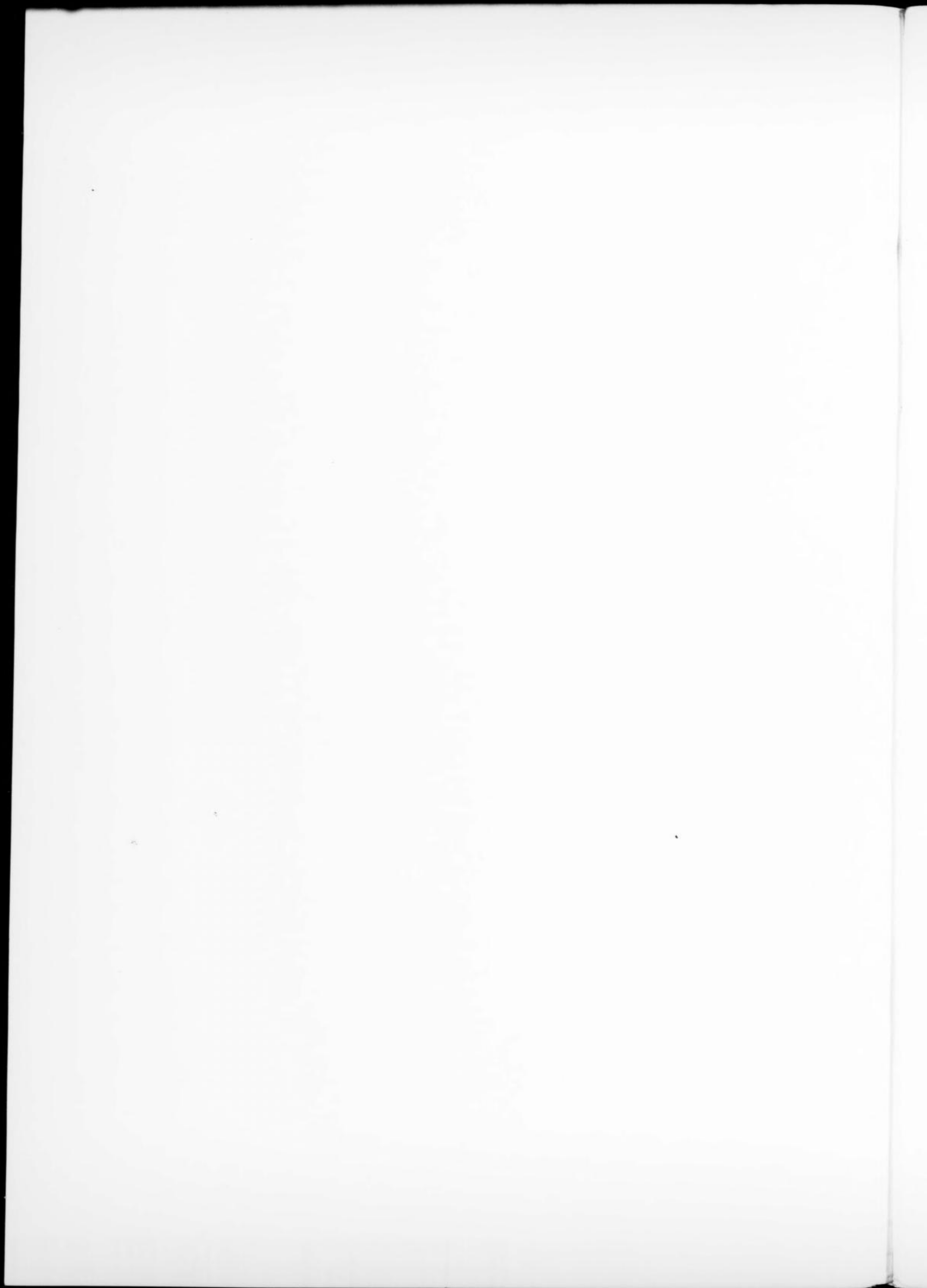


French Elections
By P. HENTGES



AUGUST 1968

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Peaceful coexistence — struggle against imperialist aggression, for peace

BOYAN BOLGARANOV

The contest between socialism and imperialism, the popular struggle for peace and international understanding, for social progress and a brighter future—these are today in the very center of world politics.

The socialist countries, and democrats and Communists everywhere, consider it their paramount duty to prevent another world war. The future of mankind depends largely on the united action of the progressive forces, on their strength and ability to foil the aggressive policies of world imperialism and reaction. It depends also on the continuing growth of the socialist countries' economic, military and technical strength and on expansion and consolidation of the united anti-imperialist front.

The policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, proclaimed by Lenin and consistently pursued by the great Soviet Union and, after World War II, by the other socialist countries, is the only reasonable policy, the only one that accords with the central trend of historical development and the vital interests of the peoples. It helps to prevent imperialist war, promotes universal peace, facilitates achievement of our ultimate goal, the triumph of communism throughout the world. Peaceful coexistence presupposes sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, maturing of social contradictions, growth of mass political activity, deepening of the antagonism between the monopolies and the people. Peaceful coexistence accelerates the world revolution-

ary process and creates the conditions for a broad anti-imperialist front.

I.

The Marxist-Leninist understanding of peaceful coexistence as implying both struggle and interconnection has been confirmed by reality. In the imperialist stage, Lenin pointed out, socialist revolution cannot triumph simultaneously in all the countries. For a relatively long period there will be side-by-side existence of socialist countries.

The October Revolution gave the world its first socialist state, followed, after World War II, by the emergence of the socialist system. In present-day conditions, in this age of social revolution, the struggle between the two world systems is inevitable. Seen in its broader implications, it is a contest between the old world and the new, socialism and capitalism. The simultaneous existence of socialist and capitalist countries, with their mutually-opposed development trends and class interests, makes the struggle especially sharp, complex and irreconcilable. It frequently flares up in open conflicts and armed clashes. And history provides any number of examples of unsuccessful imperialist attempts to destroy socialism by armed force and to reverse the course of social development. On a world scale, the conflict will be resolved by the final victory of the more progressive system — socialism.

The fact that there are two antagonistic social systems makes coexistence imperative. But what kind of coexistence? Will it degenerate into a military conflict? Leninism holds that military conflicts can be avoided, that the struggle can take the form of competition between the two modes of production, the two economic formations. Peaceful coexistence of capitalism and socialism is possible despite the antagonism between the two, despite, indeed, the ingrained hostility of capitalist governments to the new social system. Addressing the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in 1921, Lenin said: "There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments and classes that are hostile to us. That force is world economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 155).

The march of history since the October Revolution clearly points to the vital need for peaceful coexistence in relations between capitalism and socialism.

Lenin regarded the reality of peaceful coexistence as a multiform complex of social phenomena developing against a concrete historical background, that is, determined by the balance of world forces.

The rationale of peaceful coexistence resides in the need to maintain the historically formed economic contacts that stem from the international division of labor. But there are other factors, too: the contradictions between capitalist states, the crisis of capitalism and the collapse of the colonial system which deprived imperialism of an important reserve. And coexistence is powered also by the multiplying strength of the socialist countries with their policy of peace, by the world anti-war movement, and the efforts to consolidate unity of the international Communist and labor movement.

The political and economic conditions and opportunities for peaceful coexistence have acquired a new quality compared with the situation before World War II. The USSR was then the world's only socialist state, and in its formative years, despite its profoundly peaceful orientation, had not attained the economic and military strength needed to exert a decisive influence on world affairs. But with the growth and strengthening of the socialist system there developed effective prerequisites and opportunities for making peaceful coexistence, that vital necessity, a living reality. Today the socialist world system

plays a decisive part in international affairs.

The imperialist forces, all their inveterate hatred of socialism notwithstanding, find themselves compelled to reckon with the existence of the powerful forces of the new social system, which are an insuperable barrier to all their attempts to retard the world revolutionary process.

Besides, the methods of warfare have changed radically. Nuclear and thermonuclear weapons and missile delivery means make war absurd, considering the consequences it could have for civilization. That is why, parallel with the popular effort to prevent imperialist aggression, more and more representatives of the bourgeoisie are coming to realize what war would mean and are raising their voices in protest against imperialist aggression. The only reasonable solution, they say, is peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems.

A very big part in the fight against imperialist aggression and for peaceful coexistence is played by the socialist countries' peace policy, which follows from the very essence of socialism. Peaceful coexistence is an inalienable part of that policy. The CPSU Central Committee says in its Theses for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution that "it is designed to prevent the imperialists from unleashing a new world war, to prevent international provocations and the export of counter-revolution. Its purpose is to create favorable conditions for the peoples to exercise their sacred right of choosing their own road of development and to extend mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological cooperation and cultural exchange between all countries."

Peaceful coexistence, and its implementation by the socialist countries, does not imply negation of the class struggle, nor is it an obstacle to the development of the national-liberation and labor movements. It does not entail abandonment of the struggle to eliminate the bourgeois system, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In his report to the Twenty-Third CPSU Congress, Comrade Brezhnev stressed Lenin's idea that "there can be no peaceful coexistence where the internal processes of the class and national-liberation struggle in capitalist and colonial countries are concerned. Nor is peaceful coexistence applicable to relations between the oppressor and the oppressed, between colonialists and their victims."

Peaceful coexistence does not mean re-

nouncing the struggle for our socialist ideals and does not hamper historical progress. On the contrary. By safeguarding world peace and all the material and spiritual values of mankind, peaceful coexistence promotes and expands the social struggle, stimulates the world revolutionary process and brings nearer the world triumph of socialism.

Any number of facts could be cited to show that, in conditions of peaceful coexistence, the class struggle in the capitalist countries grows in scope and intensity. Economic strikes increasingly develop into political anti-monopoly actions. Capitalism as a whole, and more especially the leading capitalist powers, are subject to recurring economic and financial upheavals, social conflicts, strike struggles, etc., which widen the rift between labor and capital, accentuate polarization of the class forces and broaden the social basis of the anti-imperialist and peace movements.

The same upsurge can be observed in the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies. The colonial system, once a reserve of imperialism, has collapsed and a number of ex-colonial countries are committed to anti-imperialist policies; some have chosen the non-capitalist path.

Half a century ago Lenin foresaw that "we shall be exerting our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy . . . In this field the struggle is being waged on a world scale" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437). The working people are attracted to socialism by the economic and social advantages it offers. Life in conditions of peaceful coexistence will show which of the two system is the more perfect and viable and is more likely to win popular support throughout the world. The record to date clearly confirms the advantages inherent in socialism. There is, for instance, the high economic growth rate in the USSR and the other socialist countries, their remarkable economic and cultural progress, the uninterrupted rise in living standards. In contrast to capitalism, socialism precludes the very possibility of exploitation and of war, that greatest of social evils. It opens to the people wide vistas of material and spiritual progress and genuine prosperity. For socialism is a new society in which man acquires the right and opportunity to work for the common good and social advancement.

In our time, ideology has become a crucial

battlefield in the fight between socialism and capitalism. Ideology always has a class content and clearly expresses class interests. And since the working class and the bourgeoisie hold antagonistic positions in social production, bourgeois and proletarian ideology are irreconcilable. The steady advance of socialism, and in particular the invincible military might of the USSR and other socialist countries, have convinced the imperialists that they would be taking a perilous risk in trying to destroy socialism through world war, and they are relying more and more on ideological sabotage. In fact, anti-communism and ideological sabotage are becoming one of the dominant weapons of imperialist foreign policy.

Bourgeois propaganda is now directed against unity of the socialist countries. The purpose is to split the Communist movement from within. Bourgeois experts in anti-communism have been hard at work distorting Marxist theory, counterposing Marxism to Leninism in an effort to inject elements of ideological confusion and disunity in our ranks.

More, in recent years the anti-communists have tried to give their theories a Marxist dressing, in other words to pervert Marxism into a weapon of ideological sabotage. To do that they are postulating their own "positive" theories of social development, seeking to prove that capitalism still has untapped perspectives, that there is no point in the workers combating the capitalist system because the trend of development in all countries is the same and, in the end, will lead to one and the same result.

The central objective of present-day anti-communism is to project anti-socialist ideas in the socialist countries, instigate nationalism, upset national and international unity.

There can be no compromise in ideology, Lenin wrote in his *What Is To Be Done*. The prime aim of all Marxist-Leninist parties should be to intensify the ideological offensive for complete exposure of imperialism. But effective struggle against anti-communism requires joint efforts by Communists and all progressive and democratic forces, for anti-communism, in its very substance, is opposed to everything progressive, to the national-liberation movement and all genuinely democratic trends.

More than ever before the need is to bring together the Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries in a concerted effort to foil

imperialist ideological maneuvers and extend the ideological struggle in the capitalist countries themselves.

Bourgeois critics of Marxism-Leninism reject peaceful coexistence chiefly because of its class character. They studiously bypass the dialectical unity of struggle and interconnection as the very core of peaceful coexistence. Some argue that since the two social systems are locked in battle, there can be no question of economic or any other interconnection. Others argue that since coexistence implies economic and other interconnections, the logical thing is to call a halt to the class struggle.

To blunt the revolutionary aspect of peaceful coexistence the big monopolies and the U.S. ruling element—mindful of the Soviet Union's might—have sought to inculcate the hypocritical idea that it is enough to assure peace between the two super-powers, the U.S. and the USSR. But the principle of peaceful coexistence is indivisible. If it is to prevail in world affairs, the imperialists must give up their policy of aggression in relation to all countries and dismantle all the seats of war.

The revisionist and dogmatic critics of Marxism-Leninism within the labor movement also fail to understand that both struggle and interconnection are essential elements of peaceful coexistence. The revisionists make an absolute of cooperation and wholly disregard the other element, struggle. To all practical purposes, this is renunciation of the movement's ultimate goal in favor of "class peace." In their view, the socialist states should, for the sake of peace and cooperation, give up all support of the revolutionary movement in other countries. In other words, they want the socialist countries to give up the idea of proletarian internationalism as an essential part of Marxism-Leninism and espouse what amounts to bourgeois nationalism.

Dogmatic "Left" opportunists go to the other extreme: no economic, scientific, technical, cultural or any other cooperation with the capitalist countries, because this, they allege, only helps to keep capitalism alive. Peaceful coexistence, they maintain, is a retreat from fighting, even a surrender to, imperialism. Their slogan is "No compromises in politics."

And some of these "Left" extremists interpret peaceful coexistence as renunciation of the class struggle, abandonment of the peoples fighting class and national oppression. World war, they say, is the most radical way of hastening the triumph of

the world socialist revolution. Accordingly, they are prepared to wipe out whole nations, half of mankind, so that the other half could wipe out capitalism.

There is hardly need to show that all such monstrous "theories" are alien to Marxism-Leninism and communist humanism. Objectively, they tend to narrow the anti-imperialist and anti-war movement and lead to international isolation. Only imperialism stands to gain from this negative attitude, from this gross distortion of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence by pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongers.

Essentially, they would substitute class collaboration or political adventurism for the class struggle. That would only weaken the fight against imperialism and lead to betrayal of the revolutionary cause.

The record of the past years effectively refutes all the bourgeois critics of Lenin. It shows that peaceful coexistence is not a tactical expedient, but a permanent and consistent policy that follows from the very nature of the socialist system. For peace is a cardinal condition for socialism's successful development. That is why, from the very inception of the Soviet state, peace and international security have been the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy and, after World War II, of the socialist countries. Socialism, as personified by the Soviet Union, has given the world a new type of international policy founded on the principles of peace, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, respect for sovereignty of the peoples and for their right to self-determination. Peaceful coexistence is made the very basis of relations with the capitalist countries. The Program of the CPSU says: "Capitalism established its rule with fire and sword, but socialism does not require war to spread its ideals. Its weapon is its superiority over the old system in social organization, political system, economy, the improvement of the standard of living and spiritual culture."

II.

The technological revolution has wrought marked changes in the world. The forms of struggle between states have also changed. The economic and ideological have forged to the forefront. International relations have become highly complicated and dependent on a great variety of factors.

The socialist countries are taking this into account in their foreign relations and strategy, and show flexibility in their

choice of forms and methods of dealing with imperialism to avert war, secure peaceful coexistence and, at once, promote the world revolutionary process.

The vast resources of the socialist world system and the worldwide impact of socialist ideas have made peaceful coexistence the sole alternative to war, and recent years have borne out its practical worth in settling disagreements with the capitalist countries.

However, for war to be averted the capitalist countries, too, must abide by the principles of peaceful coexistence. The foreign policy of the imperialist countries has always been aggressive. That, after all, is a built-in feature of their social system. But it has varied: periods of undisguised aggression alternated with periods when the capitalist states were willing to deal with socialism along peaceful lines. The past few years have been marked by increased U.S. aggressiveness, as witnessed by the Vietnam war, the Middle East crisis, and other events.

Lenin showed that politics hinges on the correlation of class forces. Whenever the scales tilt against the capitalist countries, the latter have to reckon with the peaceful coexistence policy of the socialist states and, conversely, whenever the scales tilt the other way, they assume a bellicose posture.

The Soviet state has influenced international affairs and the world's future since its inception, making the most of its possibilities to combat imperialism. For a long time, however, the relation of forces favored the imperialist countries. Although a new chapter had begun in history, the imperialist bourgeoisie still called the tune in international relations, as evidenced by the pre-World War II developments and, above all, the fact that the war could not be prevented.

The emergence of the socialist world system turned the balance, with the socialist forces steadily gaining the upper hand. It would be foolish to think, however, that this materialized automatically, for any change in the relation of forces is no arrow-straight process.

In recent years, division and factionalism have impeded the world revolutionary process, splitting the progressive forces and setting the stage for such dramatic developments as those in Indonesia, for the Vietnam war and the reactionary upheavals in some of the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

In the foremost capitalist countries the renewal of fixed capital necessitated by the technological revolution generated a relatively high tempo of industrial growth in 1961-1966, enabling them to behave more challengingly in foreign relations, intensifying their aggressive line and amplifying the nuclear war danger by their gambles in Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

In view of this, the problem of the forms and methods of counteracting imperialism has gained urgency for the world revolutionary movement. For the socialist countries and all progressives political and diplomatic action to isolate imperialism as a political system is the order of the day.

The socialist countries are aiding the embattled peoples, and every imperialist act of aggression meets with increasingly determined resistance. Though they lay no store by the cult of strength, the continuous threat of imperialist aggression compels the socialist countries to keep their powder dry. The preparedness and the first-class armaments of the Soviet and the other socialist armies are well known.

The economic potential of the socialist community is expanding steadily. In 1967, for example, the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance pushed up industrial production 9.5 per cent, compared to the mere 2.1 per cent achieved by the developed capitalist states.

The socialist countries are fighting against aggression, but the imperialist policy of provocation impedes peaceful relations between states with differing social systems. For good relations to develop, it is essential that the bourgeois governments reorient their policies along realistic lines.

Soon after the October Revolution, Lenin observed that the working class should take advantage of the contradictions in the capitalist world to speed socialist revolution. "The differences between the Churchills and the Lloyd Georges—with insignificant national distinctions, these types exist in *all* countries—on the one hand, and between the Hendersons and the Lloyd Georges on the other," he wrote, "are quite minor and unimportant from the standpoint of pure (i.e., abstract) communism, i.e., communism that has not yet matured to the stage of practical political action by the masses. However, from the standpoint of this practical action by the masses, these differences are most important" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 94-95).

The socialist countries take all differences between the capitalists into account

in their foreign policy. Peaceful coexistence as the rockbottom principle is applied in different degrees to different imperialist states, depending on the latter's policy and what section of the bourgeoisie, the hawks or the doves, hold the upper hand. Peaceful coexistence principles are applied flexibly to those imperialist countries that are also willing to abide by them, while in the case of the others policy centers on repulsing armed, economic or any other aggression, which is the only way for the world revolutionary movement to combat war and promote socialism.

Today, the main thing is to fight the aggressive U.S. policy, the main source of tension.

In recent years, it is true, the role of the United States has decreased, but it is still the chief economic, financial and military force in the imperialist camp. The U.S. monopolies account for more than two-fifths of the capitalist world's industry and one-fifth of its exports. Annual U.S. military spending tops the \$75,000 million mark. The United States has built a global system of more than 2,200 overseas military bases manned by nearly 2,000,000 soldiers, a cogent expression of U.S. imperialist expansion. Last but not least, the United States foots the bulk of NATO's military bill and owns nearly the entire nuclear-missile resources of the capitalist camp.

This potential enables the U.S. bourgeoisie to conduct a "brink of war" policy, proclaiming the aggressive doctrines of "containment," "liberation," "preventive war," "escalation," etc., and conducting ideological subversion in the socialist countries designed to produce "erosion" from within. The U.S. imperialists stoke up tension and incite conflicts, combining barefaced with indirect aggression and armed forms of struggle with economic and ideological. That is why U.S. policy is the chief enemy of world peace and progress, a threat to the freedom of the nations.

The Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and other socialist countries have made it clear that so long as the United States persists in its criminal aggression in Vietnam, mutual relations cannot develop. The socialist countries are working for peaceful coexistence, throwing the weight of their support behind the people of Vietnam, the Arab peoples and the colonial peoples fighting for liberation.

International relations depend not only on the correlation of forces, but on how

skilfully this correlation is used—a difficult art that, as Lenin put it, does not evolve of itself or fall into our laps from heaven.

III.

Bulgarian foreign policy follows the same principles as those of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We claim no foreign territory, nor do we seek to conquer and exploit other nations. Our efforts are dedicated to relieving international tension, increasing confidence and settling disputes by constructive peaceful means. Our policy of peace is rooted in the very substance of our socialist state. Its keystone is peace, essential for the happy socialist future of our people; it is unity and solidarity with other progressive peace-loving forces, for that is the precondition for growth of the world revolutionary process.

Our Party and Government hold that lasting unity and cohesion of the socialist community, continuous growth of its economic and defense potential and its consistently active policy of peace are decisive. This applies especially to the defensive Warsaw Treaty organization, a mighty shield for our socialist gains and for world peace.

We are aware, too, that normal relations with the capitalist countries based on peaceful coexistence are highly important for peace. Acting in the interests of peace, understanding and mutual advantage, Bulgaria pursues a policy of peaceful coexistence in relation to countries of the capitalist world but it never hesitates to fight against the aggressive pretensions of the imperialists, for of world peace.

Socialist Bulgaria holds that "the policy of peaceful coexistence is at rockbottom an active struggle and a continuous offensive of the peoples against the forces of aggression and war, against the forces of imperialist reaction. . . . The policy of peaceful coexistence is a way of further developing and deepening the class struggle between the socialist and capitalist systems" (Todor Zhivkov, *Report to the 8th Congress, Bulgarian Communist Party, Sofia, 1962*).

We never fail to do our part in combating imperialist gambles and acts of aggression and eliminating flash points of war and tension. We are deeply alarmed by the aggressive imperialist preparations in Europe, the location of the main contingents of NATO's armed forces, including a half-million-strong U.S. force equipped with a

considerable number of nuclear warheads. The renascent militarism and revanchism in West Germany and the undisguised revival there of a fascist party, is another dangerous source of tension on our continent, with the West German rulers straining at the leash to lay their hands on nuclear weapons and advance their criminal plans.

As we see it, an effective system of European collective security could go a long way towards reinforcing European and world peace, and therefore support every useful initiative in that direction. Bulgaria participated in the Karlovy Vary Conference and is working now along the guidelines set there for the peace-loving forces in Europe. In its time Bulgaria, along with the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, expressed its willingness to sign without delay a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Not long ago it joined other countries in signing this treaty, which is a blow at the nuclear ambitions of the Bonn militarists.

We denounce U.S. brutality in Vietnam and extend the Vietnamese people our hearty moral and material support. The U.S. colonial war in Southeast Asia is one of the most dangerous flashpoints in the world today. For peaceful coexistence to triumph, the U.S. aggression there must be halted.

It is also essential to disperse the thunderclouds gathered over the Middle East. The Israeli aggressors and their imperialist backers must be made to comply with international law and respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Arab countries. Our country insists on the Security Council resolution calling for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab land, for that is a fundamental condition for a peaceful settlement. To establish lasting peace in the Middle East, the imperialists must stop treating it as their colony and accept the fact that the Arab peoples are entitled to shaping their own destiny and disposing of their natural wealth.

The Bulgarian Communists and our Government extend fraternal support to countries and peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress. In dealing with the capitalist countries, we place uppermost the interests of the socialist community, the world Communist and working class movement, the progressive and peace-loving forces. We approach the

matter from a class angle, ruling out reconciliation with enemies of peace and progress, passivity in promoting the cause of the international working class, and departure from Marxism-Leninism.

Bulgaria sides with the unfairly treated peoples, with the oppressed and exploited countries. It is intolerant of colonialism, that blot on the civilized world, and sides with the armed struggles for national independence, cooperating with and aiding the developing countries.

All progressive, peace-loving people can depend on our support, be they Communists fighting capitalist oppression, champions of freedom and peace or fighters against racial inequality and segregation, dictatorial regimes and stranglers of democracy.

This is not at variance with peaceful coexistence, which no Marxist ever identifies with class reconciliation or harmonious coexistence of the two antagonistic social systems.

The Bulgarian Communists never waver in their belief that peaceful coexistence implies relations safeguarding the peoples from another world war, ensuring the security and sovereignty of all countries and at once creating a favorable setting for social progress and the victory of communism in the world.

Socialist Bulgaria strives to base its relations with the capitalist countries on the principles of peace and non-interference and economic, scientific and cultural mutual advantage. We work for relationships that relieve tension and dissipate mistrust, though, obviously, we cannot have such relations with all capitalist countries. Advantageous for all concerned, cooperation for world peace is practicable first and foremost with those capitalist governments that take a realistic view of the present situation and are prepared by deed, as well as word, to promote the principles of peaceful coexistence.

With some capitalist countries Bulgaria's ties are fruitful. In the past year or two, Bulgaria has extended its relations with France, Austria, Italy, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, India, Japan, the Scandinavian and many other countries. Statesmen and public leaders, ministers and heads of governments have visited Bulgaria. Our delegations, too, went abroad. Our economic, scientific and cultural contacts have expanded visibly as a result; we have discussed the more vital international issues

and explored ways of reinforcing peace and eliminating seats of war.

We lay special stress on peace and co-operation in the Balkans, formerly Europe's "powder keg" which the United States has been striving for the past two decades to turn into a rocket base. Bulgaria's sincere, consistently peaceful policy in the Balkans has improved the climate in our region.

The recent visit paid by a Bulgarian Government delegation headed by Comrade Zhivkov to Turkey was a token of our unbending efforts to improve the atmosphere in the Balkans and secure good-neighbor relations with all Balkan countries. "For us," Comrade Zhivkov said, "this is not a time-serving policy, we did not adopt it to suit a current trend; it is not a temporary, tactical move; it is our profound conviction, our fundamental line."

Bulgaria champions peace and international cooperation in the United Nations and its bodies. That it was elected to the Security Council, the 18-nation Disarmament Committee, the 24-nation Decolonization Committee, etc., is a recognition of its prestige and love of peace. It participates in UNESCO work, the Trade and Development Council, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and others.

Bulgaria will always to its bit in the fight for peace, against imperialist aggression, for peaceful international relations. Always, it will strive to maintain with the capitalist countries a policy of peaceful coexistence.

Being Marxist-Leninists, we are aware that the socialist community, the forces fighting for national independence, peace, democracy and social progress, the solidarity and united action of the anti-imperialist front, are the main factor of world peace.

The joint power of the socialist countries commands the imperialists' respect and obstructs their aggressive designs. That is

why imperialism centers its efforts mainly on subverting the socialist system and undermining the unity of the socialist countries, laying its stakes on bourgeois nationalism and right-opportunist and ultra-Left deviations from Marxism-Leninism.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and Government consider it their supreme internationalist duty to strengthen the bonds with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to consolidate the Warsaw Treaty organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. At the Political Consultative Committee meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Sofia this year and at the meeting of some of the Communist and Workers' parties and governments of socialist countries in Dresden, the People's Republic of Bulgaria stood firmly for the unity of the socialist countries and promised to do its utmost in augmenting their might and strengthening their unity.

The latest events show the important role played by the progressive and peace-loving forces, especially the world Communist and working-class movement, in safeguarding peace. World peace depends to a very great extent on their unity and cohesion, their determination to eliminate the seeds of war and international tension and prevent a world war as well as "local" wars. Our Party, therefore, like the vast majority of the fraternal parties, holds that greater solidarity and united action by the world Communist movement, better tactics and strategy, are of cardinal importance. And we are deeply convinced that the conference of Communist and Workers' parties this November will give fresh impetus to the struggle for socialism and world peace, providing a more enduring basis for the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Upsurge of youth movement in the capitalist countries

Summary of a discussion sponsored by "World Marxist Review"*

Statements by representatives of a number of fraternal parties on the youth movement in their respective countries were followed by a free and comradely discussion of the theoretical and practical aspects of Communist activity among the youth. The speakers concentrated on the following problems.

OBJECTIVE CAUSES

It was widely agreed that the principal objective factor in the present rise of youth militancy is the general crisis of capitalist society, the aggravation of all its inherent contradictions.

Ib Norlund (Denmark) remarked that the problems of youth in capitalist countries can be reduced to a common denominator, the conditions created by state-monopoly capitalism. Youth activity should therefore be seen as an integral part of a much broader process, for it is paralleled by heightened activity in the labor movement, notably among young workers. Referring to developments in his own country, Denmark, the speaker emphasized that there is no longer any point in arguing about the existence or non-existence of revolutionary potentialities—the class struggle has its impact on every sphere of social life. The youth upsurge should be seen as a symptom of the sharpening of the class struggle, as a positive accelerating factor.

The deepening crisis of capitalist society and of the imperialist system as a whole

*Contributions by French, Italian, Spanish, West German, West Berlin and United States participants appeared in the previous, July issue of *World Marxist Review*.

finds its most concentrated expression in the failure of America's aggressive war in Vietnam. That war, *E. G. Mancera* (Venezuela) said, is an indication of capitalism's moral collapse. It is one of the factors that spur the growth of political awareness among students and young people generally.

The growth and scope of the youth movement cannot be separated from the influence exerted upon it by the economic and social conditions of capitalist society. Day-to-day realities and the example of the older generation are bringing home to the youth the stark fact that the existing system holds no future for them. *M. Cepeda*, (Colombia), who shared the view, urged a closer examination of the concrete factors of the economic crisis that have led to the present worldwide youth "explosion."

For a long time the student movement was seen only as confined to colonial and dependent countries, as part of the national liberation struggle, *P. Gonzales Alberdi* (Argentina), said in his contribution. However, the experience of student struggles in these areas can serve as a useful gauge in assessing similar movements in capitalist countries.

In this context, the speaker recalled that the university reform movement which began in Cordoba, Argentina, fifty years ago was taken up by the young Latin American Communist parties and spread to the entire continent.

A cardinal sociological factor in the changing class composition of bourgeois society is the changing social function of the youth, the result of expanding university education, dictated by the require-

ments of modern production and the technological revolution. That point was made by *Zucker-Schilling* (Austria), *Norlund*, *Mancera* and other speakers. The number of students has increased immensely and they are playing a greater role. In fact, they make up a social group characterized by all the traits of people in their late teens and early twenties—heightened activity and romanticism. On the other hand, they provide a fertile soil for propaganda, discussion and organized action. The speaker cited examples from Austria and Germany to show that at the turn of the century politically articulate students inclined towards the bourgeoisie, reaction and militarism. Today they incline towards progressive ideas, though not, in all cases, towards Marxism.

There is also this: university training is meant to produce more white-collar workers. But even before graduation the student comes face to face with the complex problems of the existing system of education and the meagre prospects it affords for work in this particular field. *John Boyd* (Canada) noted that the educational system in most capitalist countries has long ago become outdated. It is not measuring up to the standards and requirements of today, much less of tomorrow. Today young people realize that it is no longer enough to acquire an education (which in itself is by no means easy), but that it is also extremely difficult to find a suitable job.

On the basis of these and certain other factors of a sociological nature, enumerated by *J. Diz* (Spain), it was generally agreed that the present youth non-conformism or "revolt" can be traced to the young generation's conflict with the capitalist world it lives in and its search for solutions to its numerous problems. However, this—even if we add certain sociological and psychological factors—cannot, and should not, be reduced to the celebrated theory of "the struggle of generations."

TORTUOUS PATHS

Much attention was devoted to the rise and development of the present youth movement. A close analysis was made of its aims and slogans, of its link with the working class movement and other aspects of socio-political struggles in capitalist countries.

John Boyd remarked that the sharp step-up in the militancy of the Canadian students dates back several years. Significant-

ly, it expressed itself first and most dramatically in French Canada. The struggle of the French Canadian people for national equality and self-determination dates back more than 200 years, but it was the militant mass demonstrations of the students in the French Canadian cities of Montreal and Quebec that sparked this movement and brought the issue to the attention of all Canadians. Since then the struggle has been taken up vigorously by all sections of the population, including the workers, and today this has become one of the central, political issues in our country. Very soon, many of these students also began speaking out and demonstrating on other issues, particularly against the war in Vietnam, all the more so since the French Canadians have a long tradition of struggle against militarism and war. This coincided with the great struggles for the rights of the Black people in the United States and the great student demonstrations against the war in Vietnam which had begun to take place in the United States and elsewhere.

J. M. Fortuny (Guatemala) suggested that the Latin American student movement be considered in its two distinct phases. The first relates to the campaign for university reform begun in Argentina fifty years ago. The second began after the Cuban revolution. Militant students no longer demand only democracy, freedom and a democratic government, no longer do they protest only against imperialist domination. Their demand today is political power as the prelude to building socialism.

In 1962, following the defeat of the two-month student struggle and mass clashes with the police and the army, militant students joined the guerrilla forces. They went to the hills to continue the fight for a government that would put the country on the road to socialism. In the speaker's view, this shows up the link between the student movement in Guatemala and the attitude of certain student groups in Europe. For they, too, are posing an alternative to capitalism and regard socialism as the only answer to all the problems of society.

The slogans advanced in the student movement were closely analyzed. Students in Canada as in many other countries, *John Boyd* remarked, are raising the demand that they be allowed to participate in the administration of schools, that they be represented on the Board of Directors of universities, that they have a say about

what the curricula should be and the methods of teaching. This trend will no doubt continue and grow stronger until all or most of the students' demands are met.

Student demands in Denmark, *Ib Norlund* said, can be divided into two main groups. One concerns democratization of the whole educational system and the right to education. The other concerns demands for the right to participate in shaping curricula, teaching methods and so on. Both come very close to the demands of the working class. And though this is not widely appreciated, it is here that we should look for the objective basis of an alliance of workers and students. Rejection of these student demands is the root cause of the present conflicts.

Another speaker, *Gonzalez Alberdi*, shared the view that, parallel with the general program for socialism, we must work out our policy toward the student movement and specifically on the crucial issue of university reform. Of course, all roads lead to Rome, and at present all more or less significant social movements are in one or another way associated with the struggle for socialism. But if we confine ourselves to general socialist slogans we cannot hope to win over all the students. That is the attitude of certain ultra-Left groups in some Latin American countries, and it is a wrong attitude.

For there can be no fundamental improvement in university education and its democratization without a radical change of the social system. But that does not mean that we should refrain from campaigning for university reform. For this campaign enabled undergraduate and post-graduate students and the teaching staff of Argentine universities (notably in Buenos Aires), significantly to raise the level of university education. They also initiated a campaign for democracy, in particular for solidarity with the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. In fact, the United States Embassy and the reactionary militarist clique were very much annoyed and dismayed by the statements issued by university and faculty councils.

The problem of university autonomy, *Mancera* said, has a specific character in Latin America. For in several countries the bourgeoisie has exploited university autonomy to further its own ends, and this presents many dangers. But when university autonomy is used by the proletariat, and when the Party directs the fight for student demands, autonomy becomes a lever of resistance to government repres-

sion, a means of speeding up the development of the revolutionary struggle. That is precisely what has happened in Venezuela.

In Austria, *Zucker-Schilling* said, the student movement began later than in many other countries. It was stimulated largely by the events in West Berlin and other parts of Western Europe. The main demand is for more university facilities—Austria's universities are overcrowded and lack the necessary funds for expansion and re-equipment. Attempts were made to reduce study hours in secondary schools, on the pretext that pupils want to spend as little time as possible in class. The mammoth demonstration in Vienna showed that this was not the case, and that secondary school pupils take a serious view of their studies.

As in other countries, the war in Vietnam is causing a great deal of ferment among university and secondary school students. There have been repeated demonstrations against United States' aggression and they are assuming an increasingly political character. The student movement in Austria, especially in the capital, Vienna, is powered by members of the Socialist Party and a small group of Communist students. It should be borne in mind, in this connection, that less than five per cent of the student body are of working-class origin.

The Socialist student organization came to realize that the success of its efforts depends to a very great extent on unity with the working class, and Socialist students are beginning to form close ties with their Communist colleagues. This is causing nervous anxiety among the Socialist leaders. The Party's Chairman, *Kreisky*, even presented an ultimatum: "Either you submit to party discipline, sever all ties with the Communists and call a halt to joint demonstrations, or you will be expelled from the movement." Some Socialist students submitted to the ultimatum, but the rebels—and they are the majority—set up their own organization which is seeking contact with the working class. The Communist Party and Communist students are giving it every possible support.

The development of the youth movement, it was emphasized, can be correctly understood only if we consider some of the inherent traits of the young generation. *Fortuny*, who dwelt on this point, remarked that one of the most characteristic traits of the youth character is spiritual generosity. Another is enthusiasm undaunted by danger: youth believes everything

is possible and permissible and is not deterred by tactical or strategic considerations. But youth's "adventurism" often accords with mature objective and subjective conditions. And youth daring is often a sign of political maturity.

Another inherent feature of youth is romanticism. The guerrilla struggle, as it has unfolded in Latin America, appeals to the enthusiasm of the youth.

That is especially true of the students, who were the first to join the guerrilla detachments. They went to the hills not only with heavy rucksacks, but also with a goodly load of romanticism. True, much of it was based on utopian illusions, but these were soon dispelled by the harsh realities of guerrilla warfare, giving way to a more realistic view of events and situations.

Dealing with another aspect of the problem, *Ib Norlund* stressed that the youth of today had not lived through the Second World War and fascism, at any rate in their own countries. This means that many questions, for example, unity in the fight against oppression and war, are not reflected in the minds and personal experience of young people. This calls for a new approach to things which we of the older generation take for granted.

All these specific features, *Norlund* continued, should be seen against the background of intensive bourgeois propaganda and ideological conditioning. The aim, of course, is to split the movement and create a generation gap. In the past, national and other issues were used for this; now the method is to inflate and exploit differences between the older and younger generations. In the past, bourgeois ideology demanded above all loyalty to the Establishment. Now there is an obvious tendency to kowtow to the youth, and this method is having its effect, though not among the more politically aware. Bourgeois ideology also tries to exploit such things as lack of experience among the youth, its susceptibility to petty-bourgeois influences, and the students are the main target. If the revolutionary proletarian movement had its "infantile disorders," then it should be perfectly clear that the growing youth movement is bound to have them too. Furthermore, bourgeois propaganda seeks to present extremist actions as "pure communism." The idea, of course, is to orient the youth movement towards Leftist actions. We can also speak of a definite attempt to cultivate individualism.

Matthew Hallinan (United States) touch-

ed on some of the ideas that have gained wide currency among students in his country. The students' attitude is a critical one, but their critique of capitalism is not a Marxist critique, it is a bourgeois critique of bourgeois society.

I think, *Hallinan* said, that this is the essence of Marcuse's philosophy, and we must develop our own critique of bourgeois society and not fall into the trap of accepting, unquestioningly, Marcuse's criticism or that of other bourgeois philosophers. For the main thrust of New Left ideology conceives of the struggle for social progress as the struggle of man against the social conditions that oppress him. It is man, not classes, that make history. Mankind, this theory goes, contains a set of abstract, eternal possibilities but they are contradicted by the existing form of society. It does not view human possibilities in historical and social terms. It does not grasp the relation between human possibilities and the social relationships in which men find themselves. Men, we are told, exist as isolates, seeking to realize their full humanity not as members of a social class, wherein their real possibilities are contained, but as individuals opposing the entire social order.

According to this philosophy, capitalism is not maintained through the exercise of force, through a constant struggle by a social class that profits from the system; capitalism is perpetuated by the ignorance and barbarism of "man." Furthermore, we are told, it is the false needs of a dehumanized man that keep capitalism alive. If people would simply cease to need the things that they feel they need under capitalism, the system could not enslave them.

Now all this sounds very nice and very pretty (*Hallinan* continued) but when you analyze it closely, not only is it philosophically wrong, but also politically, for it puts the blame for the continued existence of capitalism on the working class. In practice those who follow this philosophy are led to disparage the struggle of the working people to improve their conditions, and not only to oppose them theoretically, but many times to do so in practice. This is not because they are dishonest or evil. It is because this is the way their petty-bourgeois minds conceive of the world.

We have begun openly to polemicize with these ideas, *Hallinan* said. We have attacked them from the Left, that is, we have shown that these ideas lead away from

the struggle, that they lead away from the masses and therefore lead away from socialism. We have sought to show the students and the young people that they must join the struggle of the masses, that they must merge their own struggles with the class struggles, that they cannot expect the masses to fight for aims which have no relation to their own real needs.

Organization of the student movement takes on different forms in different countries. *John Boyd* remarked that the student movement in Canada began taking on more solidity, developing from a series of spontaneous demonstrations into an organized movement. Thus there developed in Canada a qualitative change in the longest established student organizations. In Montreal, for example, in the Union Generale Etudiante de Quebec, there was advanced the concept of student syndicalism, a kind of student trade unionism, a concept based on the proposition that a student is a potential worker and should be organized as such. This concept soon spread to other universities.

In contrast to Canada, *Ib Norlund* remarked, the weakness of the youth movement in Denmark is lack of organization. The workers keenly feel the need for organization directly in the process of production, but there is no such feeling among the new active forces.

In some cases our students resorted to actions that made their demands unpopular among the workers. We have endeavored to explain the need to win the sympathy of the population and above all the support of the working class. For instance, in the movement against the war in Vietnam there was a trend to abandon the demand for an end to the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as not being sufficiently revolutionary. Trotskyite and certain other groups came out with this theory: "The only support of Vietnam is a Communist revolution in our own country." And at one time it seemed that this could lead to a split of the united movement against the aggression in Vietnam.

Other speakers, too, dealt with Leftist trends in the student movement. The importance of this question, *P. Hentges* (France) said, lies in the fact that the bourgeoisie might exploit for its own purposes not only, and not so much, the discussions we have with students, but chiefly the Leftist actions of certain student groups. The bourgeoisie wants to drive a wedge between the working class

and the middle classes, especially the peasantry.

Zucker-Schilling, who agreed with *Hentges*, said we must always distinguish between the main stream of the student movement and individual groups and leaders. We must, of course, reject their aims and methods, for they can only damage the progressive and student movements. However, that should not be taken to mean that we should aim our main blow at these groups and individuals. Obviously, our attention should be centered on what we hold in common. But we will not be helping the student movement by remaining silent on things with which we cannot possibly agree, and which we consider harmful. Students who have joined the movement in order to give voice to their condemnation of the existing system do not expect us to take a condescending attitude. What they do expect is discussion, or what I might call a discussion dialogue. Needless to say, such a dialogue will not convince everyone, but there can be little doubt that it will help clarify many issues.

FORWARD TO SOCIALISM TOGETHER WITH THE WORKING CLASS

Ib Norlund reported a heightened interest in Marxism among Danish students, though only ten per cent of the student body are of working-class origin. But the very fact that middle class youth is tending towards Marxism indicates the depth of the crisis of the existing social system.

The battle for the youth is being fought chiefly in the ideological field, and diverse forces are involved. *Gonzalez Alberdi* remarked that the students have to contend with a veritable burden of ideological confusion, anarchistic, Trotskyite and bourgeois-nationalist ideas and concepts. The Communist Party position must therefore be sufficiently flexible to appeal to the students, and this implies consistent effort to explain and uphold our views. That is not to say that every student must become a Marxist-Leninist. Our purpose should be to win over the students to united action, bring them into the anti-imperialist struggle. We should always approach the students as allies, but allies of a special kind. Our adversaries are mounting a massive campaign to undermine the ideological unity of the Communist Parties and popular movements. They are concentrating on the youth, knowing that it lacks political experience and is therefore much more susceptible to their subversive propaganda.

But on the other hand, the speaker said, a large part of the students who have been trained in Marxism-Leninism can become stalwart fighters, even party leaders—in fact, several Latin American Communist Parties were founded by student leaders.

Another point made in the discussion was that bourgeois propaganda and bourgeois appraisal of the youth movement must be countered by explanation of the Communist point of view. John Boyd said in this connection that the Communists are not the only ones giving attention to this new world phenomenon of the so-called student revolt. It is not accidental that this is the feature topic in the current issues of such leading American capitalist magazines as *United States News and World Report* and *Time*. It is the subject of numerous articles in the capitalist press. All of them go out of their way to misrepresent the student movement, to dwell on its negative features and to present it to the public as a dangerous, reactionary, anti-social phenomenon. In this, of course, they will fail, just as they failed in their efforts to misrepresent the struggles of the Negro people in the United States and the movement against the war in Vietnam. To the negative, distorted evaluation of the capitalist propagandists, we have to counterpose our objective Marxist analysis of this phenomenon.

M. Cepeda suggested that the Communists must show more initiative to win over the young people. The reactionaries know only too well that the capitalist system has lost its appeal, hence the "third path" propaganda designed to attract the youth. There are the cynical speeches of General de Gaulle. Posing as a "revolutionary," he advocates a third path (so-called "participation"). To all practical purposes it is the same capitalist path, though de Gaulle is at pains to prove that it was neither capitalist nor communist. This new tactic is typical of the way imperialism is endeavoring to prevent young people joining the Communist Party. And it has to be effectively countered, so that we do not let slip opportunities for winning over the youth.

In the opinion of Zucker-Schilling, bourgeois propaganda is relying heavily on undermining faith in socialism, in the reality of socialism as it exists today in the socialist countries. For faith in socialism, in the possibility of bringing it to reality and in the need to choose socialism, is drawn today not so much from books as from the realities of the world socialist

system. In the past, when there were still no socialist countries, the bourgeoisie always depicted socialism as a figment of the imagination. With the rise of the Soviet Union, and later of other socialist countries, the tactic has been to distort the facts and inflate the difficulties encountered in socialist construction in order to present socialism as an unachievable utopia. Much the same methods are now being employed in relation to the students and the youth. We find the bourgeoisie supporting the dissemination of "Marxism"—not the genuine, tested Marxism that has wrought such revolutionary transformations in a large part of the world, but the "new," "modern," Marxism, the point and purpose of which is to substitute utopian, harmless illusions for the convincing force of reality. I believe, Zucker-Schilling remarked, that we have not yet fully grasped the dangers this presents and the problems it poses. We must bring Marxism to the youth, especially to the students, and demonstrate its transforming ability, and we should do this on the basis of present-day realities, the relation of social forces and classes.

John Boyd believes that we have to find new, more readily acceptable ways of presenting the ideas of Marxism to the young people. That is necessary if we want to win over a large segment of the students and the young generation. We have to abandon all the old stereotype ways, all the old clichés which young people refuse to listen to. We have to get into a discussion and debate with the ideologists of the New Left and the ultra-Left and demolish their theory not by labelling and name-calling, but by the force of our arguments, by the power of living Marxism.

Ib Norlund emphasized that the existence in the youth movement of heterogeneous ideological trends, some of them hostile to Marxism, calls for a purposeful and systematic campaign to expose them. There is the experience of working class struggle which we cannot afford to discard as something outdated or obsolete. We must go on utilizing it, but in ways that are acceptable to and understood by the youth.

I agree with those, Fortuny said, who believe that we should conduct a dialogue, a discussion in the course of the struggle itself. But certainly, we should not cling to old models, nor resort to name-calling or to offensive language; ultra-Left attitudes should be countered by ideological struggle.

Whenever the question is raised about

finding more acceptable and convincing forms of Marxist-Leninist propaganda, Hentges remarked, the discussion usually centers on the language of our propaganda, its terminology, and so on. Some are even inclined to delete such terms as "proletarian dictatorship" or "vanguard."

There was even a suggestion to delete from the program the word "revolution," out of fear that it might frighten people away from the Communist Party. I have been watching with interest events in countries where our propaganda has been purged of these words, and I can say that this has in no way increased Communist influence. Myself, I believe language is not the main question. Besides, the Communist Party of each country can adapt its Marxist-Leninist propaganda to national traditions.

What are the most effective ways of combating Leftist ideas and action among the youth? Various views were expressed on this point.

Hentges agreed with other speakers that there was no point in conducting the attack from positions of the "Left." But what Party has not found itself in a situation when it had to repel criticism from its own Left wing, or from those who consider themselves Lefts within the Communist Party? The battle against Leftism, Left phraseology and Left provocation, is a battle in defense of the Party and the revolutionary movement.

Speaking on the same subject, G. Chiesa (Italy) said: we have had to contend with Leftist attitudes among the students. At first we reproached them for their Leftist sentiments, which, we claimed, could be traced to the students' social origins. That, obviously, was a very superficial view, and of very little help. Leftist sentiments—and this we learned later — can be overcome only in the process of concrete struggle, for without Communist participation, constructive polemics or precise definition of the issues of difference, will produce no results whatever. That is just what the students accused us of at the beginning of the campaign—they said we were not at the head of the struggle, were not its initiators. Apparently, we shall gradually have to regain our lost positions.

I would like to draw attention to one phase of the Italian university struggle. At the height of the clashes in Rome University, when police ousted the students and took over the university buildings, we did not publicly criticize the sectarian and extremist nature of the movement (though

we continued our criticism within the movement), and allowed the students to use our offices. And if at first this might have appeared contradictory, or even a concession to the Leftist groups, in the end it had a positive effect, and it was not long before large sections of the movement went over to our side.

Chiesa continued: this rather non-conformist approach helped to give the movement a new and correct orientation. Needless to say, there are still many unsolved problems, one of them is extension of the student movement. Our experience has proved that the smaller the numerical strength and scope of the movement, the greater is the influence of Leftist groups. Consequently, our problem is to find the correct correlation between the movement's immediate and ultimate aims and lay more emphasis on theory to elucidate the ultimate goal of the movement. And in this respect we prefer not to indulge in long-winded, though sometimes necessary, polemics, nor do we publicize our differences. Rather we take up the work with vigor in order to change the old methods, which are no longer suitable.

It is hardly necessary, Diz said, to stress the need to combat Leftist tendencies. The battle against alien ideological trends is the very rationale of our Party. It is the Party's duty to give the revolutionary movement a correct orientation. But the question is how this should be done. Ideological struggle is part and parcel of our general struggle, and there is a very close connection between ideological and political struggle, even in terms of organization. Ignoring that could lead to the illusion that it is solely a matter of the language of our propaganda or that propaganda language has no relevance. Both views are wrong, for the struggle against Leftism is a struggle for the masses. It has to be remembered that the student masses that now reject the capitalist system possess vast political potentialities. But the question is what path are they likely to follow: one more beneficial to them and the socialist revolution, or will they be brought into the struggle through a series of intermediate links which only hamper, complicate and weaken this process of involvement, and, consequently, the entire revolutionary process? And inasmuch as this is a struggle for the student masses, it is necessary that we always have our priorities right. It would be wrong to think that we can confine ourselves to newspaper articles refuting ideological and

philosophical propositions, some of them skilfully formulated. Needless to say, we must wage an ideological struggle, but it has to be on a high level. On a level, let me add, that will convince not only those who are already convinced, but also students who have strayed from the correct revolutionary path as a result of erroneous theories and of our ability to provide the solutions they are searching for.

I must emphasize anew (*Diz* continued) the political aspect of the problem, inasmuch as we understand it better and have a better knowledge of our conditions. The battle against Leftist trends is part of living reality. Its outcome depends on the ability of the Party and its members working among the students to direct this process in a way that will make the fallacy of Leftist views clear to every student. That is what we are trying to do.

A number of speakers emphasized the need for Communists to work within the youth movement. *W. Atias* (Chile) said that young Communists must have an active part in the student movement, otherwise the students might be regarded as an independent detachment of the liberation movement. And the impression might be created that the students are indeed acting independently, in isolation from the labor movement. In Chile, the Christian-Democrats have for a long time been at the head of the university movement, and yet the Communists, jointly with other progressive forces, have made significant progress. They have effectively exposed the Christian-Democrats' compromising and demagogic attitude and have vigorously fought the Leftists. We should not allow these Leftists to dominate the movement for university reform and democratic freedoms. Of course, the speaker continued, we cannot allow any hesitation in upholding our views, we cannot and should not resort to demagoguery or pretend that we stand further to the Left than the ultra-Left elements. That line can only result in serious ideological errors and setbacks. We should frankly and sincerely explain our Communist position, which is the most revolutionary position. This is bound to meet with a warm response among the students.

Atias stressed the importance of polemics, above all with people who can still be convinced, with Christian-Democrat students, even with ultra-Left groups. But more important still is the day-to-day struggle, our persevering work. If the masses see that we can effectively organize the struggle, give proper leadership to

the students, come out into the streets, provide the argumentation and enthusiasm to energize the campaign for university reform and link it with the struggle for national liberation, the ideological problems of the revolution and solidarity with Vietnam and Cuba, with the need to replace the capitalist system—if the people feel that we can accomplish all these things, then we will stand a much better chance of countering ultra-Left influence. In my country ultra-Leftism is a parasitic growth on the revolutionary movement. The ultra-Left groups have no strength of their own. They are a drag on the movement: when we say that two steps forward have to be made, they immediately come out with the demand for four steps, but themselves, they cannot make a single step.

M. Cepeda remarked that if we want to lead the university movement we must become an integral part of it—for that matter, leadership of any movement presupposes complete involvement, but it also presupposes a dialogue, discussion with those whose ideological positions still lack clarity.

E. G. Mancera (Venezuela) discussed the experience of his party. We have always devoted much attention to work among the youth, he said, and our young Communists have their own independent organization. It plays a significant part; the Party draws on it for new recruits, and this has been a major factor in avoiding contradictions between the Party and the youth. We make it a point to listen to youth criticism. But, as you know, we have made certain mistakes. One of these was the attempt to launch an armed struggle when the conditions for it were not yet ripe. We do not renounce that experiment, though we believe that the armed struggle was unnecessarily dragged out. This was at a time when the students were at the head of our guerrilla detachments, both in rural and urban areas. The fighting was halted only when there were clear signs of fatigue. Fortunately, the Party was able to alter its policy in good time, for the youth, always working in close cooperation with us, fully appreciated the need for a tactical retreat. More, it became the main support of the Party when vicious attacks were levelled against it. Because of this we were able to overcome the crisis. Today we can proudly say that we have a very broad movement among the country's fifty thousand students who represent an important revolutionary detachment led by the Party and Young Communist League.

But more than that has been achieved; secondary school pupils are now taking part in the movement and recently held their inaugural national congress. As for the ultra-Left, the struggle against it must be waged within the student mass. We must not take up an attitude of distrust to them; we must be in the van of the movement everywhere.

The success, scope and perspectives of the youth movement are directly dependent on the degree to which it is based on the working class, its struggles and the struggle of the Communist Party. These questions were dealt with by *Matthew Hallinan*. In several parts of the USA, he said, we have been in positions of leadership of the student movement. We have initiated many of the mass actions which have brought the student movement of the United States into the world limelight. But we have made some errors, and in some areas we were unable to maintain our position of leadership. We made two main mistakes. One of these was that we failed to wage an ideological struggle with the forces that joined with us in these movements. Our second mistake was just the opposite—that often we relied simply on ideological struggle and did not in fact begin to initiate the kind of activity that would help the students acquire a working-class perspective from their own experiences.

It has to be said that there were certain shortcomings in the way in which the Communists attempted to deal with the new wave of bourgeois ideology that is today sweeping the student movement. Of course, it is not strictly a struggle of ideas, but we cannot afford to ignore the content of these ideas and we must meet the challenge posed by them. We must work on the premise that the mass of radicalized students are sincere and serious about trying to change the social order which they now feel oppresses them. But we must distinguish very clearly between their intentions and the strategy and the concepts they employ in trying to change the world. The struggle for a working-class perspective is absolutely essential not only for the victory of the working class, but also for the students to attain their own goals. I do not think that we should see ourselves as standing outside the student movement, or that we should treat it condescendingly or politely. Many of the students are serious about revolution and that should be our attitude towards them. If their ideas are wrong, then we should oppose them

in the interests of the students themselves. The proletarianization of the student masses has created a material basis for unity with the working class. We feel the students can be won over to working-class ideology.

Atias noted that Communist participation in the student movement of Chile was the decisive factor in the success of the movement and in accelerating the university crisis. I would like to mention an event which caused quite a stir in university circles. For the first time a Communist was elected Dean of the Philosophy and Pedagogical Faculty of Chile University. I might also add that the chairman of the student center of this faculty is a Communist. Joint action by students and teaching staff made it possible to secure faculty reform, with the students now taking part in the election of the Faculty Council. As was only to be expected, there was adamant opposition from the University Board and this precipitated a crisis culminating in the resignation of the Rector, who disagreed with the reactionary views of his colleagues. The university reform movement has grown in scope and has become more dynamic.

As for the student movement as a whole, the speaker continued, the United Trade Union Center of Chile, which is led by a member of our Party, has given the students consistent and effective assistance and support. The workers consider the cause of the students to be their cause, for they know that sooner or later more and more working-class youngsters will be entering the universities. This will be so if the changes we hope for materialize. The United Trade Union Center played a conspicuous part in implementing the reform in the Catholic University, which has traditionally been a center of reaction and has now changed its political coloration thanks to the militancy of its students. There have been similar examples of worker-student solidarity in other higher educational establishments. I might cite the example of the Federico Santa Maria Technical University.

In the past student support for the labor movement, *E. Mancera* said, was purely emotional, today it is based on class solidarity. And this has to be emphasized, for we now witness a process of proletarianization among large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, and this inevitably makes for closer understanding between the working class and the students. The Communist Party has for some time been working to

devise a mechanism that would facilitate this rapprochement and lead the student masses into a more correct path. The student movement must not be left to shift for itself because of its adequate ideological work on our part.

Ib Norlund said that the Danish Communist Party was making a close study of the youth problem and drawing up a program of educational reform as part of the preparations for the Party congress, which will be meeting early next year. This will be discussed both within the Party and with representatives of active youth groups. Our purpose is to do everything possible to help the ideological development of the young generation. This is a vital problem for the Communist Party in Denmark.

P. Hentges said that the French Communist Party had a detailed program of university and educational reform. Its 300 pages contain a close analysis of all aspects of education, beginning with kindergarten and ending with university.

The discussion was summed up by *G. P. Frantsev*, Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review*. The exchange of views, he said, has produced a rounded-out picture of mounting youth and student discontent in the capitalist countries of Western Europe and America.

All the speakers agreed, and emphasized, that the youth movement of today, and more especially the student movement, are directed against the social structure of capitalism.

Today we can say to the capitalists that they have failed—either by concessions or bribes (and at times they have been generous) or by repression—to liquidate the class struggle of the proletariat, for that struggle is an inherent part of the social structure of capitalism, and the harbinger of the future.

The student unrest, *G. P. Frantsev* continued, has graphically demonstrated—and this thought will be understood by intellectuals—that without the working class it is impossible to carry out the social revolution, change the structure of society, for this implies changing the very foundation of society, its production basis, its relations of production. And it is highly significant that in modern capitalist society the movement of *young workers*, the most dispossessed part of the working class is gaining increasing prominence. More important still is the fact that we cannot regard the youth movement out of context with the growing activity of the working class throughout the capitalist world.

French elections, June 1968

Important and, on the face of it, contradictory events erupted in France in May and June, precipitated by the first May Day demonstration in Paris since the 12-year-old ban. History will take special note of the nature and scale of the events that followed—the student movement, the brutality of the police reprisals, the retaliation of the workers, nine to ten million of whom went on strike, and then, on May 30, General de Gaulle's emergency decision to hold parliamentary elections, speeding them through in an atmosphere of a government-inspired fear of civil war.

The elections were a success for the Right and a setback for the Left. The Gaullists and their allies of the government coalition headed by de Gaulle's ex-Finance Minister Giscard d'Estaing, polled 10,581,144 votes in the first round against 9,270,079 in March 1967, a gain from 41.39 per cent to 47.79, and after the second round seated 358 deputies out of 485. The Communists polled 4,435,357 votes in the first round against 5,039,032 in 1967, their percentage dropping from 22.51 to 20.03 and the number of Communist deputies from 72 (plus the deputy from Guadeloupe) to 33 (plus the re-elected Guadeloupan). For the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (FDSL) the results were: 3,654,003 votes against 4,224,110 in 1967; 16.50 per cent against 18.96 per cent, and 57 deputies against 118. The United Socialist Party (USP) polled 874,212 votes against 495,412 in 1967, or 3.94 per cent against 2.21, but seated no delegate where it had three in 1967.

Why this shift favoring the Rightist de Gaulle and reactionary forces? Does it conflict with or, at least, reduce the importance of the social movement that brought on the elections? That has to be looked into, and, to begin with, we should examine the true political significance of the May and June strikes.

SUBSTANCE OF THE CRISIS

The strikes came as a sequel to ten

years of Gaullist rule. As early as 1958, the French Communist Party, fighting de Gaulle alone, predicted that the contradictory features of the General's regime would surface in due course. The authoritarian regime, a concentrated expression of capitalist monopoly rule, prejudiced the interests of all non-monopoly circles in enforcing its hegemony. The many illusions about its nature and the so-called French neo-capitalism went up in smoke. The difficulties that caused the crisis—unemployment, low wages, impairment of social insurance, neglect of social needs (from housing to education) and the pressures of taxation and inflation on all with the sole exception of the finance and monopoly oligarchy—sprang from the combined rule of the monopolies and the capitalist state, from what we call state-monopoly capitalism.

For ten years the working-class movement stood in the van of the fight against the monopoly regime, as witnessed by the general strikes against the 1961 putsch in Algeria, the miners' strike in 1963, the powerful 1966-67 movement and the resistance this year to the extraordinary powers assumed by de Gaulle in social matters, which he used to attack the social security scheme and remove the administrators elected by its beneficiaries to carry the scheme forward. In addition, absence of effective negotiations between the trade unions and the employers or the employer-state, which froze wages under cover of an "incomes policy," sharpened the class struggle expressive of the basic labor-capital contradiction in a state-monopoly capitalist society.

The situation was conducive to popular unity. Joint action agreements were concluded by the General Confederation of Labor and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (the new name of the former Christian trade unions) in January 1966, soon after the presidential election campaign marked by the spirit of unity, and in the political context by the Com-

munist Party and the FDSL in December 1966 and February 1968, revealing points of contact and common attitudes.

Against this setting, other social categories, notably the farmers and students, began to realize that the working class is the decisive force capable of altering the course of events, for on the night of May 10-11, when the police cracked down on the students, it was the General Confederation of Labor that suggested retaliating with a general strike and a demonstration on May 13.

These facts should not be overlooked if we want to understand what General de Gaulle admitted to have been for him a "terrible shock."

For more than a month the workers' movement was highlighted by unprecedented unity of employees, technicians and specialists. The big trade union centers—the FDCL, Force Ouvrière, General Confederation of Specialists and Federation of National Education—joined the strikes and backed the student movement. The Catholic Church and its following asked itself in what way it could "fill in the tragic gulf between the Christian faith and the revolutionary forces of human emancipation."

The strikers' immediate demands were complemented during the demonstration by the call for a people's government, indicating that the regime that had been unable to satisfy the needs of workers, professors and students was in question.

Although the movement for current demands embraced most sections of the nation, the general conditions back of the battle were not always comprehensible. The true perspectives and alternatives springing from the scale of the struggle and the main class contradiction, were not always clear.

Despite the sacrifices the strike (like any other) entailed for the people, it added to their class consciousness. The French working class is no longer the same after May 13. It has a clear idea of its rights and strength. But the longer-term perspectives will sink in only gradually, paving the way to the solid democratic and working-class unity essential in fighting the common enemy, and to a more lucid appreciation of the purpose of fighting the capitalist monopolies and their subservient anti-democratic forces.

Although in its ten years the Gaullist regime created nothing but difficulties and placed all national resources at the disposal of private capitalist enterprise, it faced the electorate with fine talk about

"regeneration" and "participation," winning the trust of a portion of electors. That the Gaullists made a gain of 1,200,000 votes of which only 700,000 had been Rightist in 1967, is due mostly to the fact that the true alternative to Gaullism was unclear to many Frenchmen, even those who had participated in one way or another in the immense May and June movements. These Frenchmen did not realize that the option was between continued capitalist monopoly rule through an anti-democratic state with but purely formal changes and a new economic and political democracy, a popular government with Communists participating alongside other parties, with a program of genuine social progress drawn up jointly by the Left parties and unions.

For the Communists the agreement with the Federation of February 24, 1968, complemented on June 1, was distinctly a step forward, but not a government program offering a lucid political perspective of unity in the people's struggle and, at once, in the election campaign, countering Gaullist propaganda that the choice lay again between de Gaulle and chaos.

With united trade union action to back it, the Confederation of Labor led the movement to victory in the context of the economic demands. The blow struck at the monopolies in that area was a telling one. But the Confederation, too, pointed to the need for a joint Left program, stressing its urgency and declaring its readiness to come at any moment to a meeting of Left parties and unions deliberating a common platform.

The conduct of some of the Federation's leaders at the critical time before de Gaulle's announcement of the election did not help knit the Left forces.

Without so much as informing the Communist Party beforehand, François Mitterrand, Chairman of the Left Federation, announced his project of a provisional government on May 28, casting Pierre Mendès France as its head and reserving for himself the post of President; and speaking at a press conference on June 17, Guy Mollet, leader of the Socialists, indicated that reactionary figures like Pinay, ex-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Lecanuet, once a candidate for President, had approved the scheme in principle.

That Mendès France, then a deputy of the United Socialist Party, attended the Charléty gathering organized by ultra-Left students on May 27, where some speakers charged the Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labor as being

"the main anti-revolutionary force of order in French society," clearly shows that Mitterrand's proposal did not help consolidate Left unity.

The Gaullist government, on the other hand, took advantage of it to allege a conspiracy against national institutions: General de Gaulle voiced this accusation when announcing the dissolution of the National Assembly and calling for "civil action" against the "totalitarian operation."

THE TRUMPS HELD BY THE GAULLISTS

Asked why the strikes and the May movement were followed by election results favorable for the government, Waldeck Rochet replied in his report to a Central Committee meeting of the FCP on July 8:

"The main reason for the shift in favor of the Gaullists was the fear of a civil war systematically exploited by the Gaullist regime." Rochet recalled that Charles de Gaulle had capitalized on the civil war blackmail of the men behind the Algerian putsch as far back as 1958, gaining 80 per cent of the votes in the referendum.

At that time, listing the essential causes behind the massive support for de Gaulle, Maurice Thorez said: "One is liable to underrate the effect that the very idea of civil war can produce among people in the countryside and the less advanced city workers. Louis Bonaparte quite deliberately reminded the people of the great Jacquerie, the red spectre, in order to evoke fear. And in May 1917 Lenin said of the reactionaries that their tactics was to evoke fear."

Although according to the Grenelle "protocol" the government and the employers promised concessions to the striking workers on May 27 and a powerful workers' demonstration was held in Paris on May 29 (four days after Premier Pompidou declared that all gatherings would be "most energetically dispersed"), General de Gaulle's speech and the Gaullist demonstrations, notably that from Place de la Concorde to Place de l'Etoile, revealed, among other things, that assessing the situation as revolutionary or pre-revolutionary was, speaking mildly, quite premature. Roland Leroy, Member of the FCP's Political Bureau, said on June 4: "Gaullist power disposes of real forces." What forces did he mean? They were not limited to those strata who had always voted for the reactionary parties. They also included those who came to the Place de la Con-

corde on May 30 to hold a demonstration which Jean Auburtin, former Gaullist chairman of the Paris municipality, described as a "cortege of former Petainists, of people nostalgic about French Algeria, of Right extremists for whom anti-communism outweighed anti-Gaullism, and of frightened bourgeois apprehensive of an adventure." And part of de Gaulle's strength lay in the activation of the forces of repression: the tank units deployed on the outskirts of Paris, the "civil action committees" of cut-throats, ex-OAS men and fascists whom Gaullism had kept afloat for all these 20 years. It was they who attacked the Clichy railway workers during the election campaign, and they who killed Marc Lanvein, the young Communist worker, in Arras; on June 11, however, it was the gendarmes who in Montbéliard, as was officially announced, "resorted to arms," lethally wounding Pierre Beylot and Henri Blanchet, the Peugeot workers.

Resort to violence and military action came after de Gaulle, whose policy had reached a stalemate, travelled secretly to Baden-Baden, the French military headquarters in West Germany, on May 29 to plead for help with the generals to whom he owed his return to power in 1958. The tradition of collaboration between the French reactionary officerdom and Charles de Gaulle goes back to January 1946, when, after de Gaulle's resignation, General Billote protested in a letter to Maurice Schumann against the "possibility of a bipartisan social-communist solution."*

What promises did de Gaulle make in Baden-Baden? That nobody knows. But what more could he have done for the Algerian putschists and the former OAS terrorists than to allow Bidault to return to France and to release General Salan and the other OAS prisoners? Was not that pardon, followed by amnesty, of all the leaders and executors, and all the participants in the mutiny, meant to win the votes of the Frenchmen repatriated from Algeria and give an anti-communist complexion to the campaign?

Unquestionably, the Gaullist attacks on those who wanted a "movement based on disorders and chimeras" weakened the entire Left.

UNITY AND ITS SNAGS

Unquestionably, too, Left solidarity was prejudiced by the ultra-leftist methods and conduct of provocateurs (or their victims)

*L'Express, March 1-7, 1965.

who perverted the student movement. Many of the students should have given thought to the suspicious maneuvers of the Gaullists, whose program, after their congress in Lille in December 1967, centers on combating "totalitarian communism." George Pompidou's words at that time that "the youth should cast doubt on everything" strike a warning note these days. The students would also do well to re-read Cohn-Bendit's admission of May 15 that he was being carried along by the surge of events beyond his control. What he said is worth quoting here at length:

"We did not anticipate, let alone plan, what happened on Friday, what happened throughout the week, because we did not expect the authority to resort to such stupid provocation.

"We were surprised ourselves by the incredible stupidity of the authorities. We did not foresee any tests of strength in spring. The crisis broke out earlier, because the government itself precipitated it. But once the escalation began, we were obliged to follow.

"We expected this objective situation to arise at the beginning of the school year (in October 1968—P.H.). The stupidity of the authority created it in May: we had nothing to do with that."

These confessions are typical of a Left-opportunist who lets events carry him along, underestimates Gaullist power and is blind to the government's exploiting the prevailing situation.

The same lack of understanding was betrayed by *Les temps modernes*, the journal of petty-bourgeois opportunism put out by Jean-Paul Sartre, a perceptive writer who, however, sometimes falls prey to the temptations of anti-communism.

In its issue of May-June Sartre's journal extolled the "immediately revolutionary and exemplarily subversive nature of the student actions" and described the "defiance in face of the better armed and organized police, occupation of the faculties and of the Odeon Theatre, and the creation of a counter-university and student power" as practical evidence of "the possibility of overthrowing the established order at the level of one of its most important institutions."

The journal also produced a picture of what could have been achieved by a "workers' rising" if a "revolutionary organization" had taken charge.

"Organization of supplies of the cities by strike committees connected with peasant cooperatives and local committees,"

it visualized, "would have augured elimination of commercial speculation and socialization of distribution . . . The liberation and self-education of the working people, coupled with partial seizure of power by the working class, with occupation of enterprises and the beginning of self-administration, would make it possible . . . to refuse all negotiations with the bourgeois state and the master class, and to wait for their abdication."

This utopian talk on the day after barricades appeared in the streets was damaging for all the Left forces. Yet de Gaulle and his ministers shrewdly levelled charges against the Party, describing it as "a totalitarian enterprise" and adding, "the working people are pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the Communist Party."

For the working people it was a question, as Lenin put it, of "soberly following the actual state of the class-consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (not only of its Communist vanguard) and of all the working people (not only of their advanced elements)" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 58).

It was grist to the government's mill when ultra-leftist students bragged of their "exemplarily subversive" effort.

The working class and the strikers displayed a high degree of discipline. Certainly, it was a sign of strength that the workers could for weeks occupy factories "without a single screw being mislaid." But Gaullist reaction strove by all possible means to inspire fear. Even before the student barricades appeared, when it still lacked a proper pretext, it tried to fabricate one at all costs. Did it not take advantage of the 20th anniversary of the February 1948 events in Czechoslovakia to talk again—not too convincingly—of the "Prague coup"? And, more significantly, when on February 24, the Communist Party and the Left Federation concluded their new agreement, a campaign was launched against what the reactionaries called the "small clause."

That small clause ran as follows: "Both organizations have agreed to examine jointly the question of the measures essential to frustrate all attempts to impede the Left government in carrying out its program." This text, patently consistent with the French Left tradition, could have been written by Léon Blum, Jean Jaures, even Léon Gambetta, who in 1870-71 envisaged measures against former imperial bureaucrats to protect republican democracy. Besides, it was singularly audacious of the

Gaullists to take exception to a statement so obviously in accord with the interests of the Republic, after de Gaulle in his May 30 speech, when announcing the election, envisaged the possibility of employing "means other than voting."

The government's tactics having become clearer in the past months, they should have been reckoned with. That was what the Communist Party kept pointing out, warning continuously against provocations. And those who, like the United Socialist Party, scorned our warnings, gained nothing from their ultra-Left speeches. Though the count of votes for the USP increased by 378,000 or 1.72 per cent, this was due mainly to the greater number of USP candidates. Yet in almost all the constituencies where the USP candidate had already run in 1967, the percentage of USP votes dropped and, as we have noted earlier, all three USP deputies were not re-elected.

The Federation candidates lost ground too. François Mitterrand, who on May 28 offered his own alternative to the authoritarian regime, surely realizes how much more difficult his task has become after he himself lost a fairly large percentage of voters, and after 14 out of the 16 deputies from the Convention of Republican Institutions which he heads in the Federation, were not re-elected.

The fewer votes polled by the Left also affected the French Communist Party. The most vicious attacks of the fear campaign were directed against it. It was accused of wanting to seize power by subversive means. Anti-Communist propaganda rose to an unheard-of pitch, especially between the two rounds. In Villejuif on the outskirts of Paris and in Moselle Department, Communists were identified with the nazis, with a poster appearing in Moselle showing a Communist shaking hands with a Hitlerite.

Ultra-Left propaganda could, despite the USP setback, have deflected some votes to that party, which in a majoritarian system could be a telling loss, because in the second round, as Jaures once said, 51 per cent equalled 100 while 49 equalled nil. In *Le Monde* on July 3 Maurice Labi, a Force Ouvrière leader (need we say reformist or ultra-Left?) bragged that he had done his bit for the setback of the Left in the election. "This is evidently right," he said, "and we fully assume responsibility for contributing to the drop and to the subsequent defeat of the Left apparatuses."

Elsewhere, centrist illusion could have

prevented Socialist electors from giving their vote to the Communists in the second round. In Maubeuge, Nord Department, for example, Communist André Mathon was ahead of Socialist deputy Pierre Forest on June 23, the Left polling an aggregate of 64.93 per cent in the first round. After the Socialist candidate withdrew, however, Mathon polled only 49.1 per cent in the second round, the seat going to the Gaullist majority. In 1967, on the other hand, when André Mathon withdrew in favor of Pierre Forest, he received in the second round 85 per cent of the votes cast for the Communists in the first round.

The imprudence of the Left played into the hands of the reactionaries. Did not the French ultras brag (like a former OAS lawyer) that they had made sure of a Left defeat in 27 constituencies, Mendes France's included?

THE NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Have the Gaullists cause to glory in the election results? Neither the claim that the "country came out in favor of the Fifth Republic," nor all the talk about "participation" and "reform," nor the vast majority gained by them in parliament, can obscure incontrovertible facts, and notably that despite their National Assembly majority their 43.65 per cent put them in a minority in the country. This is an important indication for the referendums and presidential elections that may take place in the coming months. It is years since the 1958 referendum when de Gaulle polled 79.25 per cent, and though we wish to make no over-audacious conclusions, it should be noted that the June 23 voting is an indication of a rift, and that the Left curve has been consistently upward since 1962. One more thing: if the voting had been proportional rather than majoritarian the Communists would have won 94 seats (and the USP 19 and the Federation 77), whereas under the present system a Communist deputy needs an average 135,000 votes to be elected while a Gaullist needs but 27,000.

The election defeat does not nullify the success of the strike. True, what the workers won has still to be defended against the employers and, also now, against parliament, reduced to an ordinary registration office for government acts. Never did de Gaulle visualize it in any other form, and no one has been more eloquent than de Gaulle in this respect. On February 26, 1968 (quite recently!) the Gaullist *La Na-*

tion referred in relation to the agreement between the Communist Party and the Federation to the "pernicious dominance of the National Assembly." And ten years earlier, on October 23, 1958, the General declared:

"If it so happens by ill chance that tomorrow's parliament refuses to adapt itself to the role appointed for it (what royal undertones!—P.H.), the Republic would doubtlessly be thrown into a new crisis and none can predict what would come of it, except that, in any case, parliament would be swept out as an institution for a long time to come."

Well, the present parliament, at least for the time being, is scarcely likely to create more than insignificant trouble for the head of state. Never in French history has the parliamentary majority been so great. Nor has it ever before so completely represented the monopolies. Out of the 358 Gaullist deputies at least 62 are company directors, 63 high-level officials, 3 generals, only 12 engineers (including multi-millionaire Dassault) and 4 school-teachers (including Georges Pompidou, head of the bank of Rothschild before entering the General's service), and 23 farmers.

De Gaulle's party is distinctly an old France party, consisting, among others, of Baroness Marie-Maddeleine-Aymé de la Chèvrelière, Viscount Yves de Poulpique du Halgouet, Gabriel de Poulpique de Brescanvel, Marquis Guy Leclerc de la Verpillère, Count Le Bault de la Morinière and a sprinkling of financial magnates like Valerie and Olivier Giscard d'Estaing and the new Prime Minister, Maurice Couve de Murville. "Nothing could be more convenient," Georges Pompidou said one day, "than to rail against the profits of the trusts. Nothing could be more harmful for all social classes than to declare war on company profits."*

(The Communist group, by the way, consists of 14 workers, 8 teachers, 5 office workers, 1 engineer, 1 technician, 1 peasant, 1 craftsman, 1 photographer, 1 architect and 1 druggist. "One would search in vain for a general director in their midst," René Andrieu wrote in *l'Humanité*.)

RESULTS AND PROSPECTS

During the election campaign the Gaullist government was mute about its responsibility for the situation leading up to the

"May crisis." Now it is trying to evade this responsibility and speaks of "the bill that has to be paid." But that will gain it no more than a deferment. Strange is the way in which the French are entering the era of "participation." Prices have gone up for bread, wine, sugar and most other things from laundries to hair-dressers. And the ordinances of May 1967 against social security, the debate of which in Parliament had been put off by the government for more than a year, will now be endorsed by an all-too-willing majority.

But much more serious is the fact that France launched its third series of nuclear tests in the Pacific on July 7, which are to culminate in a trial explosion of a hydrogen bomb. Soon, the nation will be reminded of the enormous cost of de Gaulle's *force de frappe* (20,000 million annually until 1974), and the first three nuclear submarines. That is something for which the blame can scarcely be shifted on to the people who in May fought for better living conditions and human dignity; and it will be difficult to convince them that taxes and prices have to go up to meet the costs of that dangerous undertaking.

The workers and all democrats will carry on the fight. It is gratifying that the trade unions are winning concessions from the employers in, say, Loire Department, where metalworkers obtained a seven per cent rise as of June 1, 1968, with an additional increase as of October 1 bringing up the figure to 10 per cent. The newly-signed contracts provide for a reduction of the working week and a gradual lowering of the pension age.

The recent elections to production committees at some enterprises reveal that the workers' trust in their union, which led their fight and won, has increased. This applies to the Rhone-Poulenc chemical plant in Saint-Fons, the Michelin factories in Bourges and the Calchimie plant in Port-de-Bouc, where factory and office workers voted 58.8, 72.14 and 91 per cent respectively for the General Confederation of Labor. Since May 13 the Confederation admitted 400,000 new members, and 23,000 joined the Communist Party at the height of the struggle, including students, instructors and professors. They appreciate the decisive role the Party played in preventing France from plunging into an adventure. They see how the Party performed its duty in an extremely difficult position and agree that a common Left program is essential. They agree, too, that the only possible alternative to the regime that

*From an interview in *Entreprise*, June 1964.

seeks to turn the country fascist, is a new economic and political democracy in which the Communist Party would play its rightful role as the party most faithful to the cause of the mental as well as manual workers and all anti-monopoly sections of the nation.

The mainstay of the Left forces backed by 40 per cent of the nation, the Communist Party stands in the van of the fight against a regime that it exposed from the first, a regime that has not resolved any of the burning problems—neither that of unemployment nor of university reform, while the May and June strikes which it allowed to drag out by resisting the workers' demands created new problems in the financial field. In fighting this regime, the workers, students and farmers can rely on unreserved support from the Communist Party which in the most powerful united movement ever seen in France acquitted itself as an important factor of unity and the greatest force of the future.

It was this that prompted the Party's Central Committee meeting to end its resolution of July 9 with the following words:

"The members and organizations of the

Party will without delay conduct a broad campaign elucidating the events of May-June, notably with regard to the criminal designs pursued by the Gaullist government.

"More resolutely still will they conduct the ideological and political struggle against Left opportunism and its bearers, whose profoundly harmful role has to be combatted while the fight with Right opportunism also continues.

"They will reinforce the alliance of the working class with the working peasants and all anti-monopoly strata. The alliance with intellectuals and students is gaining in importance. Special efforts should be applied in the matter of information, education and organization of the youth, especially the student youth."

This was said by a Party conscious of its mission and responsibility, a Party which "closely rallied round its Central Committee enters with resolve and confidence the new stage of the struggle for the social progress and democratic renovation of France." The Gaullist regime has obtained a deferment. It is ultimately doomed. Democracy will triumph!

Pierre HENTGES

U.S. setbacks in Vietnam

The U.S. armed intervention in South Vietnam is in its seventh year. For nearly four years U.S. planes have been bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Nearly 700,000 men—one-fifth of the U.S. Armed Forces—are engaged directly or indirectly in the dirty war. U.S. fire power in Vietnam is four times that used by the U.S. in the Second World War.

Fortune magazine estimates that by the end of 1967 in Vietnam the U.S. expanded ammunition at the rate of 1,250,000 tons annually, that is, five tons per enemy soldier, committing to battle more than 3,000 helicopters, hundreds of modern strategic bombers, including more than seventy B-52s, the extra-heavy 8-jet planes. The air war against the DRV is fought on a gigantic scale, with more than a million tons of explosives dropped on that country in somewhat more than three years.

It is easy enough to imagine what tremendous effort it has cost the Vietnamese to stem this huge fire power for more than six years, and what immense sacrifices were involved. Yet the course of the war shows that the Pentagon's bid for a military victory is futile.

U.S. setbacks have been particularly disastrous in 1968. The Tet offensive knocked the Pentagon's politico-military plans into a cocked hat and compelled President Johnson to agree to official contacts with spokesmen of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, though it became obvious after a time that Washington meant to conduct the official conversations from its favorite "positions of strength" lines.

About a month before the Paris talks opened, the war's biggest U.S. operation was launched under the code name, "Complete Victory." Simultaneously, U.S. air

and naval forces intensified the bombardment of DRV territory. At the beginning of July, the Okinawa-based B-52 bombers were sent into action against North Vietnam for the first time in the war.

But the "Complete Victory" operation and other military actions altered nothing, yielding no substantial tactical gains. The Liberation Army blockaded and mauled the main intervention forces, mounting its own offensive early in May which merged with uprisings in enemy-occupied towns and villages.

The synchronized attack was carried out on 122 towns and U.S. bases, battles erupting in 16 provinces in the Mekong delta and elsewhere, with 30 enemy airfields shelled in the first week.

According to *Nhan Dan*, enemy casualties in the May-June offensive totalled 70,000 men and officers (including more than 30,000 Americans and other foreign troops); some 1,100 planes were shot down or burned on the ground, more than 2,200 vehicles (more than half of them tanks and armored carriers) destroyed, and 61 fuel depots and 76 ammunition dumps blown up.

The Americans did not hesitate to use planes, helicopters, artillery, tanks and napalm against units of the Liberation Army in Saigon, taking a toll of several thousand civilians killed or wounded, and 2,700 buildings demolished. The number of refugees mounted to 50,000. Now, U.S. propaganda endeavors to put the blame for this on the liberation troops, which it accuses of firing rockets at densely-populated areas. In fact, however, rockets were used solely against airfields, military bases and enemy headquarters.

The failure of operation "Complete Victory," the defeat in Asau Valley (west of Hue) and the fighting in Saigon and its environs have compelled the U.S. command to begin withdrawing its 7,000-strong garrison from Khe Sanh. Despite cover by a 40,000-man relief force, however, the withdrawing Marines have been almost completely wiped out: 1,350 men and officers were put out of action and 28 planes and helicopters were shot down or destroyed on the ground between June 26 and July 6 (before the evacuation was completed).

The London *Daily Telegraph* described the Khe Sang debacle as a blot on U.S. military prestige, and the *Times* amplified: "Khe Sanh . . . became a symbol of American impotence."

Vietnam papers pointed out that the two liberation offensives, coupled with armed

risings in the towns, in February and May-June 1968 nullified all enemy efforts to achieve a military victory. The U.S. "search and destroy" strategy and "pacification" scheme have failed. U.S. and Saigon puppet troops have suffered heavy casualties. Extensive territory, including tracts in the Mekong delta, were liberated and strategic initiative captured from the enemy. Suffering enormous losses, U.S. troops are now dispersed over numerous defensive positions.

The May-June offensive was also a strategic defeat for the interventionists. External and internal defense lines at Saigon-Giadinh were breached, city districts penetrated and the enemy engaged in protracted battles. The Saigon situation and the U.S. flight from Khe Sanh and other fortified bases indicate that U.S. troops are often unable to hold deep, excellently equipped and fortified defenses.

The puppet regime is demoralized, and practically paralyzed in the provinces. Strife between puppet factions has reached a new high. Again, for the 15th time, Washington has had to change the "government" line-up.

"Frightened by the popular risings in the towns," the *Nhan Dan* commented, "many chiefs of the traitor clique are yearning to flee Saigon and seek refuge in safer places."

The offensive has pared down the enemy-controlled territory; enemy communication lines have been cut, and many towns blockaded, paralyzing trade and industry. This has added to the puppet regime's economic and financial difficulties. The Saigon authorities are trying to cope with the situation by raising taxes and openly plundering the people. This and the destruction wrought by bombarding residential areas in the towns, especially Saigon and Giadinh, aggravated the economic chaos and spurred the people to resist U.S. troops and their puppets.

Nguyen Van Tien, head of the People's Liberation Front mission in Hanoi, announced that the Liberation forces are assaulting the nerve centers of the enemy's operational system. They have grown numerically and are showing military prowess. Their equipment, too, has improved. They have gained experience in street fighting and won the cooperation of the town populations. Revolutionary administrations are being set up, and the civilian population is helping to maintain supplies of food and ammunition.

The military setbacks and mounting pro-

tests against the dirty war at home have compelled Washington to revise its strategy (for the nth time!). It is planned now to let the Saigon puppets go it alone. Thieu, Saigon's so-called president, was ordered to announce a general mobilization, expanding the puppet army to 1,000,000 men. The Pentagon promised to re-arm it and to provide the latest weapons. But this scheme is doomed to failure. Vietnamese residing in occupied territory do not want to fight their compatriots. The general mobilization is floundering, recruiting boils down to forced round-ups, volunteers stay away and the forcibly mobilized desert.

The air war against the DRV is also failing dismally. The plane shot down over Quang Binh province on June 25 was the 3,000th downed U.S. plane. Thousands of U.S. pilots were either killed or captured in a little over three years, and numerous U.S. and puppet naval vessels have been set ablaze or sunk in 124 operations.

The press ascribes these successes to the extraordinary courage of the people of Vietnam and the support of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and world progressives. *L'Humanite* extolled the morale and military prowess of the anti-aircraft troops of the DRV, saying that Vietnamese victories "do credit to the countries that supply the DRV with arms for self-defense, defense of socialism, particularly the Soviet workers and technicians supplying rockets and fighter planes."

Commenting on the conclusion of an economic and military aid agreement between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at the beginning of July, *Nhan Dan* wrote: "The military accomplishments of our army and people in the fight against U.S. aggression for the salvation of our motherland, are tied in with the inspiring support and effective assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. The Soviet aid agreement just concluded will help our people to increase their economic strength and reinforce defenses."

That the war waged by the United States in Vietnam is a hopeless undertaking is clear. Yet the U.S. rulers cling to their

aggressive course and do nothing to expedite a political solution. The blame for the fact that the dozen odd meetings of DRV and U.S. representatives in Paris have yielded no results falls squarely on the U.S. side. Evidently, Washington hopes to achieve in Paris aims it failed to achieve through its aggression. The bombing of the DRV continues (though a bombing stop would open the way to negotiations); air raids are being stepped up and the U.S. fighting force in South Vietnam is being increased.

At the beginning of July, U.S. Congress approved additional war allocations to the tune of \$6,000 million. Congress is, of course, free to allot a few more billion dollars for the senseless war, though it is obvious that the United States will reap nothing except disgrace and further isolation. The world has a stake in ending the Vietnam war and settling the problem politically, with respect for the interests of the Vietnamese people. An unconditional and complete stop to the bombings would create a favorable situation for an accommodation. A World Peace Council appeal on the 14th anniversary of the Geneva agreements on Vietnam stressed: "A stop to the bombing is now the main condition for peace and the independence of Vietnam, and no progress will be achieved towards a political solution, enabling the Vietnamese to settle their own affairs without foreign intervention, until this is done." Any United States attempt to obstruct a negotiated solution will again reveal to the world the aggressive nature of its policy and lead to new, still graver defeats.

It is obvious that continued U.S. aggression imperils world peace. That is one of the main reasons why the Vietnamese are being supported by all peace-loving nations. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, together with all progressives, will always stand by the heroic Vietnamese in their just struggle for freedom and independence. More aid will flow to Vietnam to combat the imperialist aggression and win the right for the Vietnamese to live as they choose.

Jan PRAZSKY

Hard times in Greece

A fascist military junta has been at the helm of Greece with NATO backing under the black banner of anti-communism since April last year.

Economic, political and social problems have snowballed. The 1967 trade deficit mounted to a record figure of nearly \$700 million, and the decline in foreign tourism, an expression of public protest against the lawlessness reigning in the country, has done considerable damage, revenue from tourism dropping by 12 per cent last year.

In an effort to remedy the economic situation, the junta put an additional 6,000 million drachmas in paper money into circulation, but this only exacerbated the inflationary trend. Last year, the budget deficit totalled some 5,000 million drachmas and is expected to be still larger this year.

Greece's economic plight is traceable to the penetration of foreign, notably American, capital, which serves as a support for the military dictatorship. To win approbation in Washington and Bonn, the junta is fanning anti-communist hysteria and stoking up tension in its relations with neighboring countries. Athens has requested NATO to place atomic mines along the frontier with Bulgaria and goes out of its way to demonstrate to its foreign patrons that the present regime is "the most dependable bastion" of the Atlantic Pact in the Mediterranean.

The regime resorts to brutal reprisals to quash the nation's fight for freedom. People are being bludgeoned and intimidated. Terrorist groups have sprung up to assassinate opponents of the regime. And it has been announced that the state security body is to be augmented by 1,650 men. Greece, the country where the word "democracy" originated, has now gained notoriety as a land of terror and lawlessness.

The prisons on Leros and Youra contain nearly 2,200 political prisoners; none of them have been officially charged and are held for their opposition to the regime. The asphalia is still detaining Manolis Glezos, that staunch patriot.

The Greek Communist Party pointed out in a statement early this year that hundreds of Greek democrats have been snatched from their homes and information as to their whereabouts is being refused by the junta.

Georgios Caruchas, a veteran of the democratic movement and a former member of parliament, was recently arrested and subsequently died under torture. This new crime was reported in the Greek underground press and newspapers abroad.

Andreas Lentakis, head of the Lambrakis Democratic Youth organization, Aristides Manolakos and other democrats have been tortured and Kostas Phranceskakis has been made a cripple by the political police. Dionisia Papadomichelaki, chairman of the Greek Organization of Democratic Women, though gravely ill, is held in a concentration camp. Many Communists languish in prisons.

On coming to power, the junta lost no time in smashing all youth organizations. The Lambrakis Democratic Youth was the first to be repressed and, like most other organizations, carries on underground.

The authorities have "purged" teachers and school children. In a special corrective camp hundreds of children of school age are being detained and tortured.

Reaction is settling scores with all non-conformist citizens. A series of trials by a military tribunal in June and July convicted followers of the Center Union Party's left wing and naval officers who had resisted the regime.

That the young officers formed an underground organization "with the purpose of overthrowing the existing regime," built up combat groups, distributed leaflets and organized sabotage on naval ships, etc., is a highly indicative fact. They were accused of saying in a declaration disseminated earlier this year that they were prepared "to fight the fascist forces that have enslaved the country and the Greek people."

The persecutions have gained vastly in scale. But the reign of terror is not yield-

ing results. Resistance is stiffening. "Our fight," says a statement by the Lambrakis Democratic Youth, "is expanding each day despite the brutal repressions, the hundreds of arrests, the tortures and prisons."

Different sections of the people, with the working class at their head, are joining the resistance movement. Greek Communists, veterans of the fight against the nazis and trade-union activists are displaying courage beyond compare.

The military dictatorship has obviously failed to gain the nation's support and is isolated internationally, despite persistent efforts, the terror, purges of the state machinery, demagoguery and varied aid coming from abroad.

All over the world, progressives denounce the Athens junta. An international conference of national committees for the restoration of democracy in Greece convened in Geneva recently, attended by delegations from 14 countries representing broad sections of the public and by observers from the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Journalists' Association, the Human Rights League and other international bodies.

The conference said in its resolution

that the military junta had by armed force robbed the Greek people of their freedoms and constitutional rights and turned Greece into a vast prison. The conference stressed the unlawful character of the dictatorship and denounced the reign of terror, pillorying the violations of human rights and calling on all international bodies, on all governments, to work for the restoration of the rights and freedoms of the Greek nation, for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

The conference also demanded sanctions and a stop to all economic and military aid to the junta.

A Soviet proposal was accepted to proclaim the day of the Greek national holiday, October 28, Day of International Solidarity with Greece.

A provisional coordinating bureau was elected, consisting of representatives of France, Sweden, the USSR, Britain, Switzerland and Belgium, to prepare a second conference and set up a permanent international coordinating center.

The watchword throughout the world is:

The rights and freedoms of the Greek people must be restored.

R. ERES

The Soviet economic reform— initial results and perspectives

ANATOLY EFIMOV and VALERY RUTGAIZER

Any comparison between the present economic situation in the USSR and the recent past will bring out the magnitude of the changes, both in the economic sphere and in social life generally, initiated by the September 1965 plenary session of the Communist Party Central Committee. It set the pattern for readjusting the economic mechanism and perfecting the system of planning, management and material incentives. It formulated the fundamental principles of the present long-range progressive changes in the country's economy. And they are not isolated or partial measures, as was all too often the case in the past. They represent an interconnected complex of measures, usually referred to as the economic reform. Consistent application of this integrated approach to direction of the national economy (and that is the purpose of these measures) is an essential condition for carrying out the economic reform.

Its chief purpose is to raise the effectiveness of social production. Every important social phenomenon (and the reform, of course, is no exception) has its positive and negative aspects. But assessment of the reform should not be based on a balance sheet of the favorable and unfavorable changes it has produced. A much more important criterion is whether it is achieving its purpose. And experience to date definitely shows that it is, that the new system of economic planning, management and incentives has considerably improved operation of the economy.

FIRST RESULTS

A nationwide economic conference to

sum up the first results of the economic reform was held this May. The reform was started about two and a half years ago and it is too early for a definitive appraisal of all its advantages. But this can be said for certain: the measures now being carried out make for more effective use of all economic resources and for accelerating the rate of economic growth.

This spring, about 11,000 factories, accounting for nearly half of gross industrial output and for more than two-thirds of aggregate industrial profit, were operating under the new system. The list also includes 18 railways, about 2,000 road-haulage enterprises in the Union Republics, 16 shipping lines, several river transport and civil aviation organizations, a number of regional communication administrations, and a very large part of the municipal services, trade, and public catering. The new system has also been introduced in agriculture.

The results of the reform's first two years (1966 and 1967) are measurable in a higher growth rate for the economy as a whole, much higher operation indicators, a faster rate of growth and a more solid material base in agriculture. The economy has achieved a much more balanced structure, notably a better ratio between industry and agriculture. As a result, the consumer-goods industries have a more stable basis for faster development. The average annual increase of national income, which is the most general indicator of economic progress, is nearly 25 per cent above that of the previous five-year period (1961-65). Real incomes increased 12.5 per cent in

1966-67, and more than 20 million people were given better housing facilities. Soviet economic progress in the past two years is, of course, due not only to the usual factors of economic growth, for these were operative in the past, too, but largely to the emergence of new factors, brought into being by the reform.

Foreign observers note that the reform has had a powerful impact on economic life generally. The 1967 economic survey issued in March by the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, says that the Soviet Union's higher growth rate in the past few years is attributable, in particular, to the positive influence of the economic reform.

WHAT THE REFORM HAS CHANGED

It has changed very much. First of all, it has wrought a fundamental change in the relation of factories to the formulation of their production plans. In the past, factory managements were chiefly interested in getting a minimum plan, and to keep the plan to a minimum they would not reveal all their production potentialities.

That was common practice. Now it is common practice for factory managements to propose bigger, or "heavy" plans. For instance, in 1966 "reform" plants upped their sales (and consequently production) programs by 305 million rubles (1.6 per cent above original plan estimates), and their profit plans by 131 million rubles (3.6 per cent). Last year the figures were higher still: 1,117 million rubles (1.8 per cent) in sales and 555 million rubles (6.4 per cent) in profits.

Adoption of these "heavy" plans is to the advantage of the state, the factory and each of its workers. For a large part of the extra profit goes into the incentive fund, and most of that fund goes into bonuses for the workers, and they are a very tangible supplement to regular earnings. Paid at the end of the year, in most cases to four-fifths of the working staff, they average two-weeks earnings, more in some factories. These annual bonus payments also help solve the complex social and economic problem of labor-force fluctuation. For in allocating the bonuses, account is taken not only of job performance, but also of length of service at the given plant.

In the previous five-year period, there was an adverse trend towards a lower in-

vestment-profit ratio, that is, the amount of output per ruble of production assets. The position has improved with the change-over to the new system. Now every manager knows that the results of his work, the showing his plant makes, depend directly on efficient use of production assets. Moreover, he has to pay the state for these assets out of profits. Many factories, now that they feel this economic pressure, have got rid of superfluous materials and equipment, and factory level stocks have been substantially reduced.

In a speech made in February, A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, summed up operation of the reform in these words: "On the whole, the new system is correct, economically advantageous and is producing very good results."

"HEAVY" PLANS

The changeover to the new system has meant more plan pressure on factories. That is beyond question. Nevertheless, even the present "heavy" plans do not fully accord with the principles of the reform. For in some factories that have set higher output targets, the old habit of minimizing production reserves still persists. It might be put this way—factory managers do not want to put all their cards on the table. Many factory directors have still to break through this psychological barrier to "heavy" plans.

The following figures, the result of a survey of 580 factories that went over to the new system in 1966, gives a fairly full picture:

	1966			1967		
	plan	factual	factual gain in percentages of plan	plan	factual	factual gain in percentages of plan
Sales	6.3	9.9	157	6.1	9.9	162
Profits	16.1	21.7	135	13.2	21.9	166
Productivity	4.1	8.9	217	2.7	7.7	286

The figures show that actual increase in the three groups is much higher than envisaged in the original plan. What does this suggest? First, that there are still large untapped reserves in the factories and these are not adequately revealed in the output plan. Second, that the incentive has so far proved inadequate to bring all these reserves into the production cycle.

The new economic mechanism makes for more exact planning. In fact, it "punishes" both underfulfilment and overfulfilment of

production plans. But, of course, not in the same proportion. Underfulfilment leads to sharp deductions from profit and incentive funds, much sharper than in the case of overfulfilment in the same degree. More, underfulfilment (even if only to a fraction of one per cent and owing to objective causes) deprives factory managers and technical staffs of their bonus, which of course is not always fair. There is also this: in the early stages of the reform, incentive funds for overfulfilment were set at a lower scale, and in many cases this was not a sufficient inducement to assume a "heavy" plan. Often enough, contributions to incentive funds for plan overfulfilment were much higher than payment for fulfilment of bigger plans.

Naturally, factory managers found it much more to their advantage to overfulfil a minimized plan than to fulfil—or underfulfil to a slight degree—a heavier plan. Soviet economists are now trying to resolve that contradiction. The proposals are many, but apparently the most effective one is to set even stricter quotas for incentive funds out of profits from plan overfulfilment: the quotas should be considerably smaller than for plan fulfilment. That proposal is meeting with wide support. Besides, we shall have to perfect the whole system of incentives so that it should not be too harsh on enterprises reporting slight (1-3 per cent) under-fulfilment.

Certain defects in the method of incentive fund formation are an added inducement to factory managers to "hold back reserves." The method is based on payment for every percentage gain of profit over the preceding year. But production conditions might, and do, change from year to year. Let us suppose that in the given year the factory, taking into account all or nearly all of its reserves, sets out to increase sales by nine per cent. But next year the situation might change for reasons beyond management's control (for instance, a change in demand), and sales will have risen by only six per cent. That will mean a very substantial cut in the factory's incentive fund. To prevent that, factory managers try to "justify" a low sales growth: say, five per cent instead of nine, so as to have a certain reserve for the next year.

Many speakers at the economic conference noted that shortcomings in the incentive mechanism are due to such fluctuations in profits. For instance, at a TV plant in Lvov, the profit growth figure for 1966 was

fixed at 32.6 per cent, but in 1967 it was down to a mere 2.7 per cent. And not because the plant was operating at a lower level—there is no objective evidence of that—but because the structure of production had changed to comply with changing demand. Obviously, this should not react on its incentive fund.

A new method is now to be tested: incentive funds will be tied to changes in absolute profit, that is, the volume of profit, so that percentage fluctuations will not materially affect the size of the incentive fund. Furthermore, there will be no reasons for factory managements to minimize their potentialities, for the key criterion will be a bigger volume of profit.

There are also other causes impeding full utilization of available reserves. One of these is that planning at factory level is not sufficiently tied in with long-range plans for the entire industry. So far we have been unable to provide every enterprise with a long-range development plan. And once this is so, it is impossible to establish long-range quotas. But without that it is difficult to plan incentive funds over a period of several years; the enterprise does not know how much it will have at its disposal, and how much it will be able to allocate for bonus payments. This has led to unjustified limitations of incentive funds by directive bodies. Speaking at the economic conference, G. A. Kulagin, director-general of a big engineering works in Leningrad, said: "The absence of long-range quotas and arbitrary limitation of incentive funds lead in practice to a revival of the old system of planning on the basis of what you have already achieved."

The only solution to this problem of "heavy" plans is to overhaul the whole structure of material incentives and, at the same time, strengthen the role of centralized planning. Long-range factory plans tied together in a single master plan, provide realistic opportunities for stable quotas. These measures, aimed at improving operation of the reform, are already being put into practice; some of them have been mentioned above. A short while ago, the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers decided to start work on a new five-year plan for 1971-5. There is plenty of time to work out that plan, plenty of time to draw up concrete target figures for each factory. And this will be of the utmost importance in setting quotas for the entire five-year period.

ECONOMIC INCENTIVE FUNDS

How are these funds to be used? That question poses many others. First, let us examine how the material incentive fund is allocated. It is paid out in bonuses to all directly concerned in production, on terms defined by each enterprise. That, of course, is the right way. For no one except the factory management and its workers can determine how the bonuses should be allocated, what shops need added stimuli, which workers deserve a larger bonus, etc. But the factory, while maintaining full independence in these matters, is expected to choose one of a number of unified incentive systems.

They could have been devised before the reform. Now the time is ripe to summarize the vast experience accumulated by thousands of industrial enterprises working under the new conditions. The aim, obviously, should be closely to tie bonuses to the results of production, so that everyone will have a clear idea of what he has accomplished and how he is being rewarded. But it is also important that the material incentive system be simple enough to be understood by every worker. The 14th Trade Union Congress, held earlier this year, called for simplification of wage systems to make them understandable to all workers. Unfortunately, so far there is no such clarity. In fact, many provisions of the incentive system are more reminiscent of scientific treatises than of a set of clearly defined rules.

The new system allows for much bigger sources for capital investment, chiefly from the enterprise's development fund, made up in the main of profits and depreciation reserves. So far, however, the fund is not being fully used, and the experience of many factories indicates that financial resources are not in themselves enough to assure rapid expansion. This is because many factories cannot buy the necessary equipment, building materials, etc. The position is much the same in the case of the social and cultural amenities and housing funds.

Special measures are now being taken to make the development fund an effective instrument of expanding production and accelerating re-tooling. This is being given priority, and apparently the outstanding feature of the coming five-year plan will be rapid modernization of the entire production apparatus, with modernization investments, in which the development fund

will play a major part, growing at a much higher rate.

WHOLESALE TRADE IN PRODUCER GOODS

Extension of wholesale trade in producer goods is a key element of the economic reform and an essential condition for bringing factory development funds into the economic process. But the problem has other important aspects too.

Up to recently the supply to factories, even "reform" enterprises, of raw materials and producer goods was strictly centralized. Equipment, raw materials, etc., were allotted according to quotas set by the central planners. This created serious production difficulties.

Extension of wholesale trade holds a central place in the further operation of the economic reform. When the problem is solved, huge reserves will be brought into the economic process. Here is one example, of a petrol supply enterprise in Voronezh. Up until recently the scale of petrol was strictly regulated, causing many difficulties for the consumer. Now all restrictions have been abolished. As a result, the Voronezh enterprise has been able to reduce its stocks and simplify operation. The consumer benefits too: he does not have to lay in big supplies for he knows that at any time he can get all the petrol he needs.

Wholesale trade in producer goods is making good headway. Shops selling machinery, instruments, raw materials, metals and so on, have been opened in several cities. Gradual expansion of this network, coupled with other measures more accurately to gauge demand, will enable factories to make effective use of their development funds.

The problem of establishing a direct link between supplier and buyer is closely associated with the extension of wholesale trade in producer goods. The arrangement is advantageous to all concerned. First, because it dispenses with the need for an intermediate agency. Second, the buyer is able to exert direct economic pressure on the producer. Third, the producer is always in close touch with the market and can adapt production to demand. This can be illustrated by the example, say, of a steel mill. In the past, all its finished product was allocated by higher authority, so that it had to deal with about one thousand orders. Now it has streamlined the whole delivery structure and found out that it

deals with 150 permanent customers who take 70 per cent of its product. Each of the customers has his own requirements, and with this direct producer-buyer link the plan is in a better position to meet them. Or, it might be put this way, the plant deals with its customers on a face-to-face basis.

The producer-buyer link introduces a new qualitative element in the drafting of economic plans. That was emphasized by the Chairman of the State Planning Committee, N. K. Baibakov, at the economic conference: "Extension of direct contacts, which so far cover only a small part of industry, should make for stabilizing economic ties between producers and consumers. There will be no need for annual reviews of the whole intricate system of economic ties."

CONTINUED IMPROVEMENT OF MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING

The economic reform presupposes rational and correct combination of two principles, namely, centralized planning and economic initiative at factory level. Excessive emphasis on either of these principles can adversely affect the whole economic mechanism. Optimal combination of local initiative and centralization presupposes (indeed, this is dictated by the very conditions of modern production) strengthening centralized planning. But this can be realistic only if planning, management and other economic agencies master the art of flexibly influencing the operation of the enterprises in a way that, by virtue of economic inevitability, will encourage them to achieve maximum efficiency standards.

Of very special importance in this context is the introduction of economic accountability, that is, unsubsidized, self-contained operation. And the first step towards that goal was the organization of industry-wide amalgamations operating on an economic-accountability basis. In the early stages of the reform we concentrated on overhauling the system of planning and economic incentives. This was a very important prelude to improving the entire socialist economy. However, so far economic accountability has not reached down to the medium link and is applied only in the amalgamations which were already in existence at the time the reform was being introduced.

Unfortunately, the number of such amalgamations has not increased in the past two years. This lag in the managerial con-

centration process tends to retard the introduction of a number of other important measures. It also holds back the change-over of small and medium enterprises to the new planning and incentives system.

For these small enterprises cannot, out of their own profits, create a development fund sufficient to finance modernization. Nor are they in a position closely to study market trends. The only way to bring them into modern mass production is through the amalgamations.

At the present stage, economic methods (as distinct from administrative), notably planning based on economic accountability, are coming to dominate. Of course, running a factory on the new, profitability basis requires close study of consumer demand and the state of the market and a knowledge of the commercial side of production.

Employment of economic levers is a special form of planned direction of the economy based on the use of the economic laws of socialism. It takes into account objective trends and stable interconnections in economic development. The economic conference strongly emphasized the use of economic levers to make implementation of substantiated measures an economic necessity for every factory. That, and not persuasion, is the only way to put an end to petty tutelage on the part of the economic ministries.

Economic levers are a connecting link between centralized planning and the factory, but also a component part of the socialist market mechanism. Incentives, directly or indirectly tied to the material interests of the factory and its workers, presuppose a wide margin of independence in production and commercial matters.

The effectiveness of these economic levers depends largely on their integrated and systematic application. That is clearly borne out by all our experience in the economic reform. For instance, higher quality should have a direct and immediate impact on profit levels and, consequently, on the size of the incentive fund. Conversely, higher quality bonuses must result from reduction of production costs. Extra bonuses should be paid to those responsible for raising quality standards. All these factors are interconnected and should be treated as such. If even one of them is infringed, then neither higher profits nor bigger bonuses will have the desired effect.

Prices are central to the system of economic levers. The decisions of the September 1965 Communist Party Central Com-

mittee Plenum could never have been realized without the radical reform of price formation carried out in mid-1967. It eliminated the fundamental shortcomings of the old system, in force since 1955, and made for a completely new approach to planning.

Today, prices much more fully reflect the amount of necessary social labor invested in a certain commodity. No industries are now working at a loss, and in many cases we have eliminated the unjustified profitability differentials in certain goods. Quality surcharges are still another innovation.

The price reform has helped to cement unity of two closely connected facets of the plan—physical volume and value, which in the past were treated in isolation. There was no assurance that factories would produce the kind of goods the economy needed, or of better quality (the price structure was no inducement). This led to factories receiving long lists of goods they were expected to produce. The drawbacks of this rigid, detailed planning are all too well known.

The price reform has narrowed, if not wholly eliminated, the gap between physical volume and financial results. To raise profit levels factories have to produce readily saleable high-quality goods, and the new price structure is designed to encourage that. For such goods fetch a higher price and, consequently, yield a higher profit. Unfortunately, it does not always work out that way, for the new price structure has its shortcomings, too, and the economic conference urged its further perfection. Indicative in this respect was the speech of A. G. Karpov, chief economist of the huge Volgograd steel mills. "The new prices," he said, "are on the whole acceptable . . . But there are still many defects. It sometimes happens that the kind of goods the state needs cannot be produced at a high profit, furthermore, necessitate curtailing production of high-profit items."

Of course, price revision involving a huge mass of commodities cannot immediately react to changes in consumer demand and production costs. Obviously, overall revision will have to be supplemented by current price adjustments to facilitate technical progress, heighten quality standards and more accurately relate supply to demand.

Closely associated with current price adjustment is the whole problem of long-range planning of price dynamics. We can now incorporate price-change indicators in

our long-range plans and fix wholesale price ratios. In fact, this will be done in the 1971-75 five-year plan: for the first time it will contain definite indicators of changes of wholesale prices of chief commodities. This represents a fundamentally new approach not only to economic planning, but also to price formation.

STRUCTURAL POLICY AND CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

One of the main problems confronting the central planners is how to expand and perfect production to meet the requirements of technological progress and assure a higher standard of living for the people.

A factor of special importance here is structural policy, which sets the proportions needed to assure the balanced growth of the economy. The contribution each participant in the economic process makes to the end result is greatly enhanced by a correct overall economic policy. Structural policy can, perhaps, be described as a catalyst of economic development, and it affects all industries and all enterprises.

The instrument of structural policy is capital construction. However, it would be wrong to think that the aims of structural policy can be achieved through overall regimentation of a maximum number of construction projects; that is physically impossible.

Planning of capital investment on a national scale must concentrate on regulating investments which make for progressive structural changes in the economy as a whole and ensure optimal economic proportions. Furthermore, the capital investment plan should not try to provide for individual projects, but should be a system of major construction programs that will give the country new industrial or non-industrial complexes. These can and should be subjected to a coordinated plan and timetable.

Actually, this idea of working out complex investment programs (it found warm support at the economic conference) is not something altogether new. We have employed this method before, for example, in developing atomic energy and the immense natural wealth of the North, and with excellent results. That experience has to be very carefully examined before we pass over to a broader system of complex construction programs to solve some of the country's cardinal economic problems. The re-fashioning of the pattern of economic

proportions largely hinges on their solution.

The economic reform creates exceptionally favorable opportunities for concentrating planning on these major construction programs. For re-equipment and expansion at factory level is now the concern of factory managements, and they have the necessary resources in the shape of bigger development funds and long-term credits. Besides, projects undertaken by one or another industry are usually handled by the amalgamation of that industry or the appropriate Ministry department and financed out of their own resources or with the help of government credits. Central planning agencies deal only with national projects involving several industries and large investments.

ECONOMIC PROGNOSTICATION

The new system relies heavily on long-term planning, which makes it possible to concentrate on central projects that assure maximum economic growth.

This enhances the role of economic, scientific and technological prognostication, especially with the continuing scientific and technological revolution. Actually, prognostication is the prelude to planning. Its object should be to analyze concrete development trends, single out everything that is new and progressive and draw attention to impediments and problems that require special treatment. Prognostication has still another function, namely, to equip planners with substantiated hypotheses of scientific and technological progress and show how

it is likely to influence economic growth, the geographic distribution of the productive forces, population and labor-power movements, and extension of the country's raw material base.

Scientific prognostication in the USSR began only a few years ago, but its results will be felt in the very near future, and they will help to substantiate the basic trends of economic development in 1971-75.

* * *

The conclusions to be drawn from this brief discussion of some of the more outstanding problems of the economic reform are as follows. So far, the reform has not gone above enterprise level. This is the first and perhaps the most important stage of its implementation, one we could not afford to by-pass. Experience has shown that the Communist Party was right in adopting a policy of gradual and consistent introduction of the reform, as the necessary conditions for this mature.

At the same time, however, it would be grossly wrong to reduce the reform to a series of measures concerning only enterprises. It has to be extended to the entire economy, to every link and system of economic administration. That, in fact, is the purpose of the new phase, which presupposes further modification of management methods throughout the country. Continued progress of the socialist economy depends entirely on the uninterrupted perfection of its economic mechanism, on uninterrupted improvement in the use of the economic laws of socialism.

Cooperation, a new stage in GDR agricultural development

BRUNO KIESLER and KARL-ALFRED GUTJAHR

The Socialist Unity Party's agrarian policy is premised on the fact that, in an industrial country like the German Democratic Republic, the worker-peasant alliance is also of cardinal importance for socialist development, and that intensive socialist agriculture exerts a considerable influence on the economy as a whole and, consequently, on national living standards. Accordingly, the Party Central Committee attaches much importance to elaborating scientific methods of political and economic leadership designed to harmonize, at every stage of socialist construction, the personal interests of the farmer with the requirements of the community and enable full utilization of the motive forces of socialist production.

I. RESULTS

In common with most socialist countries, the voluntary organization of cooperative farms (completed in the GDR in 1960) created new social requisites for industrializing and increasing agricultural and food production. This means that socialist production relations extend to the entire economy. Now socialism has a firm social base for continued progress. This has made it possible to apply the economic laws of socialism in every branch of the economy. The emergence of a new class of cooperative farmers makes for closer alliance with the working class, the leading force of society. A new dimension has been added to socialist cooperation of workers, farmers, scientists and leading Party and government bodies in tackling the new economic, social and technological problems.

As of today, the GDR has 13,073 cooperative farms of various types* (total membership of 970,000), cultivating 5.4 million hectares, or 86 per cent of all farmland. Besides, there are 548 state farms accounting for seven per cent of the farmland and specializing in most cases in the production of select seed and pedigree cattle.

Our Party's socialist reconstruction policy has made for a systematic rise in agricultural output. The per capita farmland figure works out at 0.37 hectares, or less than in any other socialist country. A bigger supply of home-grown food can therefore be attained only through intensified farming by steadily increasing fertility and maximizing output of animal produce.

The basic results of agricultural progress over the past years can be judged from the following figures, taking the 1952-56 average as 100: 1960—119, 1966—131 and 1967—138. The average annual gain in gross agricultural output for 1951-66 was 3.6 per cent. Per hectare wheat crops have for many years now exceeded 30 centners. Progress has been especially impressive in cattle raising: the cattle population increased by 40 per cent from 1950 to 1967, when it stood at more than five million. Another indication of progress is per capita meat production: 50.1 kilograms in 1955 and 68.7 in 1966. To this should be added that increased production was achieved with a smaller labor force—the number of people engaged in agriculture has been reduced by approximately 50 per cent.

*There are three types of cooperative farms, differing in the degree of public ownership of the means of production.

II. COOPERATION—THE MAIN LINK

The Tenth German Farmers' Congress was held in Leipzig in June. Sponsored jointly by the Party Central Committee, the GDR Government, the National Council of the National Front, the Democratic Peasant Party and the United Peasant Mutual Assistance Organization, it was attended by 2,276 delegates democratically elected at district conferences of representatives of cooperative and state farms, food-industry and trade enterprises, research centers, Party, administrative and economic bodies. The draft policy statement was published 10 weeks before the congress and discussed by more than 62,000 people at district conferences. The congress received about 11,000 resolutions, proposals and voluntary obligations. Its decisions were worked out in comprehensive and democratic debate and referred to the Council of Ministers for action.

The chief object of the congress was to define, on the basis of the Seventh Party Congress decisions, concrete ways and means of reorganizing agriculture and the food industry along industrial lines within the framework of the socialist economic system. The discussion centered on attainment of higher technical levels, promotion of socialist democracy, perfection of the economic system as a whole, and better cultural services for the population.

The congress charted out the continued advance along our tried and tested democratic path in this third stage of socialist transformation of the country's agriculture. *Central to all its deliberations was the problem of promoting socialist cooperation as the main link in the transition to industrial farming. More, cooperation will help make agriculture an integral element of our economy and work out a single production process, from the manufacture of specialized farm machinery to the retail sale of foodstuffs.* The congress showed that in agriculture and food production the German Democratic Republic is putting into practice the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the role of cooperation in an industrial country.

In planning agriculture and food production, we are guided by the prognoses of social, scientific and technological development. And these show that the technological revolution is bound to produce far-reaching qualitative changes in agriculture, which is steadily adopting industrial

methods. These are also being applied, in integration and on an increasingly wider scale, in the food industry. In both cases we can register a rapid expansion of productive forces with more effective, in some cases automated, plant being employed. In fact, new mechanized enterprises have been started, and much more use is being made of the findings of agricultural science. In short, there is taking shape an altogether new pattern of social production. Intrinsic to it is closer division of labor, concentration and specialization. In combination, these factors should raise the principal branches of farming and food production to a much higher technical level.

The logical sequel to this process is closer interconnection between the farms, the food industry and distribution agencies, so that we have a uniform process of reproduction. This is an objective process and it can be mastered by applying to agriculture the law of balanced, proportionate development and the basic economic law of socialism. And once the process is mastered, through integrated planning and supervision, we can look forward to higher productivity and a bigger contribution to the national income by agriculture and the food industry. That is why the Party Program, adopted five years ago at the Sixth Party Congress, set the country the task of further intensifying agriculture and gradually changing over to industrial methods in all cooperative and state farms.

And the Party carefully studied new developments in cooperative farming in preparation for the Eighth Congress of German Farmers in 1964, and later in implementing its decisions. For several years now, front-rank farms have been employing different forms of cooperation in field work, construction of storage and other facilities, transport arrangements, etc. After the farmers' congress some cooperative and state farms went a step further in organizing production cooperation on a broad scale. *This is usually done through agreements to pool resources on joint projects where rational concentration and specialization can produce maximum results in solving basic problems.*

A way has thus been found of applying concentration and specialization in socialist agriculture. Comrade Ulbricht told the Seventh Party Congress: "Experience has shown that the productive forces in cooperative and state farms can develop un-

interruptedly only given multiform cooperation. The realization is growing among cooperative farm members that in the coming period the chief factor will be extended cooperation. This is of exceptional importance in further developing the socialist economic system in agriculture and increasing production of food-stuffs."

Understandably, the Party has centered its efforts on fostering such cooperation through the economic, ideological, organizational and political instruments at its command. Our work is predicated on the understanding that cooperation can be organized only by farms and food-industry enterprises themselves on a voluntary basis, with each participating unit retaining its independence. Farm and factory managements decide independently what measures should be taken to expand production in their given area and how this is to be achieved.

The most common form is horizontal cooperation, that is, between farms, and vertical cooperation between farms, food-producing enterprises and wholesale distributors.

Many different forms are employed, but the substance is always the same—pooling of resources and manpower for field work or major construction projects. Another common practice is joint use of available machinery, especially in harvesting and labor-consuming field operations. This has an obvious advantage for the smaller farms, enabling them to employ complex mechanization in cooperation with others. And experience has taught our farmers that this is the best way of utilizing production facilities, reducing the time factor, cutting production costs, achieving higher cultivation standards and, consequently, higher yields.

More and more cooperative and state farms are finding from their own experience that cooperation produces maximum results when it is coupled with industrial methods. This has led to the organization of *cooperative amalgamations* in which profits are divided in proportion to the share of each partner. Livestock and ancillary operations remain the responsibility of the farms. Cooperation has logically led to joint cultivation of all the farmland, with resultant more rational crop rotations, more efficient use of labor by organizing specialized work teams, etc. Machinery is pooled to form operational units and used more economically. Machinery

investments are likewise pooled. Land improvement is made easier and cheaper. But, of course, the idea is not simply to bring together as much land as possible. In some cases three or four farms with only several hundred hectares of land between them form such an amalgamation. In others it might be eight or ten farms covering several communities and cultivating several thousand hectares. The aim is to find the optimal cooperation pattern that will help raise harvest yields, make better use of equipment, maximize output and productivity and lower production costs.

The amalgamations extend to many other aspects of farming, for instance, new accounting methods, training of personnel and cultural amenities. Many farms are pooling investment resources to start agro-chemical centers, building companies, land improvement units, concentrated-fodder factories, hog farms, etc. One and the same farm might cooperate with its neighbor in field work, with other farms in organizing agro-chemical centers, and with still others in starting a hog farm.

So far only a fraction of our farms, cooperative and state, are involved in these advanced forms of cooperation. It is important, however, to give guidance to the process. For there are still many instances of farm managements insisting on working in isolation, guided not by a clear understanding of future needs, but by the obsolete notion that every farm must be universal rather than specialized, a carry-over of the old peasant days. In some of the cooperative farms, especially those of the lower type, made up of well-to-do middle peasants and kulaks, there is a feeling of complacency—what we have is good enough, no need to expand. Low quality and insufficient quantity of machines supplied by industry has been still another impediment to progress. Considering all this, there is an imperative need for more educational work at factory level and constant improvement of the national economic mechanism.

Cooperation between units of different branches extends to every aspect of food production. This type of vertical cooperation involving farms, the food industry and the wholesale distributing network aims at higher and more efficient production to give the country a wide range of food-stuffs.

The basic form of vertical cooperation is the *amalgamation*. This is how it works:

packing plants work in contact with nearby farms specializing in hog raising. This is the beginning of an amalgamation, and it is later joined by more farms, particularly those producing concentrated fodder. The veterinary service is also brought in. The amalgamation makes a working arrangement with the wholesale distributors. The net result is a streamlined system that assures the consumer a high-quality product and the participating units maximum profits. All operations are closely coordinated and output targets are set in interlocking contracts. The system has proved its efficiency; food production is becoming a conveyer-like process. The experience of the first amalgamations shows that they can contribute significantly to accelerating economic progress. The amalgamation method is now being applied in other branches. One of our priority aims is amalgamations in growing vegetables, fruit and sugar beet, where conditions are ripe for cooperation. Subsequently the system will be extended to include animal husbandry. The use of automated and semi-automated machinery and scientifically-based organization of cattle breeding, plus modern methods of producing fodder concentrates will necessarily require close coordination in every link of the process of production and distribution of pork, poultry and meat. Joint investments in cattle farming can yield the best results only if the new facilities are fully modernized and run on industrial lines, if producers of the end-product constantly influence quality standards, and if there is close cooperation of all the participants in the scheme. In starting cooperative amalgamations we always see to it that there is a direct trade link between the farms, the food industry and the wholesale network. This enhances the responsibility of packinghouses, dairy farms, vegetable processing enterprises, etc., for integrated planning and supervision of the entire production cycle. Furthermore it makes it possible gradually to eliminate unnecessary, and often unprofitable, intermediate links such as procurement and allotment agencies. Direct producer-buyer relations are an added stimulus to more rational and fuller cooperation.

The two main forms of cooperation, farm amalgamation and the more diversified amalgamations that include food-industry enterprises, are inseparably connected.

Processing plants and trading agencies

are now beginning to form their own co-operation organizations.

Close attention is being paid to promoting modern, scientific organization methods in cooperative and state farms. This accentuates their increased role in the general system of economic planning and management and also the interconnection between cooperation and efficient organization. Application of the basic principles of the new economic planning and management system encourages achievement of higher standards, and experience has shown that the way to the goal is through cooperation.

Farms participating in cooperative amalgamations — and this is fully corroborated by our experience—are run much more efficiently. Every operation is carefully planned; there is a higher sense of responsibility, higher material and moral incentives, and more democracy. All these elements merge to produce a higher standard of operation. Such farms have a clear perspective and their members tie the annual production plan to the collective agreement with management and arrangements between work teams. This and stringent cost accounting are the basis for economic contacts of the producer-buyer type, but within a socialist economy. This principle has been readily accepted by agricultural amalgamations. Gradually they are shifting to cost accounting and contractual relations between work teams as a further element of cooperation. The price mechanism is used to govern relations between field-crop amalgamations on the one hand, and livestock farms and the individual farms of members of type I and II cooperatives on the other. Here, too, the pattern is producer-buyer. In this way conditions are created for simple and extended reproduction in every branch of agriculture.

The contractual system plays an increasing part also in developing socialist organization of production and in shaping co-operation. For it permits managers and collectives to organize and direct production along industrial lines with due account to changing requirements. These relations, which are becoming more and more complex as a result of the technological revolution, are easily understood both by managers and workers.

Experience has shown that the systematic development of vertical cooperation opens up good prospects for applying industrial methods in agriculture and the

food industry and creates the necessary organizational forms for this. Working along these lines, it should be possible to concentrate and specialize production in full accord with the requirements of the technological revolution and the specific conditions obtaining in the given factory or farm. The purpose of cooperation is not to build up big diversified farms of the old type, but rather large-scale specialized enterprises run along industrial lines and more or less stably inter-connected. And in this context we attach much importance to assuring that every cooperative farm, irrespective of size, type or level of development, retains full independence in joining an amalgamation.

Cooperation is also a significant contributing factor to the extension of socialist democracy. Every amalgamation unit, whether it be a farm, packing plant or sugar refinery, has its own production council elected by and accountable to a delegate meeting. The council sets up departmental committees and activist groups in which a very large part of the workers are involved. All major decisions relating to cooperation arrangements are made by a general meeting of cooperative-farm members or factory managements. This provides full scope for socialist democracy at enterprise level.

One of the principal advantages of cooperation is that far-reaching changes in production are attended by, and intimately linked with, the growth of socialist consciousness among the farmers. Their new attitude to their socialist enterprise, and consequently to socialist property generally, undergoes steady change, which would not be the case if amalgamation were brought about merely by administrative methods. The fact is that the change in general conditions is matched by a change in the farmer's psychology. This is the best guarantee that, in the complex process of introducing industrial methods, all the efforts of the farmers will be directed at intensifying agricultural production and, in particular, raising soil fertility. Cooperation is, of course, a process based entirely on democratic principles, and in this process cooperative farmers acquire the knowledge needed to run farming along industrial lines.

In promoting democracy — in fact in the whole process of reconstructing rural life along socialist lines—the Socialist Unity Party is always guided by the understanding that every new step must be

made with consideration for different local conditions and jointly with the farmers. Vertical cooperation enables us more methodically to apply that principle, and the scientific leadership methods elaborated over the past 20 years, in the present stage of building a developed socialist system.

III. COOPERATION—IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF GUIDANCE

To encourage cooperation and improve the economic system of planning and management are now the prime tasks of the Party and the socialist state, for that is the only way to secure continuous headway in agriculture and food production.

Of late, the Party has concentrated on repatterning scientific guidance and improving methods of planning and economic leverage. Establishment of agricultural councils* and production administrations in districts, regions and the republic as a whole ushered in a new stage in scientific guidance, embracing the foremost people of the farming cooperatives, scientists, representatives of farm machinery producers and of procurement agencies, as well as functionaries of the production administrations, which gradually, over the past two years, introduced over-all planning and guidance. After the Seventh Congress, representatives of the food industry and wholesale food agencies were also invited to join the councils, which were thus transformed into councils for farming and the food industry. This process was completed shortly before the Tenth Congress of German Farmers, with councils democratically elected throughout the country, followed by the election of a 169-man central council at the Farmers' Congress itself.

Long-term planning is gaining priority and we are about to convert to two-year planning, with the number of targets set by the government for incorporation in the production plan reduced to the minimum. Cooperatives are given a free hand to work out recommendations and finalize them individually with the district authorities. Within their own territorial limits, the councils are encouraged to secure economically desirable growth with an eye to the specific conditions of each cooperative. More frequently than before district

*Democratic bodies elected by the farmers at district, region and territory conferences, and for the Republic at congresses of German Farmers.

and regional councils coordinate their plans territorially through a system of direct contracts between farms and the ultimate manufacturers.

Continuous expansion of the system of economic levers is a special concern. The price structure, bonuses for production growth and higher profits, while loans and greater availability of farm machinery and implements prompts cooperatives to increase their accumulations.

The gradual introduction in farming of the basic principles of our new economic system is forging closer links between countrywide planning and the individual socialist commodity producers. Hundreds of thousands of farmers in the cooperatives see from their own experience that any economic change bettering the state of our society also benefits their own enterprise and each of them individually. This brings the personal interest of people more closely in line with the public interest. Effective forms of guidance, coupled with methodical ideological work, cultivate socialist consciousness and mould the farmers' approach to socialist property and the socialist enterprise. The new economic system gives impetus to the material and moral motive forces of production.

The new problems created by our efforts to shape the socialist economic system into a single whole are studied and tested systematically in the broad socialist cooperation prevailing between government bodies and farm cooperatives, socialist enterprises and researchers in schemes carried out experimentally in some of our districts. A variety of measures first raised at the 10th Congress of German Farmers has been worked out theoretically and tried in practice. That is how the main line aimed at advancing agriculture and food manufacture framed by the Seventh Party Congress, is being put into practice.

Scientifically-grounded growth forecasting has become an important element of guidance. The growth perspectives for the coming decades in farming and food production have already been outlined in the main. Accordingly, work has begun in the chief branches on developing the appropriate machinery, coordinating research, improving its planning and organization from the stage of preliminary investigations to the practical stage. As time goes on, division of labor and closer cooperation between the socialist countries will gain increasing importance in designing and improving farm machinery, so that re-

search is continuously a jump ahead in all fields of agricultural science.

The farming and food industry councils, schools and other training establishments and research institutions are acquainting all people in the food industry with the possibilities of scientific forecasting. These are also demonstrated at our annual agricultural exhibition, helping to organize exchanges of opinion on long-term planning and practical measures.

Training is one of the most important areas. Members of cooperatives and the personnel of state farms favor cooperation in training because concerted efforts are more likely to secure a higher standard. The system of training managerial staff is also being improved, with new objectives set for the higher and specialized schools.

The trend towards moulding the economic system into a single whole is producing more effective links between countrywide planning and the independent activity of all food-manufacturing enterprises and all other planning and guidance in the republic. The central bodies concentrate more on scientifically-grounded forecasting, pinpointing the main trends in long-term and annual planning and on working out a legislative framework for economic regulation. Against this setting, amalgamations of cooperatives will gain in importance. Planning and economic levers will promote the interest of the producer of the ultimate product, the interest of rational production and marketing. A close watch on the state of the market and its supervision are becoming more active elements of planned reproduction, for they enable us to take into fuller account in our decisions the objective laws and the multiplicity of production conditions.

The demands put on the work of the primary Party branches are therefore increasingly high. Their responsibility for fulfilling Party decisions is greater, and it is up to them to push forward the socialist education of the managerial echelon and enhance ideological work to orient enterprises on achieving their aims and advance socialist morality and democracy at production level.

IV. COOPERATION AND THE DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SYSTEM

Our experience of building socialism shows that the technological revolution does much more than just accelerate the growth of the productive forces. It injects dynamism also in production relations. This

is particularly true of agriculture. Amalgamation of cooperatives reveals that in socialist society economic advance is accompanied by further advances of socialist property, with relations between the socialist commodity producers changing radically. The property of cooperatives attains a higher level of socialization and in many cases even draws abreast of state property.

Cooperation brings the workers, farmers and researchers closer together. Their working hand in hand in moulding food production into a comprehensive system gives added vigor to the alliance of the working class and the cooperated peasantry, promoting the gradual convergence of the two interrelated classes of our socialist society.

Among the benefits of cooperation is that industrial workers and members of farm cooperatives jointly build educational, cultural and public establishments. The new forms of cooperation by enterprises prompt community councils and representative bodies to tackle jointly the problems of local development. In fact, some amalgamations are losing no time to devise ways for turning their villages into modern residential estates and up-to-date farming centers. House building is sure to expand in future and so is the building of cultural and public institutions, ringing in a far-

reaching change in the living and working conditions of the farmers. That is one way in which cooperation will channel and stimulate initiative at all levels towards social and cultural reconstruction in the countryside.

Cooperation, Walter Ulbricht pointed out, "has a decisive bearing not only on the economy, but on the entire social growth of the countryside and on closer ties between industry and agriculture. By orienting cooperated farmers and their activity on areas outside the limits of their own enterprises and on conscious collaboration for the common aim, cooperation also stimulates economic thought and plays an important part in the political education of people and in consolidating ideology."

Systematic expansion of cooperation between the socialist commodity producers of state-run enterprises and cooperatives in all fields is of vast importance for the growth of the socialist system. Harmoniously organized cooperation gives impulse to socialist production relations, displaying their superiority over capitalism. Agricultural studies in the GDR prove that socialism as a system is certain to win in the arduous struggle, provided it makes full use of all opportunities to advance its composite elements in their harmonious unity and becomes a material and spiritual force of attraction for people in all countries.

Farming along scientific lines

Story of the Bulgarian countryside

Good indicators were marked up in the past three years in Tolbukhin Region for aggregate and net output, average yields, productivity and incomes of cooperative farms and their members. Yields per hectare went up as follows (in centners):

	1965	1966	1967
Wheat	38.5	35.8	46.3
Corn	36.1	43.3	54.3
Sunflower	18.8	21.1	22.5
Peas	20.9	24.6	27.0

Animal husbandry, too, made headway. Milk yield per cow rose from 2,464 litres in 1965 to 3,223 in 1967, wool per sheep from 3.2 to 4.6 kg, and eggs per hen from 150 to 180.

The 1967 wheat yield of 46.3 centners per hectare in Tolbukhin Region was doubly gratifying because it was the highest in Bulgaria and higher than that of the Netherlands, Denmark, Switzerland and Britain, known for their high crop yields.

Tolbukhin Region is located in the north-

eastern part of the country; its 340,000 hectares of arable land are cultivated by 41 cooperative farms, six state-owned farms and by the Dobrudja Agricultural Research Institute. On the average, each farm measures about 7,000 hectares, with eight over 10,000 each.

Before 1965 the same people working the same land with nearly the same tools obtained much more modest yields. Those of the past three years were almost double those of the preceding three.

At its April 1956 meeting our Central Committee set the sights on eliminating subjective trends in agricultural management and broadening the scientific approach to the basic problems. The old planning procedures that hemmed in initiative were scrapped over the years and improvements were introduced in organization and wages. Coupled with the new price-setting system for farm products, this had a most beneficial effect.

DRIVE FOR WORLD STANDARDS

Our Regional Party Committee worked out new plan indicators and performance criteria, the importance of this move transcending merely economic considerations and exercising a beneficial effect on the farmers.

Prior to 1965 targets were based on the results of previous years. Old figures were also the guideline of appraising current performances. Some aspects of this approach were incontestably positive, but it had many flaws. Limited in scope, comparisons of annual performances created self-satisfaction, even over-confidence, for often we compared current results with those of the past when our agriculture was woefully backward. The growth indicator, usually set at 8-10 per cent, was attained without strain, dulling the enthusiasm for working for bigger output.

We saw that a new yardstick was needed. The criteria we chose were the world's highest wheat yields. This dovetailed with the task set the farmers of Tolbukhin Region in June 1966 by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the BCP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who called on us to attain and surpass top world indicators.

A political campaign was launched to that effect in our villages and towns, aiming to impress the task on all Party members and, through them, on all farmers. Concrete ways of attaining the goal were discussed at Party meetings and farmers'

conferences. People responded well and made many valuable suggestions, our aim gradually becoming everybody's aim.

We worked out a comprehensive program of scientifically-grounded political and economic measures. The Regional Party Committee, for one thing, held that higher yields of wheat and other crops were out of our reach, unless we introduced scientific cultivation. This resulted in a scheme christened the Wheat Code, containing basic wheat-growing rules and pointers about grain varieties, antecedents, pre-sowing cultivation and fertilization techniques, sowing density, and the like.

Research and experience showed that the Soviet "Bezostaya-1" variety, known the world over, was best suited for Dobrudja, where it replaced our own strains and various American and other grades. By autumn 1964, "Bezostaya-1" accounted for 97 per cent of the area under wheat. In the meantime, the Dobrudja Agricultural Research Institute continued—and still continues — to develop its own dependable varieties best suited for local conditions.

We decided also to meet the rising demand for fertilizers, the present mark being 1,000 kg per hectare. Our specialists were put to work on this important problem, determining the most desirable ratio of phosphate to nitrogen fertilizers, the time and order of fertilizing, the possibilities of air-borne fertilization, etc.

Those are some of the recommendations contained in our Wheat Code, the idea being that its advice should be closely followed, with a differentiated approach in the case of each farm. The Code was doubtlessly one of the factors behind the Region's commendable performance.

THE ROLE OF SPECIALISTS

We have some 500 experts in the various branches of agriculture in our Region. A few years ago they were mostly occupied with marginal assignments or even entirely extraneous work, wasting much of their effort. This state of affairs changed when the Party branches and local authorities put the specialists in direct charge of production.

The trust reposed in the specialists by the Party and the executive of the local People's Council paid dividends. Also important were the improvement courses, notably the annual winter seminars under the auspices of the Wheat and Sunflower Institute, to bring the experts up to date.

The Institute staff hold practical instructions on the farms and render practical aid on the spot.

In addition to theoretical and practical instructions, specialists attend conferences on more specific subjects where instruction is reduced to the minimum and the accent is on discussion and exchange of views.

Much of the credit for our good results goes to the Dobrudja Agricultural Research Institute. Our Party and the local authorities maintain close ties with its staff and have put mutual contacts on an organized basis.

Summing up, one might say that if the Institute staff and the specialists at our cooperatives and state farms had not been in the van of the drive, the effort to attain top world standards would have failed.

THE NEW COOPERATIVE FARMER

Our region was one of the first to introduce, on an experimental basis, the new system of economic management. Party Committees and local branches started a political campaign to popularize its advantages. In the past, members of cooperatives sought to register more work-days, showing less interest for the end result. The new system has changed that: no longer are farmers mere executives, but take an active interest in improving labor techniques.

What has generated interest among cooperative members were the improved system of payment, better training and dissemination of advanced experience. The farmer is paid for the quantity and quality of his work. That is a basic socialist principle. However, a general principle applied in practice may assume a variety of forms. We are in constant search for the best form and find that as a result the principle of intramural economic accountability is now better applied and material stimuli have become a powerful incentive in attaining our economic targets.

The emulation movement between cooperatives has spread. Cooperative farms compete for average yields and average costs for the five staple crops, with farms classed in three groups according to soil and climate and with bonuses for the winners ranging from 50 levas to a Bulgar-Renault car.

The emulation on the farms is organized along approximately the same lines, with bonuses for team and farm leaders and for winners of individual contests—one for the best ploughman, another the best sow-

er, the combine operator assuring the least losses, etc.

The emulation movement secures the utmost effort on the part of all concerned, from manager to the rank-and-file farmer. This incentive system yields considerable additional incomes to many of our farm managers and farmers. Yet it comprises only a fraction of the additional benefits—also in terms of additional produce—gained thereby by society. This is why we are not in the least perturbed by our best farmers receiving handsome incomes. On the contrary, we encourage it. Everybody stands to gain—the individual concerned, his cooperative and society as a whole.

To improve the performance on the cooperative and state farms, annual 70-80-hour improvement courses are held with machine operators, livestock breeders and crop growers, usually in the winter months. In recent years, farmers attending lectures have been paid for the time they spend learning, stimulating their interest.

In our region, we attach importance to comparing notes and exchanging experience. This is done in various ways — through conferences, practical demonstrations, competitions, exhibitions, excursions to successful farms, and the like. Whenever it serves a useful purpose, we invite to conferences and meetings people from other regions, even from abroad.

At regional or community conferences livestock breeders and machine operators are told of the latest achievements. At practical demonstrations farmers are shown how to tackle specific problems, such as basic and pre-sowing soil cultivation, sowing of specific crops, mechanized fertilization and team harvesting. Thus, advanced techniques are put within the reach of all. Contests are held among the farmers to show how well they plough, sow and do other jobs. And before qualifying for competition at national level, they must prove their skill at community and regional contests.

Exhibitions are another medium for disseminating advanced techniques. This is true most of all in the case of animal husbandry.

These are some of the things done by regional, town and community Party committees to stimulate the initiative of the farmer. Yet there are still potentialities we have not even tapped.

The Party's agricultural policy has wrought profound changes in the farmers' life. In our region, too, villagers have good homes with modern amenities, can afford

to eat well and dress fashionably. Annual income in the cooperatives per able-bodied member ranges from 800 to 1,500 levas, with some families earning as much as 7,000-8,000.

What people earn is complemented by benefits out of funds allotted for public services. Annually, cooperatives spend as much as 8-10 million levas for social and cultural needs. The allocation is spent on building and maintaining kindergartens and nurseries, schools and hostels, and a tidy sum is distributed as grants to university and technical school students and village pensioners.

Part of the funds are allotted for aiding the sick. In Bulgaria, medical services and hospital treatment are free. But our cooperatives have gone a step farther, providing free drugs and medicines to all patients.

Child care is another major item. In addition to kindergartens, nurseries and health-building summer camps envisaged under the government plan, we also build our own. Besides, all farms in our region provide free meals to children living in school hostels.

In effect, all our specialists hail from our own villages. This, too, is a credit to our cooperatives, for most of the experts were trained at higher schools on funds provided by the farms. Now, grants are provided to nearly all students from our farms, even those that choose a non-farming profession. In 1967, for example, stipends were provided to more than 400 young people, which is a big help to their parents and at once an effective stimulus to the students, whose grant depends on their progress.

The farms spend considerable funds on building and maintaining what we call reading centers (this is a local form of cultural establishment that came into being at the time of our national-liberation struggle and could well be described as a form of club, including an auditorium, a library and reading room, and rooms for various amateur activities). The region has more than a hundred such clubs. In addition, funds are set aside for amateur dramatics, physical culture and sport. Many farms finance music schools for children, brass bands, jazz orchestras and youth clubs. We have every reason to say, therefore, that the drive to raise the peasants' cultural level and eradicate the distinctions between town and country is in high gear.

The Party branches exert their influence

to secure the promotion of our best trained people to managerial posts in the cooperatives. Ever since our farms went over to the new system of management, the economic accountability principle is more fully applied and rank-and-file members take a more active part in running the farms. They now have a bigger stake in the end result, are more concerned about the quality and timely fulfilment of farm jobs, and demand the maximum thrift in handling material and finances. In a word, public control is functioning well. The membership has a say in who should be team leader, manager or cooperative chairman. Democracy at farm level is making good headway, ringing in more efficient organization and management and producing better results.

THE PARTY BRANCH IS THE PRIME MOVER

The regional Party Committee and the community and primary branches are the main motive force in our region. Since it is impossible, within the limits of an article, to enumerate everything done by the local branches, let us concentrate on just the more important items.

Our main guideline is to approach all farming problems scientifically. That is the principal feature of our work. We attach immense significance to the link-up between science and practice and the rapid use in the field of the latest scientific advances. And we must say that our close contacts with the Dobrudja Research Institute are effective in this respect. So is our effort to enhance the prestige of our specialists.

Our committee focuses attention on the main problems of agriculture. That, too, is a cogent feature of its work. Here are some of the priority problems that occupy our Party organizations, the local government and the cooperatives: adoption of world standards as the criterion in assessing production results and setting targets; scientific wheat-growing techniques; fertilization; combating weeds; pedigree stock; individual livestock feeding; profitability of animal husbandry; technical progress; effective use of fixed assets, and, last but not least, continued concentration and specialization in farming. These problems were examined and extensively discussed in the regional Party committee and at conferences with Party and farm activists. In all the discussions the accent was on finding

the scientific approach. Party work was centered chiefly on the political means of translating the offered solutions into practice, with the main concern being to elucidate all measures and win support for them among all our farmers.

The Party committees and branches make it their aim to achieve the maximum effectiveness in their political and organizational work, which teaches all Communists to be purposeful and efficient.

We owe our agricultural success chiefly to the right selection and training of personnel. Of late, we have been showing special concern in the matter of training Party activists, with three groups of seminars operating—one for the personnel of the Regional Committee and the secretaries of community committees, the second for secretaries of Party branches, and the third for town and community Party activists.

Seminars for branch secretaries are run on a differentiated basis, one for branch secretaries in cooperatives and state farms, another for secretaries of factory branches, school secretaries, etc. Seminars for Party activists in the community are run along the same lines, designed to secure a deeper scientific approach in Party and public work. As we see it, definite progress has been achieved in the past two or three years, indicating that better Party work results in better economic performances.

The regional Party organization is bent on underscoring the vanguard role of the local branches. We are driving for new members, seeking to enrol the best workers and specialists in the Party and laying an accent on greater Party democracy.

Comparing notes is an important area. In the past two years we established centers for Party instructors for exchanging experience in organizing work. The secretaries of the regional committee, bureau members and heads of departments hold regular meetings with members of the community Party committees and local Party activists, examining local problems, extending aid and verifying fulfilment of assignments and tasks.

Our committee has built up an effective system of control. Though we trust the high political and public consciousness of the personnel, it is important that all assignments be fulfilled in time. That is where

continuous and effective verification is essential.

We attach importance to the regional People's Council, the regional Committee of the Fatherland Front and the local trade union council. We exercise Party guidance through the Communists employed in these organizations and verify their work from time to time. Trust and control, one may say, are, cumulatively, an important contributing factor in our success.

A drive is on in our region to provide political and cultural facilities for our youth. We have more than 200 youth clubs, 12 gyms, two swimming pools, etc. In addition, the Party committees organize a variety of political undertakings.

The regional organization of the Agricultural People's Union is doing fruitful work, too. We owe all our agricultural achievements to the genuine friendship and close cooperation of Communists and farmers. The most critical sectors are headed by Communists. They stand in the van of the fight against survivals of the past, against prejudices, for the rapid spread of the new, for the use of home and world farming techniques.

Our Committee is heading the drive for more comprehensive mechanization of farming, for better and fuller use of machinery. Wheat, corn, sunflower, peas, alfalfa, beets and other crops should be grown by our agronomists and tractor operators, who are also operators of combines and lorry drivers, on their own.

This year's plan provides for 4,500 people to cultivate 220,000 hectares instead of the 36,000 people employed last year. Moreover, yields per unit of area are to be increased. This, while it may be difficult to achieve, is feasible.

That in general outline, is how we do our work. Far be it from us to think that we have attained the peak. On the contrary, the targets set by the Ninth Congress of our Party spur us to fresh efforts in improving our political and organizational work, in looking for new ways and studying the foremost experience of the fraternal Communist parties. It is our duty to make the most of the possibilities offered by our socialist system, the possibilities of our cooperative and state farms.

Volkan SHOPOV

The "Tunisian way": myth and reality

MOHAMMED HARMEL

Tunisia's policy has had many unique features ever since independence, which cumulatively comprise an "original doctrine" presented to the world as an accomplishment in which Tunisia emulated the other newly-free countries, as a challenge to them and an invitation to follow suit. The dual policy of the country's leaders could well confuse foreign observers. Impressed by Tunisia's achievements in some fields and spurred by the official apologetics, some of them extol the "Tunisian experiment" as a model for other developing countries. Others condemn it out of hand as reactionary and pro-imperialist, laying the main stress on the pro-American leanings of the Tunisian government.

To avoid these extremes, we should look into all the aspects and examine them in sum. That will enable us to compare the official picture with the actual situation and the country's possibilities, to learn of its social and ideological problems and to lift the veil on the country's future outlook.

The official pattern of Tunisia's socio-economic growth is based on the following conflicting propositions:

a) Tunisia's backwardness may be overcome without a revolutionary policy, overstepping none of the reformist bounds that envisage modifications more in the spiritual sphere than in social structures;

b) the existence of the state sector and government intervention in the economy may be reconciled with the extensively encouraged growth of the private capitalist sector, creating "harmony" between them, eliminating the "incongruities of capitalism" and securing "socialist growth" with

the participation of all social classes "without the convulsions and violence" that according to the official doctrine usually accompany revolutionary reconstruction.

While protesting allegiance to socialism, the above scheme rejects scientific socialism and opposes the specific to the general (as though Tunisian reality is not subject to the operation of the general laws of social development).

Its exponents call themselves progressive, yet persecute the country's most progressive forces, namely the Tunisian Communist Party banned in 1963, and clamp down on elementary democratic freedoms. By so doing they expect to reconcile the interests of the exploiting strata with those of the people, to reconcile the ideas of Left and Right, within the framework of one-party rule. Last but not least, they contend that independence is quite compatible with the present foreign policy, although its pro-American aspects and its hostility to the progressive countries of the Arab world indicate that Tunisia may one day be reduced to the status of a satellite of the United States.

The government employs two ambivalent arguments to defend its doctrine, pointing to the success achieved since independence, on the one hand, and to the stability of the government, allegedly traceable to nationwide support, on the other. And, naturally, the leadership is mute about the negative aspects, particularly strong of late, which reduce the weight of some of the positive effects.

OFFICIAL APOLOGIA AND THE FACTS

That Tunisia has made headway since

independence is beyond question. The Communists will be the last to deny the positive aspects of the government's policy. They give due credit to the contribution of the Destour Socialist Party to the building of an independent Tunisia. The country has a relatively stable and modern administrative, political and financial structure. The dismantling of foreign military bases ended with the Bizerta ouster. Definite efforts have been made in advancing public education, training and Arabizing cadres.

Achievements that could serve as a starting point for tangible and effective growth are on hand in the economy, a sphere of major importance in which the newly-free country grapples with many new tasks.

At first, the government experimented with economic liberalism, thinking it would offer scope for growth. A few years later, after summing up the results, it had to face up to the fact that economic liberalism had worked no wonders with the economy. Although the Tunisian bourgeoisie had eagerly responded to the call, "Enrich yourselves!" it concentrated its attention on fields where profits were the easiest. Official statistics showed that 80 per cent of all investments went into import-export operations and real-estate speculation. The obvious ineptitude of the weak, chiefly commercial and rural bourgeoisie, the crying unsatisfied economic, political and social needs, and the favorable international situation prompted the government to abandon economic liberalism and tackle the burning problems of the underdeveloped economy on its own, instead of the floundering bourgeoisie.

Abandoning its previous methods, the government adopted planning in 1961 and expanded the state sector. This produced results: new enterprises came into being in the form of state or mixed companies, previously colonized land was reclaimed, farm production societies were founded on it, and the system of distribution was reshaped.

While criticizing the failings and errors of the regime, the Communists take an objective view of what has been achieved, back some of the measures and offer suggestions as to how to improve them and protect them against reactionary attacks. The new government policy could have wrought a change for the better, because it helped towards social and political differentiation. The conflict between the government and the big olive plantation

owners in the Sahel area was indicative in this respect.

Economic growth and the compulsive need for state intervention in the economy have affected social relations, creating contradictions also within the government's social basis. However, instead of remedying deficiencies and continuing to radicalize its policy, the government regrettably accentuated the negative aspects and went out of its way to dampen the contradictions, to side step any new way and to keep the economy along the capitalist road. That was negative and explains why, its orientation being what it is, the government proved unable to resolve the country's key problems.

Its efforts to maintain "class harmony," prompted by fear of the masses, and its desire to safeguard the interests of the exploiting strata, are both among the reasons for its failure.

Take the following figures: the ten-year plan drawn up for the Tunisian economy envisaged an annual six per cent growth of the national product and an accumulation rate of up to 26 per cent. That was to secure growth of production and an average of 50 dinars per capita income for the most needy.* It was envisaged, too, that foreign investments would not exceed 50 per cent.

Yet current statistics indicate that even these modest targets have not been attained. Despite some headway, the economy is still at low ebb, unstable and dependent on foreign capital.

In 1964 the national product grew 3.5-4 per cent, but growth has lately again dropped to two per cent, which is fraught with dire consequences by reason of the steep growth of the population, and the outlook for a 50-dinar income per head of population has grown more remote. Though investments have reached a fairly high mark (27 per cent of the gross product in 1961-1964), they have not produced the expected results, for they are chiefly put into non-productive fields, their effectiveness is extremely low and, lastly, because they are composed largely of foreign aid, which arrived with delays and was not always sound economically and financially. Maintaining that in eight years 47 per cent of the investments came out of home accumulations, official propaganda conceals the fact that the government had often resorted to inflationary measures and that the plan was fulfilled by virtue of foreign investments. The country's foreign debt grew

*U.S.\$=525 dinars.

annually, jumping from 2,000,000 dinars in 1962-63 to 14,000,000 in 1966.

The inflow of Western capital, notably from the United States, though enabling the government to finance its economic projects, was insufficient for any real economic advance. Now foreign aid is becoming a burden, pressing down on the country all the more strongly, the longer the government persists in its choice of the main trend of growth. The increasing debt, imports in disregard of the real needs, the increasing foreign influence on foreign policy and the enrichment of speculators—that is a far from complete list of the effects produced by U.S. and West German aid, which, moreover, is far below what was promised.

Farming is either marking time or dropping off. The highly-touted production co-operatives, the pride of the Destour regime, are not real cooperatives. Yet they could serve as a point of departure in a genuine agrarian reform, boosting the productive forces in the countryside and concentrating the small and medium fellahin around the state farms. The government, however, sees them merely as links in its bureaucratic machine, herding in the poor peasants forcibly with extremely low wages and with no guarantee of employment. This pattern will not overcome the outdated traditional forms of farming or resolve any burning social problems. For example, 3,000 landowners north of the Tunisian range have as much land in their possession as 80,000 fellahin and middle peasants.

The unemployment problem is only mildly alleviated, for the mere 50,000 newly created jobs are much too little, considering that 400,000 jobless were registered in 1961 and the demographic burst was not muffled sufficiently by the government-recommended technical means.

In the context of development, as we see it, the "official scheme" falls short of the promises, and the modest results so far achieved have not impelled any real economic growth. Certainly, the scheme is no model for other countries to emulate. It is just one more creation along with the many others produced by the recently-free countries, which, though marked by a certain amount of industrialization based on a state sector, does not in any radical way alter the backward and unstable economic pattern.

Tunisia's foreign policy is profoundly negative, notably with regard to the Arab world, and has been pro-American ever

since independence despite brief periods of non-alignment and the diplomatic, cultural and economic contacts maintained with the socialist countries. Recently, President Habib Bourguiba paid his first visits to Bulgaria and Rumania, but his good initiative has in no way altered the orientation of Tunisia's foreign policy.

The government contends that its policy does not prejudice the country's independence, that it retains full freedom of action. All the same, it is damaging to the interests of other countries singled out by U.S. imperialism as objects of aggression. Tunisia's official posture is a comfort to the United States, which has a big stake in the political role Tunisia could play in Africa and the Arab world. Official propaganda presents the Vietnam war as ideological, describing the U.S. aggression as an act of "self-defense." This has isolated our country from the progressive Arab forces. Recently, Tunisia broke off diplomatic relations with Syria, and its relations with the United Arab Republic were always tinged with hostility towards President Nasser. Furthermore, whatever the government may say to the contrary, Tunisia has no real freedom of action in foreign affairs. Her relationship with the United States and West Germany has been particularly alarming since the outbreak of the Vietnam war. President Bourguiba paid visits to Johnson and Franco, reaffirming his pro-Western stand.

Our country's support of the United States, Spain and West Germany, the most reactionary of the capitalist states, is in itself intolerable, and, what is more, yields no benefits whatsoever. The national egoism at back of it is no justification. U.S. imperialism is an enemy of all peoples, ours included, for the national-liberation movement is indivisible. Besides, the aid Tunisia gets from the West is no greater than the aid rendered to other countries far less closely related to the United States.

"CLASS HARMONY," STABILITY, REPRESSIONS

Official doctrine maintains that in Tunisia class struggle is non-existent, that classes coexist harmoniously and that the government serves the interests of all classes.

Our class structure differs from that of other countries, especially that of the industrially developed European states. But social classes and class contradictions are an objective reality.

The "class harmony" myth collapses when it comes in contact with reality. The big landowners with their huge estates, exploiting farm laborers and fellahin, are no communist invention. Neither is the new bourgeoisie, growing fast in the private and state sectors, which has been stuffing its pockets ever since independence and elbowing out the old bourgeoisie associated with the colonial system. Now, the new bourgeoisie is seeing to its interests and privileges, fighting the working class and seeking to deprive it of its rights and gains.

It saw planning and state intervention as a merely temporary stage clearing the way for private enterprise, accepting them at first, but now protesting that state interference is going too far. That is borne out by the intrigues of the Right forces, who demand priority for the private sector. The government is meeting their wishes halfway and has, for a start, turned over such areas as tourism and the textile industry to the private sector. The official project submitted early this year to the National Planning Council described the 83 per cent increase in private investments as a government success.

The danger of the state sector being gradually turned over to private interests is very real, and doubly so, since the United States and West Germany are exerting continuous pressure in support of the private sector. On a visit to Tunisia, the President of the International Organization of Employers expressed his conviction that state intervention should never be more than temporary, until private enterprise is strong enough to take over. Admittedly, the government does not bow to demands at first call; it is still in favor of planning and a state sector in the key economic areas, but merely out of considerations of expediency, not out of anti-capitalist convictions. By and large, it gravitates towards the new bourgeoisie to the detriment of workers and peasants, whose demands are ignored and whose opposition, when it bursts to the surface, is brutally suppressed.

The so-called harmony is camouflage for a policy which, though it may not totally accord with the aspirations of the new bourgeoisie, is ultimately aimed at promoting its long-term interests.

The same is true of stability, a popular theme of official propaganda after the series of coups elsewhere in the world. Speaking of the events in France, President Bourguiba declared that our country

is well sheltered from the storms sweeping over other states. To be sure, Tunisia has had no change of regimes since independence, which is traceable to the Destour Party's influence and the popularity of the chief of state. Yet the government has had clashes with Rightist opposition trends that did not stop short at violence and assassination. From the Ben Youssef group (ex-General Secretary of the Neo-Destour Party, subsequently assassinated in Germany) to the conspiracy uncovered in 1963, whose main figures were executed.

Besides, there have been various Right and Left opposition trends within the Destour Party. Earlier this year, N. Ahmed Mestiri, member of the Destour Party's Political Bureau and Minister of Defense, resigned with considerable publicity, charging the government with "excessive collectivization." His act reflected the mood of the private sector. The resignation dissipated the illusion of unity in the Destour Party and lifted the veil on its insoluble concealed crisis. A few members of its Political Bureau and general secretaries of the trade union center, the General Union of Labor, were expelled.

The Destour Party is an alignment of contradictory forces who came to terms with each other in the fight against colonialism, but hold divergent views about the country's future. True, the differentiation is still vague, no line has been drawn between Left and Right. They continue to coexist, albeit half-heartedly, in a united party, thanks chiefly to Bourguiba's personal prestige. But the struggle of clans and groups over the question of power, more acute at present in view of the President's ill health, reflects divergent interests and class contradictions that may burst to the surface. The extreme Right is already working clandestinely to prejudice the planning policy, capitalizing on its failures and on the discontent of the masses, who, rightless and fenced off from conscious participation in political and economic affairs, are incapable of assessing its failings and virtues. Also, there is a Left-wing national democratic opposition, which is expanding and enlisting increasing numbers of people in a movement of protest, as witnessed by the latest student strike and the workers' strikes held in defiance of the official unions.

As we see, idyllic appearances conceal anything but idyllic reality: struggles, contradictions, crises and problems. The government hopes to resolve, or at least head off, these problems by reprisals, stepped

up since the one-party regime was established and the Communist Party and Left press were banned. All criticism, however constructive, and all opposition, however democratic, are treated as an insult to "His Excellency."

Student Ben Jennet was sentenced to 20 years hard labor for taking part in anti-imperialist demonstrations and protests against the Israeli aggression. In solidarity with their colleague, the students declared a strike on March 15, demanding his release. The government responded with reprisals, involving the police and its henchmen. Shedding light on how the Tunisian leadership conceives democracy, M. Bahi Ladgham, General Secretary of the Destour Party, expressed his incomprehension of how Destour instructors could join the protest movement. "It is deplorable," he said, "that people known for their allegiance to the regime, their loyalty to their profession, fell prey to doubt and participated in actions against the state. Some of them even formed a group and went to the Dean to protest against the interference of party activists who merely wished to set the students straight." He considered it natural that activists (actually henchmen of the authorities) should come to scold the students, that is, beat them up, while a perfectly natural protest to the Dean is qualified as a political crime.

After March 15, arrests among students, instructors and lawyers rose into the dozens. Some, including lawyer Abdel-Hamid ben Mustafa, were flung into a prison in Tunis and will face a special tribunal. Others are kept at police stations. Communist Party activists in Sahel were detained at a Monastir police station for two months. Halib Attia, linguistics instructor, was smuggled out of a police cell by government agents and brutally beaten. Re-installed in his cell on April 25, he is still being detained for having dared to reply through *Le Monde* to charges made by a Destour leader. Essafi, a professor of medicine and member of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee, was also manhandled.

The reprisals have caused profound alarm in the country, and the efforts of the Destour leaders to justify them are in vain, though they spread false and vicious rumors and resort to various forms of anti-communism.

The Destour press endeavors to identify the Communists with the ultra-Leftist trends, although it is common knowledge

that we oppose them. The Communists are accused of "extreme dogmatism," for their reluctance to align themselves with the Destour brand of socialism.

The Communists do, indeed, refuse to be deprived of their right to criticize. But their stand towards the efforts of the ruling party has never been negative. They have tried to initiate a fruitful and constructive dialogue with the progressive forces in the Destour party, but were invariably rebuffed by that party's inveterate anti-communism. And it is also true, of course, that the Communists do not consider Destour socialism as scientific and correct, although they welcome the fact that the Destour Party proclaims socialism as its ultimate aim.

CAN SOCIALISM BE DESTOURIAN?

The Destour ideologists (and others too) contend that the Marxist scheme is valueless outside the geographic and historical limits of modern industrially developed society and hence inapplicable to the Third World countries, which constitute an entirely new phenomenon. They argue that scientific socialism came into being in Europe and that Karl Marx applied his method of analysis to capitalist society.

They say they are exponents of socialism, but their definition of it is incompatible with scientific socialism. We know all too well of this crop of "specific socialisms," each purporting to spring from regional, national or historical specifics.

The ruling party of Tunisia conceived a Destourian socialism which it counterposed to scientific socialism. There is no element of analysis in it of the specific, original and special in phenomena. It consists of *a priori* ideological and political postulates which, in effect, deny the general and universal laws of social development.

Scientific socialism is universal, although its historical and geographical background was not. But that is true of every scientific discovery: it becomes universal, no matter in what latitudes and under what conditions it is made.

Socialism cannot be either Arab, African or Destourian. It is either scientific or nothing at all, and only in that capacity can it be creatively applied to the specific conditions of every country, acquiring a new, unique form of expression. This does not mean that we should take a sectarian stand either in regard to non-Marxist socialist trends (because they reflect social-

ism's immense power of attraction and may serve in certain conditions as transitional forms to scientific socialism, as, for example, in the case of utopian socialism) or in regard to policies pursued in the name of one or another form of socialism.

We may criticize incorrect ideological concepts and defend the scientific substance of Marxism, but should not indiscriminately repudiate everything emanating from other forces that declare themselves socialist; nor should we deny the possibility of their evolution. We know that most Third World countries are still in the phase of national-democratic revolution, in which a variety of economic and political theories is inevitable. But to help work out a more definitive revolutionary-democratic attitude and assist the foremost social elements in broadening their concepts and outlook, they must be supplied an objective critical analysis of their basic theoretical tenets.

Like the other "specific socialisms," the Destour variety denies the existence of class struggle, thus denying the historical role of the working class and the peasants, towards whom it is hostile. The ideologists of the "specific socialisms" trace the struggle of these classes for their demands to what they call an innate sense of hatred and revenge. Yet to grasp the situation in a country, to see its outlook, its difficulties and possibilities, one must first grasp the aspirations and the role of the different classes and social strata. Consequently, it is impossible to shape a policy of genuine growth, let alone growth towards socialism, and ignore the revolutionary potential and role of the workers and peasants.

By virtue of its class origins, Destour socialism does not aim at totally eliminating capitalist exploitation. All it wants is to contain extreme exploitation. It reduces socialism to nationalization, to establishing cooperatives, to certain limited state intervention in the economy. True, it has borrowed fairly important elements from scientific socialism, though in a formal way, and its other propositions are also borrowed. There is nothing original or Tunisian about them, for they are easily traceable to the works of the 19th century thinkers, such as Proudhon, who denounced "the spirit of hatred and revenge" of the proletarians and replaced contradiction by reconciliation, striving for capitalism without its vices.

Unconcerned about the specifics, Destour socialism follows in the ideological tracks

of bourgeois reformism, seeking to contain the revolutionary movement and either evade or quench the social contradictions.

It is a dual ideology, marked by eclecticism and a spectrum of concepts typical of the petty bourgeoisie carried to a position of power on the crest of the national-liberation struggle when the colonial system collapsed. The petty bourgeoisie casts about frantically for ways of developing its backward country, maneuvering in face of the mounting class activity and trying to retain its guiding role, and is incapable of overcoming the gravitation towards capitalist development. Compromise elevated to the rank of doctrine has national, historical and social roots. Historically, it derives from the fusion of Destourian nationalism (which made the most of the contradictions of French colonialism and of the favorable circumstances to place itself at the head of the national-liberation movement) and the social-democratic reformism of the General Union of Labor. And socially, it derives from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie in town and country, which wields considerable influence.

A technocracy, coupled with bureaucracy, is growing fast in the state sector, more concerned with its personal comforts and careers than with the needs of the country. A section of the petty bourgeoisie is gradually making common cause with the middle bourgeoisie, a differentiation process that obviously consolidates the latter's position. It is not surprising, too, that these sections dread the prospect of an extension of the national-liberation movement. We are witness to the fact that, given one and the same class basis, the petty bourgeoisie at the helm of power conducts a progressive policy in some countries and a policy anything but progressive in others. Its political orientation depends on the correlation of forces and classes, on social and political needs at home and on the country's international situation.

The social content of the national-liberation movement is, indeed, becoming deeper. Its present features and perspectives, while confirming the Marxist teaching and its infinite worth, need to be theoretically analyzed anew. No longer is the movement oriented solely against imperialism. Nowadays, it also sets profound anti-capitalist aims.

This is indicated by the role of the working class and its Marxist parties, and by the evolution towards Marxism of the foremost elements graduating from the

petty bourgeoisie and the nationalist-minded groups, and even by the very existence of progressive countries.

The main Marxist propositions concerning the role of the working class and the terms of transition to socialism are entirely valid for the Third World countries, though unquestionably in new forms. It is as essential in the circumstances to take the specifics into account and avoid a mechanical use of schemes applicable in Europe, as it is to reject all false "specificity." In his reply to Mikhailovsky, the Russian *Narodnik*, Marx emphasized that his analysis of capitalist development in Western Europe did not merit the honor of a universal theory of growth imposable on all nations.

Lenin developed Marxist theory creatively, producing a scientific analysis of the motive forces, the character and perspective of revolution in backward countries. He pointed out, among other things, that backward countries may by-pass or cut short the capitalist stage of development on their way to socialism. And for the peoples of the Third World that proposition is of immense importance.

What is the precise meaning of the concept "non-capitalist way" and its relation to the socialist way?

One may get the impression that the term "non-capitalist way" stands for some third way or a new form of organizing society. In effect, it is an option for recently liberated countries. It cannot be identified in letter and spirit with the socialist stage, but may lead to socialism, provided it is accompanied by definite qualitative ideological, political and social change. Past history shows that the tasks of the national-democratic revolution cannot be fully and consistently fulfilled under the exclusive leadership of the national bourgeoisie; only the more advanced forces representing the proletarian and non-proletarian sections in town and country, the petty and middle bourgeoisie, are up to that task.

The existence of progressive forces with a petty-bourgeois background, whose positions converge with those of the working class and its party, is a new feature in the Third World countries. No longer do they represent the interests solely of their own social stratum, but to some extent also the interests of broader groups. We hear people admitting that these forces are progressive, but making the reservation that by reason of their petty-bourgeois origin, their mistaken and inconsistent political

attitude, their role is limited and that they must therefore give place to the Communists sooner or later.

It is indeed foolish to disregard the failings of these progressive forces, as the Middle East developments prove. And it is quite true, too, that no advance is possible until these forces correct their errors and shift decisively towards the workers and peasants. No less true is it that the role of the working class and the Communist parties, the truly revolutionary force, is growing steadily. But historical growth should not be seen simplistically, superimposing the abstraction of its results on its actual process.

The working class and its party are destined to lead the revolutionary movement in the transition to socialism. That is the rock bottom Marxist concept. But it is also the result, not the starting point, of the growth process, whose forms change from country to country and from one stage to another. The emergence and growth of the progressive forces is not fortuitous. A differentiation and stratification of the people occurs in the revolutionary process and the acute class struggle, weakening the positions and finally eliminating the Right element and radicalizing the movement. Increasingly revolutionary socio-political forces with a volatile social basis have now forged to the forefront. Their social basis may change, paving the way in some countries to convergence between Communists and the most advanced elements on a Marxist basis.

The Communists are aware of this historical possibility implicit in the national-liberation movement.

In Tunisia, by reason of a temporary relative weakness of the workers' and democratic movement and blinded by its all too modest and limited successes, the ruling party refuses to see that its mass base is shrinking and its possibilities are exhausted, its methods and means inadequate. It is drifting towards inconsistent reformism, its path punctuated by continuous concessions to private capital, hostility to the people's demands, and rejection of deep-going structural social change. The regime is paring down the democratic freedoms and keeping progressive and popular forces from participating in the country's development.

It is high time to go over to other means, other methods, other policies, injecting new worth into the achievements of our country, making them more effective and setting

the stage for an independent national economy, for higher standards of living, for the regeneration of Tunisia's prestige.

The farmers' production societies must be converted into real cooperatives run on a democratic basis by the peasants, who should be enlisted in the agrarian reform restricting large-scale landownership. The form of running state enterprises should be changed; the workers should participate in their administration. A democratic policy should be initiated, giving freedom to Communists and all progressive forces, repealing the ban on the Communist Party, granting autonomy to the trade unions, the student union, etc. Last but not least, American and West German patronage should be rejected. The Communists are working for this policy. They know that popular pressure alone will alter the course of events and make a new line possible. And in this respect a most important role is to be played by the burgeoning progressive opposition forces. No longer is the Destour Socialist Party a single body; it is torn by intrinsic contradictions and the Right and reactionary forces no longer reign undivided in it. It is highly likely that elements comprising what could be called its Left wing will not tolerate their ambiguous position for long. They will break with opportunistism and rebel against Right policy. They must realize that one cannot pursue a policy of growth and spurn democracy, spurn the conscious efforts of those social and political forces genuinely committed to economic, social and cultural progress. They must realize, too, that it is impossible to stem the onslaught of the Right while encouraging anti-Communism

and reprisals against the Left. And they must realize that the only way to end the uneasy situation in the country, to achieve growth, is to cease reprisals against the Left. This means an end to all persecution, release of all prisoners, cessation of arrests, liberation of all detainees at police stations, repeal of disciplinary and administrative sanctions against students and professors, and respect for the freedom of opinion and press.

In that case only will there be grounds for a real dialogue between all the progressive forces in the country, for effective struggle against the Right forces who will always strive to exploit the inconsistencies of the Destour reformists for their own ends and remove them from power when opportunity presents.

Nothing but a mass movement of workers, students, intellectuals and peasants can achieve a radical change in the correlation of political forces and bring into being a new bloc of all progressive groups respecting the independence of each in forms prompted by the concrete situation. This bloc could work out a new policy transcending the narrow framework of reformism, solidify the ties with the people and the progressives and lead the country to growth and democracy consistent with the true interests and traditions of our nation, the possibilities and specifics of our country and the aspirations of the forward-looking youth. What we need is a policy that will secure for our country real, profound, lasting achievements rather than "superficial successes." That will be a genuinely, forward-looking policy.

U.S. imperialism penetrates Latin American universities

MANUEL CEPEDA

The "youth revolt" is just as much in evidence in Latin America as everywhere else. And like everywhere else, it is powered by material and ideological factors and bears a distinct anti-imperialist character. Large sections of the student community are joining in the class struggle, the struggle against capitalist society.

Various explanations for this have been offered. Those coming from bourgeois ideologists are obviously meant to pervert the character of the generation "revolt." They maintain that the youth has risen against the *status quo* and that the dynamism of the present movement is attributable to a "struggle of the generations," whose roots should be sought in the biological rather than the political sphere. The customary argument is that the new generation rejects both capitalism and socialism and that the students, not the working class, are the real builders of the new world. In short, these bourgeois ideologists are endeavoring to conceal, obscure or discount the real causes of this social upheaval, which represents youth's struggle against the obstacles capitalist society has erected on its path.

Latin America provides clear evidence that youth non-conformism has objective class roots in our dependent status. The main thrust of the youth movement is directed against imperialism. Student participation in the national-liberation struggle was powerfully stimulated by the Cuban revolution, but the movement has a long history, replete with militant actions. The names of its heroes and martyrs have inspired the youth of our continent and helped raise its level of political under-

standing. To check this process the reactionary forces have in recent years launched an all-out offensive on the ideological front.

But the student movement continues to grow and has found new forms of countering the enemy onslaught. This year we shall be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the events in the University of Cordoba, Argentina, which led to a university reform. And this year we see a wave of student strikes in Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, Salvador, Santo Domingo, Ecuador, Panama and Mexico. The slogan of the Cordoba students has a very topical ring today: "We demand the sacred right to revolt, the right to freedom, and we believe that revolution is the only solution."

That was in 1918. World War I ushered in the first world crisis of imperialism. There was the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Mexican Revolution of 1910 was the first attempt in the twentieth century to destroy the survivals of feudalism in Latin America. With the general crisis of imperialism there began the process of political awakening of the masses.

It is continuing in our universities. Engulfed in the wave of class struggles, they have been the scene of stormy events. In many instances they took the lead in the movement for democracy, but in some instances they lagged behind. The crisis of our society has spilled over into university class-rooms, where it has found deep and sharp expression. Conflicts flared up, one after another, but if the student struggle is to be victorious it has to merge with the struggle of the working class and other

sections of the people. That is why the university reform issue, first posed in 1918, is still very much alive on the continent, and is indeed a major aspect of our fight for freedom. It is very closely linked with the all-important problem of building a united front.

In those early and turbulent days, the names of Julio Antonio Mella, Jose Carlos Mariategui, Anibal Ponce, who brought the spirit of Marxism-Leninism into the struggle, were known to all. But others who had a conspicuous part in the student movement of fifty years ago are today equally conspicuous in reactionary campaigns. They include Leoni, Lleras Restrepo and Haya de la Torre. And that is symptomatic of the gravity of the struggle: polarization of Latin American society has made the universities the centers of sharp social struggles and of police terror against recalcitrants.

Imperialism is relying heavily on ideological warfare. Its anti-communist campaign gains momentum as the objective and subjective conditions for a revolutionary leap mature. New techniques are employed to exploit the old idealism.

This offensive on the cultural front is part of a much broader international reactionary campaign aimed at inculcating the idea that there is no need for an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution, which is the prerequisite for our socialist revolution. Seen in this light, the Manifesto issued by the Cordoba students half a century ago acquires a new content, new implications, in the Latin America of our day.

FROM 1918 TO 1968

What were the aims of the 1918 university reform movement, and what are the aims today, in 1968?

In its clash with the semi-feudal survivals of the past, the bourgeoisie needed a field for battle against traditional reaction. Accordingly, it urged the creation of universities as a forum for discussion and, in addition, as a source of trained personnel. The Argentine movement was largely instigated by the bourgeoisie. It spread to other parts of the continent, taking on specific features in each country.

Today, half a century later, the battle for a peoples' culture is being fought by the proletariat and the middle classes. The universities are in a state of profound crisis; their students are fighting not for abstract ideals, but for very vital and very concrete demands.

Latin America has gone through sweeping qualitative changes. The traditional educational system and academic structure have proved insolvent, and this, too, is part of our continent's structural crisis. The campaign for university reform has assumed immense importance and goes beyond its original framework to include demands for more expenditure on education, freedom of instruction, student participation in university administration and—what is especially important—defense of the state universities. And though the Cuban revolution has proved that comprehensive educational reform is possible only in a socialist society—a society capable of demolishing imperialist and latifundist domination—it is also true that the student movement can achieve much even prior to the capture of power by the people. Our job is to find the forms that will enable us to mobilize the youth masses for this.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

The ebb and flow of the student movement coincides with the ebb and flow of the popular struggle generally. The Argentine university reform movement of 1918 ushered in a new period that spanned the 1920's: in 1919 students of the San Marcos University in Lima, Peru, joined the movement and the Gonzalez Prada Peoples' Universities were organized; 1920 saw the rise of the student movement in Santiago, Chile; 1921 was marked by the first international student congress in Mexico; 1923 —by the first congress of Cuban students; 1926 —by the first student congress in Colombia, the rise of active student movements in Brazil, Paraguay and Venezuela, the founding by Mariategui of the Lima Peoples' University, the Jose Marti Peoples' University in Havana by Mella as a means of bringing students and the workers' trade unions closer together. Student solidarity with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people under the leadership of Sandino stands out as an inspiring example of political activity.

The 1929 world capitalist crisis gave a further impetus to the student movement. In Colombia, it claimed its first martyr Bravo Perez. The 1928 strike against the U.S. United Fruit Company inspired a fresh wave of student unrest throughout the continent.

The movement grew even more rapidly in the thirties. The social reforms of President Cardenas had a beneficial impact on the university of Mexico. The fight against

the dictatorship in Venezuela, culminating in the overthrow of the Gomez regime, made for progress in higher education. The overthrow of the Machado dictatorship in Cuba injected a new element of democracy in the university of Havana. In 1936 the liberal bourgeoisie led a successful reform movement in the university of Colombia. The students had a significant part in the anti-fascist struggles of World War II.

The forties saw a veritable upsurge of the movement in Central America: the overthrow of the Ubico dictatorship in Guatemala; youth unrest in Salvador, Nicaragua and Haiti.

But the cold-war fifties brought with them a long round of repression. The Arbenz government was overthrown in Guatemala, and many of the hard-won reforms were annulled.

The sixties brought the spread of the struggle against military dictatorship which qualitatively changed the Latin American situation. The Cuban Revolution, in the preparation and victory of which the students played an outstanding part, showed that socialism could be built in Latin America too. Today the internationalist character of the student movement finds expression in solidarity with Cuba, the Dominican Republic and the heroic people of Vietnam.

The facts thus show that the student movement keeps in step with the movement of the people. The example set by students who gave their lives in the battle against dictatorships has helped the growth of anti-imperialist consciousness. This is being matched by organizational consolidation of the movement; the first Latin American student congress was held in Montevideo in 1955, the second in La Plata in 1957, the third in Caracas in 1959, and the fourth in Havana in 1966. A profound study of the student movement will supply the arguments needed to counter the concept that students are apolitical, that they stand aside from social upheavals and are isolated from the historic struggle of their peoples.

U.S. CULTURAL OFFENSIVE— FORMS AND METHODS

American cultural penetration dates back to the last century, when the United States, already a super-power, began its infiltration of Latin America. The First Pan-American Conference, held in Washington in 1889, suggested "assisting" Central and South American countries in organizing their educational systems and education was

discussed at all later Pan-American conferences.

A new phase in American expansion came with the implementation of Truman's Point 4 Program after World War II. Ideological and political infiltration was stepped up with the foundation of the Organization of American States. Then, in 1961, came the celebrated Alliance for Progress and the New Frontiers policy. This was a new and much more active phase in Yankee imperialist penetration.

This cultural neo-colonialism relies on the support of big-money organizations. The list is headed by the International Monetary Fund and its offshoots, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Agency. But cultural neo-colonialism is also generously supported by the OAS, which has a ramified propaganda network and works in cooperation with the United States Information Service.

Cultural neo-colonialism works along these lines:

- planning Latin American education through the Inter-American Cultural Council, the Inter-American Council for Education, Science and Culture, the Pan-American Union and the Inter-American University Fund;

- granting of International Monetary Fund loans to such organizations as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Agency to promote primary, secondary and higher education;

- directing the activities of such monopoly-financed organizations as the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Kellogg Foundation, Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, Kennedy Foundation, Forest Foundation, and the Peace Corps. Much of the money goes into scholarships, teacher exchanges, etc.;

- establishment of American-financed mixed organizations operating under a local signboard, for instance, the Administration for Educational Programming, various cultural centers, etc.;

- organizing more private universities to the detriment of state universities;

- encouragement of repressive legislation to keep democratic elements out of the universities and to militarize the students.

These are all component parts of imperialist strategy. In combination, they should produce a "cultural blood stream" through

which monopoly capital can circulate and penetrate every aspect of cultural life.

This policy has been made the basis of relations between OAS and UNESCO, which coordinate their Latin American activities.

A system of interlocked agreements has been developed to bring pressure to bear on national institutions. Examples of this are the so-called integral plan for extension and improvement of primary education, the agreement between OAS and UNESCO (1956-65), and the Alliance for Progress ten-year educational plan (1961-70). The avowed purpose of all three is to supervise education throughout Latin America.

And still another example of U.S. cultural penetration are the 1962 agreements between the Education Ministry of Colombia and a mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Inter-American Development Agency. As part of the ten-year program mentioned above, they envisage IADA loans to promote primary education, while the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development will take care of secondary education, and the Inter-American Development Bank, of higher education. Jaime Posada, the then Colombia Minister of Education, remarked that "Colombia has been selected as a pilot country for the Alliance for Progress. A mission of the Inter-American Development Bank will soon arrive to examine and coordinate programs in primary, secondary and higher education."

Still another example of how this policy is being operated is the agreement between the Brazilian Ministry of Education and the Inter-American Development Agency. Under it, U.S. "experts" will supervise reconstruction of the country's educational system. A statement issued by the National Council of Brazilian Students has this to say on the subject: "Conversion of our universities into privately-subsidized institutions presupposes the existence of a stable capitalist structure, with enterprises prepared and able to invest in higher education in order to obtain the necessary technical personnel . . . The result will be an educational system entirely dependent on private financing. And the money will come not from national groups, but from imperialist groups, so that, in the end, they will be in full control of our national education."

Imperialist policy finds expression also in systematic interference in the affairs of

Argentine universities. In 1964, the sixth session of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Development Bank announced plans to finance facility extension in eight Argentine universities. The Communist Party appointed a group of comrades—Agosti, Giudici and Gonzalez Alberdi—to study the situation. Comrade Ernesto Giudici exposed gross interference in university affairs through the Point 4 and other programs. He showed that loans under these programs were granted only on the understanding that the university structure would be overhauled. In 1958 the University of Chile rejected such a loan because it contained the demand that the appointment of University professors be cleared with the United States.

Inter-American Development Bank loans to Chilean universities add up to 15 million dollars. But again they are hedged off with a number of humiliating conditions. Comrade Claudio Aguirre writes in this connection: "The Americans are most of all concerned with halting the growth of the popular liberation movement and the mounting influence of the Communist Parties and the socialist countries. That is why they are so anxious to penetrate our universities and launch an anti-communist offensive there."*

Uruguay is still another target of American cultural infiltration. Comrade Arismendi says that "the subtle Camelot plan and similar 'research' projects, also the organization of seminars to boost the reactionary elite concept as the decisive factor of social development, are part of imperialist policy and tactics."**

Much the same policy is being followed in relation to Ecuador, where in 1965, in addition to closing the Central University, a new reactionary higher education law was promulgated. So-called "fundamental study" faculties were opened in the universities of Quito and Guayaquil. Students describe them as "formidable barriers to the dissemination of education and knowledge."***

In Central America, where neo-colonialist integration has gone to fantastic lengths, there is a veritable system of

*Claudio Aguirre.—Imperialismo y Universidad. Revista "Aurora", marzo-abril 1967, pag. 66.

**Rodney Arismendi.—Encuentros y desencuentros de la Universidad con la Revolución. Montevideo, 1966, p. 13.

***Documentos del Seminario de Integración económica y social de Montevideo, editados por la Federación de Estudiantes del Uruguay y por la Unión Internacional de Estudiantes, 1965.

agencies for so-called cultural contacts, but actually for assuring pro-American orientation of culture and education.

The imperialists maintain a dense espionage network in universities and other educational centers. Last year, the American magazine *Ramparts* exposed CIA connections with numerous student organizations, including the International Student Conference (ISC), the Coordinating Secretariat of National Student Unions, and the National Student Association of the United States. These revelations were followed by others. It was learned, for instance, that hundreds of student, journalist and trade union organizations, among the AFL-CIO in the United States, and prominent diplomats were in one or another way connected with the CIA. What we have, in fact, is a ramified apparatus spending millions on subversion.

This espionage activity is, of course, camouflaged. Much of it is conducted under the label of sociological studies financed by the Pentagon. The list of these bogus sociological projects is a long one—Camelot, Simpatico, Colony, Numismatico, Job-430, etc. In short, the United States has built up a fifth column in Latin American nerve centers to ferret out information on what the Americans describe as "explosive" issues. Besides, the Central Intelligence Agency is conducting a number of operations under equally innocent signboards: Operation Friendship (exchange of students), Operation Live Message (exchange of gramophone records), Operation Child (a program for primary schools run by U.S. embassies).

FACTS BEHIND THE LOANS

Latin American universities have catastrophic budget deficits, which makes them easy prey to American Big Business.

Imperialism invests in the universities for very sound reasons. The U.S. economy needs markets and, hence, it has to allow a certain degree of development in Latin American countries. And the loans pay back handsomely, both economically and politically, for they are meant to build up a managerial class to help the U.S. exploit our countries.

The nature of the loans is revealed by the simple fact that our countries pay America more, much more, than they receive in so-called aid. It need only be said that the Latin American brain drain to the United States increased 300 per cent be-

tween 1950 and 1968. Imperialism is extending to the intellectual sphere its old formula of exporting capital and appropriating surplus value, in this case trained specialists, who are looked upon as just another commodity. This is added proof that the laws of imperialism are operative in dependent countries too.

We Communists should explain to the students the exploitive nature of American loans and show why we are opposed to them. For the poorer universities, which lack even elementary facilities, these American loans have the same attraction as the beads and trinkets the early Spanish colonists used to bribe Indian chieftains.

But the fact is that the American loans provide no solution for our cultural problems and do not advance our cultural development. On the contrary, they are used as bait, and this complicates and hampers cultural development. Imperialist penetration creates insoluble contradictions. To step up their exploitation, the imperialists find themselves obliged to promote education, but education only enhances the political awareness of the young people, something the imperialists cannot avoid. In fact, in many universities American largesse has precipitated sharp conflicts. There are ample facts to show that imperialism cannot halt the social process, nor paralyze the student movement, which is now on a much higher level than fifty or even twenty years ago.

PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

The growth of private universities should be seen as one of the major results of imperialist penetration.

The Latin American oligarchy welcomes systematic U.S. intervention, for they want education to be accessible only to an elite. That, incidentally, explains the increasing number of private universities which are meant to replace State universities. That policy was spelled out a while ago in a document coming from the United States. Reference is to a memorandum drawn up by Professor Rudolf Atcon for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). It can be taken as a blueprint of U.S.-supervised reorganization of our universities, and it discloses the real objectives in encouraging private higher education. Washington's goals, the document says, can be attained through a series of socio-economic and educational programs. Accordingly, the author suggests that the

United States set up a special agency patterned on the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America to deal with questions of education. It would coordinate curricula and should have sufficient authority and means to achieve the following:

a) *Drafting of an overall educational concept adapted to the needs of the continent.*

b) Programs for all levels of education in all Latin American countries.

c) Priority treatment of educational problems and adequate control over the finances required for implementation of this policy.

d) Establishment of a consultant service for Latin American universities.

The latter must consolidate their autonomy and allow more real independence. The best way to achieve that is to *convert the universities into private educational institutions.*

The proposed reform should provide for *elimination of all interference* in university administration by student trade unions and other organizations.

Financial assistance should be conditional on all the universities being put on a paying basis. This presupposes *higher tuition fees over a ten-year period.* The cost of running a university should be defrayed by the students, who are expected to cover the factual cost of instruction, and by a special aid fund to *compensate for the repeal of free higher education.*

Private universities are already following that pattern and they have also adopted the U.S. university structure, notably the principle of departmentalization: kindred disciplines are grouped together to form independent departments. This tends to create isolated units, abolish the traditional concept of universality. This organizational structure is made an essential condition of American aid. In December 1964, the Inter-American Development Bank issued 17 "departmentalization" programs for 45 universities in 15 countries. Their total cost is estimated at \$30 million.

The Catholic universities in Colombia, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Paraguay, Venezuela and Peru, are particularly active in operating this policy. They cling to old concepts dating back to the colonial days and have always been centers of reaction. In Colombia, the Catholic organization, Accion Cultural Popular, symbolizes the alliance of obscurantism and the "new values" and technical novelties imported

from the United States. It runs so-called radio schools, meant principally for the peasant population, with an annual broadcasting time of 15,000 hours (through eight stations). What they have to tell the peasants is mostly based on rabid anti-communism. Besides, Accion Cultural Popular publishes a weekly magazine, *El Campesino*, with a circulation of 105,000. It has a budget of about \$20 million and, in addition, receives an annual government subsidy of \$500,000.

These radio-schools are supplemented by educational TV programs, started under an agreement with the Inter-American Development Agency. The scheme is run by 80 "experts" from the United States Peace Corps, who write the programs, which are used in more than 1,000 schools and are estimated to reach 80 per cent of the country's populated areas. Needless to say, this propaganda is entirely based on imperialist ideology. Colombian Minister of Education Daniel Arango told Congress in July 1966 that Colombia might become the center for a continental educational television program.

The progressive campaign for university reform is directed against the remnants of feudalism in education, as represented by the Catholic hierarchy and U.S. cultural neo-colonialism, with all its new techniques, and also against survivals of colonialism, kept alive by the big landowners and supported by the U.S. monopolies, with their lavish outlays for mass propaganda.

TRENDS IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Latin America has the world's highest birth rate. According to UNESCO statistics, the continent's population at the close of the century will have increased 200 per cent to 650 millions; 10,300,000 babies are born every year (28,000 a day, 720 an hour). This means that every year more and more young people are looking for jobs or for higher education. But economic growth is steadily, from year to year, lagging behind population growth. That is the chief element, the chief material cause, for the present youth revolt.

According to the latest data of the Inter-American Development Bank, the number of university students rose from 380,000 in 1955 to 510,000 in 1960, 880,000 in 1966, and is estimated to approach the 3,000,000 mark in 1980. In other words, the student population will have increased sevenfold in a quarter of a century. The figures are

impressive, but Latin America needs still more students. Objectively, the population growth is breaking down the old structure, which has become a veritable obstacle to education.

Imperialism is trying to check the "student explosion" by introducing higher tuition fees, liquidating state universities and abolishing free tuition altogether. The idea, of course, is to make university education accessible only to a chosen few, the monopoly of the elite.

That policy has its logic. The Latin American student movement is militant, dynamic and democratically oriented. These are precisely the qualities reaction wants to wipe out, and it is doing so in many ways. The universities of Bogota, Caracas, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Santo Domingo, Lima, Panama and Mexico have been the target of ceaseless attacks by the military. They are directed not only against the students, but also against members of the teaching staff, who are making common cause with the students. The number of university instructors is increasing and they are becoming much more active in politics, for they, too, are an exploited group and are taking part in social struggles.

With the winds of revolution sweeping Latin America, the number one problem is unity. And it has to be said that the present split in the revolutionary camp is having an adverse effect on the student Left. Much of the controversy, often heated, centers on assessment of the present stage of the revolution, its motive forces and methods. Forty years ago our young Communist parties were engaged in a heated controversy with the Popular Revolutionary Alliance, a party that drew its support from the middle classes and maintained that there was no need for the existence of Communist parties. The situation since then has, of course, changed radically — the Cuban Revolution is practical proof of the upsurge of the national-liberation movement throughout the continent—and new trends have come to the surface. But their exponents, too, maintain that the Latin American working class has no revolutionary potential. They distort the facts to suit the old arguments, now presented in a new guise.

With reaction resorting to more and more violence, these utopian trends are looking for immediate solutions. They eulogize the youth and disparage the vanguard role of the working class. Armed

struggle, they argue, is the only possible answer.

Armed struggle is usually the result of class clashes and imperialist intervention. And the universities have always supplied, and will do so in future too, guerrilla fighters. But exponents of this trend negate the role of the urban masses and, as a result, ignore the importance of the university as such, its big political role and specific demands; they see the university only as a purveyor of guerrilla fighters. That concept is fully refuted by Latin American revolutionary experience. The formula guerrilla unit—university, just as the formula working class—university, are most effectively realized in united action of all the detachments of the movement.

Armed struggle does not entail closure either of factories or universities. Let me cite this one example: the record of Hernando Gonzalez.* His life can serve as a model of a correct approach to the class struggle, whether in rural or urban areas, and a model also of the student's role of front-rank fighter.

The present student actions, like those of the workers, wholly refute the contention that the urban masses cannot serve the cause of the revolution. The struggle in the towns continues and has a great future. Its roots lie in the conditions of life created by the industrialization process. We believe that the armed struggle in rural areas will continue, too, with a clear perspective of victory, if it accords with the general laws of the class struggle.

That is the real situation, and the conclusion to be drawn from it is that the students must march shoulder to shoulder with the working class and peasantry and other sections of the people.

In several Latin American countries the student movement has been subjected to harsh repressions in the past few years. Nevertheless, we can say that the growth of political consciousness, sparked off by the Cuban revolution, continues, though in more difficult conditions and along more tortuous paths. In Colombia, where the movement was subjected to savage persecution in 1966 and 1967, this year we have definite signs of a revival. In Venezuela the movement, which has been the object of repeated attacks, this year scored a splendid victory in the Caracas university

*Hernando Gonzales was a student leader, a member of the Executive Committee of the Colombian Young Communist League and a commander of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. He was killed in battle at Riochiquito in November 1965.

elections. In Brazil and Argentina, where student congresses have had to be held illegally, there have been several significant actions. In Santo Domingo, the students have resumed their active campaign against imperialism and the oligarchy. In Chile, the student fight compelled the authorities to hasten the introduction of certain university reforms. These and other facts are proof that there is a realignment of forces, that the political line is being subjected to deep analysis, that past experiences and forms of struggle are being reviewed and, lastly, that imperialism has not been able to halt, let alone reverse, the tide of student protest.

We Communists can look forward to heartening perspectives in the student movement. Without sliding into demagoguery, without flattering the youth, we should forthrightly come out against certain conservative and sectarian tendencies to play down the changes now taking place and to underestimate the vast importance for the revolutionary movement of winning over the student youth.

REPRESSION AND HEIGHTENED IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Like other continents, Latin America is the scene of competition between the two socio-economic formations, capitalism and socialism. That explains why imperialism attaches such importance to ideological confrontations and clashes. These take the form of sharp polemics which are bound to become sharper still as time goes on. Imperialism makes wide use of anti-communist propaganda; it endeavors to persuade the people that revolution is not only unnecessary, but would actually signify a step backward. Instead it proposes reformist solutions premised on reactionary theories.

However, the polemics serve to dramatize the gap between the expanding production forces and the stagnant production relations, and this contradiction is carried over to the sphere of ideology. Latin American industrialization requires scientific progress, but private ownership of the means of production tends to hamstring research.

Capitalism needs wide dissemination of knowledge, but is anxious to keep culture and knowledge the monopoly of a select group. The capitalists have tried to resolve that inherent contradiction of the system, and at the same time to conceal their true objectives, by founding purely technical or "functional" higher educational establishments with very high tuition fees. Unlike

feudal reaction, which openly and categorically denied the masses higher education, imperialism uses a democratic screen to conceal the fact that it has virtually closed the universities to the people.

Ideological struggle is one aspect of the onslaught on our universities. Another is legislative measures to take back all the gains the students have won in long years of devoted effort. Fascist-type laws provide for the exile of recalcitrants, introduce draconic university rules, envisage the creation of special police units, militarization of a number of higher schools, the use of students for work on military projects. These or similar methods are being extended to the entire continent. They are indicative of the extraordinary measures used to curb the revolutionary process.

They are spearheaded against the progressive forces in the universities. The government dissolves student organizations, tries to liquidate every manifestation of university autonomy, wants to put an end to "subversive activities" and to deprive the students of the right to strike and demonstration. Students are tried by military tribunals—one more evidence that the ruling classes are determined to use terror to prevent organization of the student masses.

But economic development is playing havoc with all these reactionary plans. For despite all the repression, the students are coming into closer association with the working people. Typical of this process is the case of the priest Kamilo Torres. Several years ago the Catholic hierarchy sent him to the National University of Colombia to combat Communist influence. Close contact with the students, and with university realities, induced him to flout his superiors and adopt the ideals of the youth—the very ideals he was supposed to combat.

It can be safely said that today, despite all the indoctrination and repression, the predominating mood in Latin American universities is one of support for the people's struggle.

Now, fifty years after the Cordoba Manifesto, the slogan of university reform has merged with the great slogan of liberation. Together, they form an integral part of the program of the Latin American anti-imperialist revolutions. The student movement is working to organize the youth and lead it forward as a cardinal detachment in the struggle for our ultimate goal, which is national liberation and the building of socialism.

New developments in the Venezuelan labor movement

Political activity is running high in Venezuela in anticipation of the parliamentary and presidential elections scheduled for the end of the year. There is a growing hope that the elections will write *finis* to the dark decade of Betancourt rule and restore democratic freedoms. At any rate, that is what the people ardently desire.

And there is a realistic possibility of toppling Betancourt and his clique despite all the obstacles that are part of Venezuela's so-called representative democracy. That possibility began to take shape early in 1967 after coordinated effort by influential democratic and revolutionary groups, facilitated largely by the policy the Communist Party worked out at the Eighth plenum of its Central Committee in April 1967.

Venezuela's revolutionaries have drawn useful lessons from the experience of the past years. They have modified their tactics without, however, relinquishing their principles or relaxing their militancy. This has enabled them to unite with other democratic forces ranged against the regime. In a situation of increasing isolation, and faced with the prospect of division and suppression, the revolutionary vanguard found ways of overcoming its past mistakes and making maximum use of the opportunities offered by the crisis that developed late last year in Betancourt's party, Democratic Action, and by founding the Popular Electoral Movement, whose presidential candidate is Dr. Luis Beltran Prieto Figueroa.

The present process of realignment — and the possible emergence of a new alignment—in the trade union movement should be seen against this political background, which in many ways differs sharply from that of the past ten years.

The split in the ruling party should be assessed as more than the collapse of

Betancourt's election plans. For years his regime had been the main instrument of American neo-colonial policy in Venezuela. The split had immediate and far-reaching repercussions throughout the party, in the leadership and among the rank-and-file. Its impact was felt also in the leadership of all the unions that make up the powerful pro-government Confederation of Labor, an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The Ninth plenum of the Communist Party Central Committee, held clandestinely in February-March, discussed the position in the trade union and peasant movements. Its resolution reads in part: "The present important changes in national politics directly affect the workers' and peasants' movements. One of the most important of these changes — probably more important even than the emergence of the Popular Electoral Movement — concerns the trade unions. Many union leaders have withdrawn from Betancourt's party to join the PEM. This radically alters the alignment within the Labor and Peasant federations. Sizable segments of the union and peasant movements are breaking out of the tutelage of Betancourt's Trade Union Bureau, which has hitherto impeded the struggle for labor's demands. There are, consequently, realistic conditions for substantial groups in the trade union movement joining the battle to win better economic and social conditions for the working class."

The resolution continues: "There are definite opportunities for advancing organizational unity of the bulk of the trade union movement, seriously curtailing Betancourt's control and the influence of his allies in the Social-Christian COPEI Party. Workers, Communists, the entire popular and progressive movement, are

anxious to get rid of the Betancourt union leaders." In other words, the new political developments in the trade-union movement—the end result of which no one ventures to predict with any certainty—confront the class unions with the vital task of helping the movement to break out of the framework imposed by Betancourt on the instructions of his American masters.

And since the Labor Confederation had become a veritable brake on the mass movement and a champion of what it chooses to call "democratic order" and "industrial peace," the need arose for a new union center capable of consistently upholding labor's rights and interests.

And such a center was founded, after two years of acrimonious controversy, at the Fourth Labor Congress in March 1963. It is known as the United Labor Federation of Venezuela.

Over the past five years there has been a steady, though slow and difficult, process of consolidation in the United Labor Federation. The Federation played a positive role in the campaign for trade union and civil rights, in exposing the crimes of the Betancourt and Leoni regimes, and in demonstrations of solidarity, notably with Vietnam, Cuba and the Dominican Republic.

The United Labor Federation has from its very inception been guided by revolutionary class principles and has pursued an independent policy. The leadership includes, besides Communists and independents, representatives of the Revolutionary Nationalist Integration Party, the Left Revolutionary Movement and the Popular Nationalist Vanguard.

In the opinion of this writer, the conclusion to be drawn from an analysis of the Venezuelan trade union movement is that, throughout its thirty-two difficult and tangled years, the battle has been between a small but powerful group of reformists completely submissive to Betancourt and blinded by rabid anti-communism, and the forces representing the class trade union movement and its revolutionary aims.

It is not really a matter of struggle between members of Democratic Action and Communists. For the United Labor Federation includes among its leaders men who at one time held key posts in Democratic Action and withdrew from it not because they became Communists, but because they saw that Betancourt's Trade Union Bureau was becoming a virtual tool of the employers, especially when the latter were Americans. That applies to those who in

1961 joined the Left Revolutionary Movement and in 1963 the Revolutionary Nationalist Integration Party. The picture is much the same today, with many ex-Betancourt supporters joining the Popular Electoral Movement.

True, Betancourt had little difficulty in resolving the 1961-63 trade union crises. He did so by the simple device of expelling the recalcitrants from his party and the Labor Confederation. In many cases the expelled pulled out important organizations, but Betancourt's lieutenants were able to re-establish their control, again by the simple device of pressure from the Ministry of Labor and the political police.

Now in 1968 we have a totally different situation, and the leaders of Democratic Action are only too well aware of this. Last year's transport strike in Caracas and the March general strike in Maracaibo revealed (which, incidentally, was no great secret) that Betancourt's Trade Union Bureau was no longer in control in most of the Labor Confederation unions. More, its chairman, Gonzalez Navarro, is now a leading figure in the Popular Electoral Movement. And if further proof were needed of the drastic decline of Betancourt influence, it was provided by the elections to the long-delayed constituent congress, in which supporters of the Popular Electoral Movement won a convincing victory.

More indicative still was the victory of PEM supporters in the recent elections in the oil workers' unions. Its importance lies in the fact that the big imperialist monopolies rely heavily on Betancourt's Trade Union Bureau to maintain peace in the industry, which produces more than 200 million tons of oil a year and employs about 30,000 workers. The election results came as an unpleasant surprise to the big oil interests, but also as a spur to action. It is not unlikely that they will duplicate their 1962 tactic, when supporters of the Left Revolutionary Movement and Communists were ousted from the unions after winning an election, and many were given jail sentences.

There is no telling how long the Confederation of Labor will remain united. But one thing is certain: to prevent an opposition victory, Betancourt will resort to his usual tactics of engineering a split, as he did in relation to his own party, Democratic Action, when it became obvious that Prieto would be nominated for president. It is therefore reasonable to predict that Betancourt will try to put one of his placemen,

probably Malavé Villalba, at the head of the Confederation. That post has been held for nearly 10 years by Gonzalez Navarro and he is not likely to give way to pressure, nor are the local branches of the PEM, which has strong influence in the Confederation, likely to acquiesce.

And so, let us draw some conclusions from this analysis of the political and trade union situation.

First, Betancourt's supporters know that they might lose not only political power, but also supremacy in the trade union movement. Few in Venezuela question that this is a very real perspective. But for it to become a practical perspective will require at least some degree of unity of all the anti-regime forces.

For the Betancourt clique still has a certain strength in the movement. Besides, they can rely on the police, on economic levers, and, of course, on the unstinted support of the Leoni government and its patrons in the U.S. Embassy and the monopolies. Judging from all the signs, Betancourt is inclining towards the traditional Latin American technique of maintaining power—a military coup.

Whatever his tactics, it is safe that he will not cede his positions either in the government or in the trade union movement without resistance and without the use of every means, legal and mostly illegal, at his command.

And another, more important, conclusion is that practical steps have to be taken now to work out the principles of unity and the ways and means of its achievement. And this should be done without long debates on whether united action is preferable to organizational unity, and so on. The Democratic Action offensive likely to be launched in the near future must be countered by a solid front of all the anti-Betancourt trends in the labor movement, including those in the Confederation of Labor, for a healthy and viable union structure.

Nor should we overlook the fact that the Betancourt men are not completely isolated. They still have the support of the Catholic COPEI. Its union leaders, though they cannot claim any appreciable mass support, are firmly entrenched in the movement: they are in the Confederation leadership and have their own union center, CODESA, a small church-influenced organization. One of the COPEI Confederation

leaders, Francisco Urquia Lugo, recently called for the expulsion of any Confederation member who advocates alliance with the Communists. The fact is that COPEI, like Democratic Action, dreads closer ties between PEM and the various groups that make up the United Labor Federation.

The object of the popular forces in the present election campaign is not only to defeat the Betancourt clique but also to prevent the election of another reactionary, the Social-Christian leader Rafael Caldera. Small wonder, then, that Democratic Action and COPEI are drawing closer.

The Communist Party's Central Committee resolution quoted above calls for trade union unity with all the forces prepared to reciprocate.

Trade union leaders belonging to the Revolutionary Nationalist Integration Party, who exert a strong influence on the United Labor Federation, have called for a common effort by the Confederation of Labor, the United Labor Federation and CODESA. Their appeal says: "The impending split in the movement makes it incumbent on all union leaders to work for reconstruction of the movement's organizational basis, undermined by the present crisis."

The problem of unity is thus becoming the central problem in the trade union fight against Betancourt.

The election campaign is bound to precipitate conflicts. The working class, with its rich fighting experience and growing influence, can play a big part towards securing a progressive government free of imperialist influence and capable of satisfying the people's demands. But it can only do that if it defeats reformism within the unions and promotes unity based on working-class principles.

In conclusion, it can be recorded with satisfaction that the Communist Party's trade union policy, outlined in this article, is beginning to bear fruit. I might cite the following example: on May 23 elections were held in the influential steel workers' union at the Orinoco plant; the Communists, who fought the election jointly with the Revolutionary Nationalist Integration Party, polled 1,276 votes out of a total of 2,938, with the PEM coming second with 840 votes, while the four Right-wing groups polled a little more than 800 votes between them.

J. CARRERA

A new test for democratic forces

Letter from West Bengal

In November the West Bengal state holds mid-term elections to the State legislature, elections to which political parties, understandably, attach great significance.

West Bengal, with a population of about 40 million, has 184 towns and 38,465 villages; most of the industrial workers live and work in and around its capital—Calcutta. The industries, highly developed, include two iron and steel plants (one in the private and the other in the public sector), locomotive and wagon-making factories, coke ovens, jute and cotton mills, engineering factories, an automobile plant and other smaller enterprises. One-fourth of India's engineering factories and most of its jute mills are located in West Bengal. This state has the largest investment in India of foreign and domestic capital, including some of the big monopolies.

Despite the industrial concentration, only about 1.3 million people in West Bengal are engaged in manufacture. About half the industrial workers are employed in the jute and textile mills. About 11.5 million people are cultivators, while 4.5 million are landless agricultural laborers. This is about 53 per cent of the total working population, and the figure has remained virtually unchanged over the last 40 years. About 13 per cent of the male and 81 per cent of the female working population are without work.

Incomes of the working population are exceedingly low. In a survey conducted a few years ago, it was found that monthly incomes of 74.3 per cent of the middle-class families in Calcutta ranged between Rs. 100 and Rs. 500. (One U.S. dollar=Rs. 7.50). In the case of the workers, 89.72 per cent of the families had an average monthly income between Rs. 60 and Rs. 150. These facts give an idea of the general situation in West Bengal and indicate the

extent of the poverty that exists amidst plenty.

Under popular pressure, West Bengal's first united front government, which includes Communists, was sworn in on March 6, 1967, after the ruling Congress party had gone down to defeat in the general election. Despite certain differences in approach and objectives of the constituent parties, the united front government was able to announce an eighteen-point program to give immediate relief to the people.

In order partially to ameliorate the conditions of the people, the 18-point program specifically declared that immediate attention would be given to the primary needs of the people in respect of food, clothing, housing, education, health services and employment opportunities. It pledged to combat corruption and nepotism and black-marketing. It undertook to give full freedom to the workers to conduct their trade union struggles and refused to deploy police to help the employers.

The new government restored civil liberties and annulled the West Bengal Security Act under which arrests could be made without warrant and without filing any specific charges. It released a number of political prisoners and reinstated many employees who had been victimized on police reports. It withdrew prohibitory orders on processions and meetings which had been in force during the past 20 years.

The new government took up the question of allocating surplus land to the tillers. West Bengal has about 200,000 hectares of unused land, of which 150,000 hectares are cultivable. The outgoing Congress government claimed to have distributed during its 20 years about 20,000 hectares. The United Front government within six months of its being in office distributed some 30,000 hectares among 28,000 land-

less peasants and proposed to distribute the remainder in a short time.

West Bengal is a state of chronic food shortage. It requires some 1.5 million tons of food grains each year in addition to its own production. The allocation and sale of food grains are mostly controlled by middle-men and traders who indulge in profiteering. The United Front government decided to procure all food grains grown in the State exclusively through the government machinery.

Vested interests, Congress Party leaders and other reactionaries raised a hue and cry at these developments. Big employers roared in panic and monopolists threatened to stop any further investment in West Bengal and to remove their enterprises. A campaign of calumny and slander against the new government was unleashed and together with it a stigma of failure of law and order was slowly but inexorably built up.

Two factors provided additional aid to reaction's efforts. First, a section of the extreme Left who initially supported the United Front government fomented a miniature peasant uprising in one part of West Bengal, giving out a call for "liberated peasant zones" to pave the way for "revolution." The scale of the action was small and the impact on the peasants even less, but it was seized upon by many as an extreme manifestation of anarchy under the rule of the United Front government.

Secondly, existing dissension among the constituents of the United Front which included many heterogeneous elements now came into the open. Some people in the new government were opposed to any radical measure by the government. Then, there were essentially opportunist elements who had joined the new government for their own selfish purposes.

Meanwhile, the initial shock of the Congress Party's electoral defeat had subsided, and its leaders, with the blessing of the top people in the All-India Congress, began to prepare the downfall of the new government. All the reactionary forces and a section of the bureaucratic officialdom let them support. "Operation Topple" began in earnest and constant switches were made on the political chessboard.

Buying up United Front members of the Legislative Assembly with a view to reducing the government majority began to be practised and, regrettably, not without success. Against this betrayal of the electorate by the MLAs, a campaign was

launched and people rallied in support of the government. Alas, the movement began much too late.

The Congress Party had its biggest coup when the Food Minister of the United Front government together with 16 MLAs left the United Front. This man and his 16 MLAs, together with the Congress leaders, reported to the state government that the United Front had lost its majority due to these defections and that he should be allowed to form a government with the support of the Congress Party.

The state governor under the order of the President of India, the latter acting on the advice of the Central government, dismissed the United Front government on November 21 on the grounds that the governor was satisfied the United Front had lost the majority. The governor then installed a minority government headed by the former United Front Food Minister. The Congress Party pledged its support to the minority government, and after a few weeks joined it in a coalition.

The governor meanwhile announced a session of the Legislative Assembly without consulting the Speaker of the Assembly. When the Assembly was convened the Speaker, in an historic ruling, said that he did not recognize the minority government and declared it illegal. Only the members of the Legislative Assembly in session, he ruled, could decide whether a particular ministry had lost its majority or not.

The people of West Bengal rallied to uphold their rights and to support the United Front government. At the call of the Front, a massive three-stage civil disobedience movement was begun, and over fifty thousand people went to jail. There were indiscriminate police shootings in which about fifty people were killed and hundreds injured. Police beat up ex-ministers, professors, students and anyone who dared oppose the minority government. But the people, undaunted, pressed on with their movement and, with support from other parts of the country, it grew into the biggest struggle in independent India to uphold democracy.

Finally, on February 16, the Central Government yielded to the popular pressure—the minority ministry was dismissed by the governor and president's rule promulgated in West Bengal. But the people and the United Front were not satisfied with this. They demanded the holding of a new election to get a fresh mandate from the people and for a new government. Finally,

the election commissioner in consultation with the leaders of the political parties announced that fresh elections would be held in West Bengal in November this year, either on the 3rd or the 10th.

This election is eagerly awaited. A crucial stage in the political fight has set in, and each party is now engaged in drawing up its election strategy. There are several clearly discernible trends. The main constituents of the United Front are determined to maintain their unity and to contest the election as one front. But there are differences with regard to the composition of the Front and also on the allocation of seats among the respective parties.

Then there are other trends and the most significant among these is the bid to forge an anti-Communist alliance. Some ex-members of the United Front have already given out such a slogan. The National Executive of the Bharatiya Kranti Dal—the all-India body of dissident Congressmen who left the Congress Party—has advocated a common front that would exclude both Communists and communalists. The BKD leadership apparently believes that by adopting an anti-Communist stance it will be able to wean away more defectors from the Congress Party and emerge as a strong all-India party.

The decision of the BKD National Executive has, naturally, been acclaimed by all the reactionaries. The mouthpiece of the Birla monopoly group, *The Hindustan Times*, on April 13 declared: "The new stand outlined by the National Executive of the Bharatiya Kranti Dal at its recent meeting in New Delhi promises well for the future."

But to the dismay of these soothsayers, the West Bengal unit of the BKD—the Bangla Congress and its leader Ajoy Mukherjee—has decided to remain within the United Front, and the BKD National Executive had willy-nilly to permit it.

Anti-Communist bias is being built up also by others. The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party decided, by a narrow majority, to leave the United Front. This decision has been challenged by its state unit. It is noteworthy that this same PSP National Executive has agreed that its members could join the new United Front government in Bihar. This shows that, despite clear anti-Communism, it would be premature to say that the decision of the PSP executive to leave the United Front is final and irrevocable.

The former Congress Chief Minister in

West Bengal, Prafulla Sen, anxious not to be outdone in whipping up anti-Communism, has issued a "clarion" call urging unity of all "nationalist and democratic parties in the state" to open a separate front and "to shun" the Communists.

The Congress Party is girding its loins, supported by the moneybags, to disrupt the United Front and return to power. In addition, its leaders are bent upon "teaching a lesson" to the Communists. CPI member of Parliament Indrajit Gupta, addressing a press conference in Calcutta, said that the Party had proof that the Union Government, aided by a section of businessmen in West Bengal, is bent on sabotaging the United Front. "We have definite information," Gupta said, "that the Union Home Ministry has been trying to create a condition in the state in which a portion of CPI members and the United Front supporters could be rounded up before the midterm election."

The extreme Right wing in the shape of the Swatantra Party, and the Hindu communal party, the Janasangh, are also entering the election in a big way. These organizations have ample funds at their disposal, being supported by several clandestine organizations, including the CIA.

In this situation, the CPI considers the task of maintaining the unity of the democratic forces in the United Front to be of prime importance. The CPI State Executive has pointed out: "There is no doubt that if the parties in the United Front contest the election as a united force, then the people of West Bengal would be able to inflict a crushing defeat on the Congress Party as well as on all reactionary and divisive forces. The United Front will come back to power with a greater and firmer majority and will be able to take even more progressive steps in the interest of the common people."

The CPI State Executive has appealed to the national leadership of the PSP, the BKD and to the leaders of the LSS to fight the election as constituents of the United Front and remain with it. It has also appealed to all constituent parties to arrive at a common understanding over the allocation of seats, making no exaggerated and unreasonable demands.

The CPI has stressed that it is of the utmost importance to ensure the victory of the greatest number of the United Front candidates. The CPI feels that in the interest of achieving an all round victory of the United Front, it is essential to build up

a really broad front. Consideration of one's own interests and of success for one's own party should not eclipse the overall aim of a stable, progressive coalition government of Left and democratic parties in West Bengal.

The CPI attaches considerable importance to such coalition governments, and its attitude has been clearly stated at its eighth Congress held in Patna in February this year. The Party has already mapped out a strategy for an alternative path of development for India with such coalition governments playing a role. The alternative visualized by the CPI "will mean, first and foremost, replacement of the Congress or any other form of bourgeois rule by a government composed of consistently anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly classes and forces capable of and determined to carry out revolutionary changes, reversing the present process of development of capitalism. It would be a government of National Democracy, directing the country's development along the non-capitalist path."

In order to establish such a government of national democracy, the present division in the mass democratic movement will have to be overcome and all healthy forces united in the national-democratic front. The common democratic platform which finds reflection in coalition governments, among others, is in reality the forerunner of the national-democratic front.

As CPI Chairman S. A. Dange pointed out recently, such "coalitions" were "suc-

cessful" within the limits of their aims. Coalition government could not be expected to perform miracles and bring an "overnight revolution." But they achieved their primary objective of destroying the monolith of "eternal Congress power" and creating a sense of political confidence among the people.

The Party Chairman further outlined that the coalitions were a broad tactical maneuver in the broad strategy of overthrowing the existing order by peaceful means. The CPI does not attach any intrinsic value to parliamentarism but, in the existing situation, it is the only correct way.

It is this prospect that awaits fulfilment in the coming elections in West Bengal. The difficulties are many, but they can be overcome. It is precisely in this election where conflicting class interests will be pitted against each other, that the future political path of the country will, in a way, be decided. After prolonged discussion, accord has been reached on allocation of seats, which was preceded by agreement on a common minimum program, between the parties of the United Front.

The coming elections in West Bengal will, therefore, be a severe political test for all the democratic forces in the country. The people look forward to the Left and democratic parties strengthening their unity and providing them with a stable, popular and progressive government.

Sadhan MUKHERJEE

Heroic example of the Communists

Letter from El Salvador

The struggle for political, economic and social demands has been mounting steadily in the country over the past 18 months. The ever deepening economic crisis, the continued penetration of U.S. capital and its deforming effect on the national economy, and the anti-democratic policy of the military regime have made it clear to the working class, to the people generally, that they can win their demands only through militant action.

In the course of these actions the democratic organizations are gaining a stronger foothold, the masses are becoming more politically conscious and organized, are realizing the need to fight for revolutionary objectives and for fundamental reforms. The democratic and revolutionary forces are mustering their forces for the battles ahead against the military tyranny, local oligarchy and American imperialism.

In 1967 the Party of Renovating Action,

the most progressive of all the parties that participated in the elections, received some 70,000 votes, and the biggest vote in the working-class districts.

That year the industrial proletariat, undaunted by the anti-labor legislation, carried out a series of big strikes, something Salvador had not witnessed in more than twenty years. And all of them—the strikes of the taxi drivers, textile workers, municipal and bakery workers, metallurgists, the general strike in April, not to mention many other militant actions—ended in victories for the proletariat.

The year 1967 also saw a new upsurge in the student movement, especially towards the end of the year when the students took a determined stand against the raids on the campus by the National Guard, which were sanctioned by the government of Colonel Sanchez Hernandez.

Mass actions continued to sweep the country in the first three months of this year in support of the teachers' strike which lasted from January to March. These solidarity actions took the form of meetings and demonstrations in which tens of thousands of people participated. Thus, more than 125,000 people took part in the "Great March of the People's Will" alone, held on February 23.

During the strike the teachers besieged the building of the Ministry of Education, demanding that the government recognize their right to organize, and for more than a month occupied one of the capital's central squares to which thousands of workers, students, women and young people flocked daily to voice their support for the strikers and their protest against the government's anti-democratic policy.

In reply to the government measures against the teachers, the National University and many secondary schools declared solidarity strikes. They were supported by the independent unions which first called a 24-hour strike and then a general strike of industrial workers. The authorities retaliated by arresting more than a thousand workers, teachers and students. But they lost the battle, and were compelled to meet most of the teachers' demands.

On February 26, National Guards attacked strikers picketing the factories and killed the student Balmore Saca. On the same day they arrested the trade union leader Saul Santiago Contreras, a textile worker, and on the following day Oscar Gilberto Martinez Carranza, a building worker. Both

labor leaders who were greatly loved by the Salvador proletariat, were brutally tortured and put to death by National Guards, operating under the command of Colonel Jose Alberto Medraño, the CIA man in Salvador.

The funeral of these two comrades turned into a mass demonstration, expressing the people's wrath at the crimes committed by the military government. This wrath was also reflected in the March 10 elections when the bulk of the electorate voted for the Christian-Democrat Party (the Left parties were debarred).

Both Saul Santiago Contreras and Oscar Gilberto Martinez were active members of the Communist Party. By their blood they sealed the ties of unity between the teachers and industrial workers.

The Communist Party of Salvador which has been compelled to work underground ever since 1932, is in the van of the people's struggle for their rights and demands.

Following the line charted by the Fifth Congress, the Party is successfully establishing closer ties with the people, and with the working class in the first place. The people are intensifying the struggle. The progressive trade union movement is rapidly gaining ground in the fight against the discredited pro-imperialist and pro-government syndicalist movements. So is the student movement in its actions in behalf of the rights of the youth and against the government's anti-democratic policy and imperialism's encroachments on national sovereignty. More and more organizations of the youth, women and other sections of the population are appearing.

In an attempt to counter this, pro-imperialist circles have organized bands of fascist thugs to assassinate members of the Communist Party and other revolutionaries and patriots. Operating under Colonel Jose Alberto Medrano, these mercenaries machine-gun the homes of citizens known for their democratic sentiment, plant bombs on the premises of progressive organizations and murder progressives.

In the van of the economic and political struggle, the Communist Party is an inspiration to the people who see the Communists as the true defenders of their interests. The names of Saul Santiago Contreras and Oscar Gilberto Martinez will forever be remembered by the people. Their heroic example is a beacon light to the working class of Salvador in their struggle for a better future.

J.R.

Building the Party in Spain

Hundreds of thousands are involved in the continuing mass actions which began early in 1967. The demonstrations and strike actions of January 27 and October 27, 1967 and, more especially, on the National Struggle Days, April 30 and May 1 and 2, are indicative of the growing strength, better organization and higher mobilization capacity of the new workers' movement.

The latter has been matched by the spread of the student movement, democratic and revolutionary in its orientation. The Democratic Students' Union has won factual recognition in the chief university centers, Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Seville, Saragossa and Santiago de Compostela.

The peasants, too, are intensifying their opposition to the regime and to the monopolies. The manifestations in Castrelo de Mino (Galicia), Santander, the Asturias and other provinces, brought out all the revolutionary energy of Spain's peasant community. They were followed by the big boycott movement in the Duero valley, where the peasants refused to sell their produce at government-fixed prices; the government had no choice but to revoke its decision. In Lerida and Saragossa provinces thousands of peasants successfully fought attempts by big landowners to appropriate their plots. One of the latest developments is the boycott of contributions to the government's bogus agricultural social insurance fund. Peasant committees have been set up in different parts of the country.

The regime is meeting with more vigorous resistance also from the middle class. In Valencia, there have been instances of trades people refusing to pay taxes. In Mieres (Asturias), Tarrasa (Catalonia), Getafe (Madrid) and other towns, shops and small businesses were closed on April 30 in token of solidarity with the workers and students. In several provinces the example set by the working class is being emulated and committees are being formed

to bring together middle-class opposition forces. In short, there is growing sympathy among practically all sections of the population for the workers' and students' revolutionary struggle.

Franco's despotic and anachronistic regime has aroused a sharp feeling of discontent among intellectuals and professionals and on April 30, many of them joined the worker and student demonstrations in Madrid and in other towns. A petition demanding freedom for all Spaniards, signed by thousands of intellectuals was delivered to the Ministry of Information by a delegation of more than 400, headed by one of Spain's leading film personalities, Juan Antonio Bardem.

Progressives among the clergy are playing a growing part in the anti-regime movement. In fact, we can speak of what amounts to a national movement of priests in support of working-class demands. A May Day sermon published by a group of priests in Puerto de Sagunto (Valencia) reads in part:

"May Day imposes on the workers of the world fresh obligations in the battle against all forms of exploitation and injustice. For the working class May Day is the symbol of noble deeds, of efforts to find a way out of the present impasse . . . Every Christian should be inspired by the aspirations of his fellow beings, by their desire for truth, justice and freedom."

A group of army officers recently published an appeal for democratic change. In the latest series of mass actions there were cases of police officers refusing to obey the draconic instructions of the Minister of the Interior, just as they had done during the October 27 demonstrations. Many civil servants have protested against the dictatorship and make no secret of their sympathy with the democratic forces. In fact, resentment against the regime is steadily growing among the bourgeoisie.

It is against this background that broadly representative civic commissions, which in-

clude people of different social status and political orientation, were set up in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Valencia, Saragossa and other cities. Their demand is for an end to the regime and its replacement by a government committed to respect the will and rights of the people.

For the past two years Spain has been shaken by popular demonstrations. Its vanguard, militant and well organized, is acting with more determination, undaunted by clashes with the police. And while it has the sympathy of millions of Spaniards, these have to be brought into active struggle. That, in fact, is one of the central tasks of the Communist Party, the core of the labor and popular movement.

This article examines some aspects of Party activity, recent achievements and problems awaiting solution.

THE PARTY

The Communist Party has used the situation created by the recent demonstrations and strike actions to increase its membership and strengthen its political influence. There are now Party organizations in all of the 50 provinces, though many Communists and sympathizers are still not attached to any definite organization.

In most provinces we have been able to set up Party committees, and many of these are of a high political standard and have displayed initiative and imagination in carrying out the party's policy. That applies in particular to such vital areas as Madrid, the Asturias, Biscay, Seville, Barcelona, Valencia, Saragossa, Malaga, Cadiz, Corunna and other provincial centers. In all of these the Party's prestige has grown. The Central Committee tries to give maximum assistance to provincial leaderships and helps to build up effective Party committees in provinces where they do not yet exist.

Spain is, of course, a multi-national state. Catalonia in the northeast has a population of about four and a half million, concentrated in the four provinces of Barcelona, Tarragona, Lerida and Gerona. The Catalan Communists are organized in the United Socialist Party of Catalonia which subscribes to the same Marxist-Leninist principles, follows the general political line and organizational pattern of the Spanish Communist Party. Catalonia, and notably Barcelona province, is an industrial area with a high concentration of workers. The two years have seen a marked growth of the United Socialist Party, which now has

strong organizations not only in the big industrial centers, but also in rural areas. There can be no question but that the Communists are a major and important political factor of the Catalan opposition.

The Basque country (Euzkadi) in the north has a population of about one and a half million spread over three provinces, Biscay, Guipuzcoa and Alava, and contains Spain's highest concentration of industrial workers. The Communist Party of Euzkadi, a component part of the Spanish Communist Party, enjoys autonomy in carrying out Party policy in adaptation to local conditions. Party membership and influence have grown in such industrial centers as Sestao, Baracaldo, Santurce, Eibar, Zumaraga, Vergara, Renteria and other areas.

Galicia, in the northwest, has a population of about three million living in the four provinces of Corunna, Lugo, Orense and Pontevedra. Galicia is mainly agricultural, and the Communists there are striving to extend their organization by drawing in more peasants, among whom our Party has always been strong. Significant headway has been made in the past two years. The Party is also active among workers and in Ferrol and Corunna it has practically ousted the Social-Democrats and Anarcho-Syndicalists from their dominant positions. In another Galician town, Vigo, where the Party's influence dates back to 1936, it continues to make good progress.

In these three areas the Communist Party is gaining a dominant influence in the working class, among the progressive peasantry, students and intellectuals. It is seen as the most consistent champion of the national rights of the Catalan, Basque and Galician people.

The Party is gaining new members and consolidating its political position also in other parts of the country.

There are, for instance, Party organizations in all the eight Andalusian provinces in the south of the country. The Party is strong among the farm and industrial workers concentrated in such areas as Seville, Cadiz, Cordova and Malaga. In fact, it can be said that in all these areas no other organization, save the Catholics, can match its influence. But we must intensify our work among the peasants. That is a priority task of the Andalusian Communists.

In Castile we are working for stronger organizations among the peasants, who in the past were largely under the sway of

the Right-wing parties. But the Party is the leading force in the big industrial centers and among students and intellectuals. Our Madrid organization has thousands of members and exerts a powerful influence on all sections of the population. Its sound policy, plus the devotion and heroism of its members, have made for bigger achievements than in any other part of Spain. The importance of this progress, in the country's political and administrative center, need hardly be emphasized.

In Valencia and Aragon, where we had to contend with many difficulties two years ago, there has been a notable breakthrough and a fair promise of better results. Many workers in Saragossa and Valencia took part in the recent actions. The scope of the movement can be gauged by the fact that 300 workers were arrested in Valencia and about 100 in Saragossa on May Day.

Another promising development is the growth and strengthening of Party organizations in industry. The Asturia coalfields, the industrial center of Tarrassa, the big factories in Madrid, Seville, Barcelona and Bilbao, and such key enterprises as the Sagunto plant in Valencia, Bazan in Ferrol, Obregozo in Guipazcoa, and Pegaso in Madrid, are becoming — some already are — veritable working-class bastions.

The Party has grown in terms of membership and influence in all the universities. In the main university centers of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Saragossa, Seville, Santiago de Compostela, Bilbao, Valladolid, which have been the focal point of the movement, the Communists are the driving force. And it is thanks to their efforts that the Party has won the trust of thousands of students and of many members of the teaching profession.

One of the salient events of 1967-68 was the rise of political activity among the youth. Young Spain is playing a big part in all the popular movements, with young workers and students well to the fore. Mention has already been made of the growth of the Democratic Students' Union. But it is important to add that young workers' commissions are being set up in factories and in residential areas as a component of the labor movement. Here, too, the initiators have been Young Communists.

In October 1961, in preparation for the spring strike wave, the Party Central Committee decided to establish a Communist Youth League. Today we can sum up some of the results. League organizations have been started in most Spanish provinces and

in Catalonia, Euzkadi and Galicia. Their strength lies not only in the size of their membership, but chiefly in their close association with the youth of Madrid, the Asturias, Seville, Valencia, Las Palmas (Grand Canary), Barcelona, Corunna, Malaga, Cordova, Leon and other areas.

Thousands of young communists working in legal organizations, indeed everywhere the youth is to be found, have established contact with tens of thousands of young people through the youth commissions and the Democratic Students' Union.

Many of those who began their political career in the League now hold responsible posts in the Party. The Communist Youth League has proved a good school for training Party cadres and revolutionary fighters.

And in this context, it should be added that young people hold a prominent place in all Party organizations. Of course, there are still thousands of veterans who continue to play an important part, but most of our cadres are drawn from the youth. In some provinces the average age of Party activists is 25-30 years. Most of our leading people in the big factories and in local and provincial organizations are men and women in the 30-35 age groups, but many of them have been in the Party or the League for at least 10 years.

We make a point of advancing young people to leading positions, for we believe that the revolutionary party of the working class, a party of the new type, should not only encourage young people to take up party work, but should regard this as a prime political task. Several of our Central Committee members are not yet 30, and experience has shown that our last Party congress did not err in electing them.

More women are now joining the Party and the Youth League. And it is gratifying to know that at all Party levels there is a more correct understanding of the role women, and in particular Party members, play in the fight against the dictatorship and for democracy. The sectarian attitudes which in the past militated against recruiting women have now, on the whole, been overcome, though survivals still persist in some places.

Girls make up 30 per cent of the Communist Youth League and the student movement, and many have proved enthusiastic, capable and knowledgeable leaders. Girls are active also in the young workers' commissions and the Democratic Students' Union and have a conspicuous part in all

mass activities—they can be found carrying the Red Flag at the head of processions in defiance of the police.

It need hardly be added that the Party encourages this policy of bringing in more women. We are doing everything to overcome the survivals of the old sectarian attitude. We always emphasize that the history of the Spanish labor and revolutionary movement is replete with examples of the supreme loyalty and militancy of our women. That tradition and patient day-to-day work have enabled us to enlist the support of increasing numbers of women—workers, peasants, students and intellectuals.

COMMUNISTS IN THE MASS MOVEMENT

Writing in *Nuestra Bandera* late last year, Santiago Carrillo discussed the experience of the October 27 demonstrations in Madrid, Tarrasa and other towns. "We have had occasion to note," he wrote, "that we owe the success of mass movements to their participants. But the Party is the yeast and salt of these movements. Wherever the Communists act together with the masses, correctly assess the situation and correctly apply the Party's policy, mass movements are vigorous and effective. Conversely, where Communists are not adequately linked with the masses, where there is no proper understanding of our policy and tactics, the movement tends to split. In the first case, the Communists effectively carry out their vanguard role. In the second, they do not. In the first case, they are the leading and organizing factor, setting an example that inspires hundreds and thousands. In the second case, their indecision and hesitation have an adverse effect."

This is a question of the utmost importance in present-day conditions. The Communist role in the mass movement has doubtlessly grown in the past two years, and this has contributed to the scope of the movement.

However, we still have to overcome certain resistance, especially in the provinces, where some comrades are blind to the changes taking place in Spain. Some regard the situation from standpoints that were valid a few years ago but are not valid now.

We are surmounting these difficulties through extensive educational work and by popularizing the good examples of mass work.

Step by step, the Spanish Communists are winning the right to come out openly, in the name of the Party. The authorities find it more and more difficult to prosecute people for expressing their views. And it is becoming more difficult to keep the mass movement in check. That was evidenced by the April 30 and May 1 and 2 demonstrations, before and during which more than 2,000 people were arrested, but with very few exceptions were soon released—the result of angry public reaction and the government's fear of the movement. Both are further proof of the isolation of the regime.

That is not to say that the repressions have stopped. By no means. There are still hundreds in prison and hundreds more awaiting trial. Marcelino Camacho, leader of the workers' commissions, and Manolin Otones of Asturias, Ariza of Madrid, Escobedo, the brothers Ibarrola and David Morin of Bilbao, Carlos Nunez of Vigo and many others have been in prison for over a year. Communist leaders Narciso Julian, Jose Sandoval, Ramon Ormazabal, Pedro Ardiaca, Jorge Conill, Timoteo Sanchez, Luis Gil, Victoriano Diez Cardiel, Angel Martinez, Luis Perez and many more have been in jail for a number of years. The campaign for their release goes hand in hand with the popular movement in support of economic and political demands. The political detainees, those fighters for the people's rights, are the pride of Spain's democratic and revolutionary movement. These courageous men and women, unjustly kept behind prison bars, will tomorrow—and that tomorrow may come very soon—become leaders of trade unions and other mass organizations.

Despite the repressions, we are dealing with an absolutely new situation. Fighting side by side with the Communists are Catholics, Catalan and Basque nationalists, Syndicalists, and many more people not affiliated to any party or organization. Fighting together with the working class are peasants, students, professional people and a sizeable segment of the middle class. The battle is being joined by many who only recently cooperated with the regime. For instance, the influential newspaper Madrid was fined and confiscated recently for carrying an article by Professor Calvo Serer of Opus Dei in which, analyzing the events in France, he drew conclusions that had a very meaningful relevance to the situation in Spain.

We believe the people must not only

know us, they must see us at the head of the mass movement. We make it our duty always and everywhere to popularize our policy, show how the old institutions can be replaced, fight for a fair deal for the worker in the factory, the peasant in the village, the student in the university.

Our aim is to come out into the open, take over the positions the enemy is forced to cede, develop the mass movement, dramatize the connection between immediate demands and ultimate goals, and, last but not least, initiate higher forms of struggle to meet changing situations.

Demonstrators in many provinces carried red flags bearing the Hammer and Sickle. The slogan "Franco no, Freedom yes!" was repeated by thousands. Attacks by the police and the Civil Guard were met by a hail of stones. In some places students and young workers threw up barricades.

We take every precaution, naturally, to protect our underground organization and committees and prevent infiltration of police stooges.

RECRUITING FOR THE PARTY

The Party and the Communist Youth League must be constantly strengthened. A resolution of the Party Executive Committee published in April 1967 says:

"An end must be put to the erroneous conception that to be a Communist one must possess exceptional qualities. Every revolutionary-minded worker whose sense of dignity, humanity and readiness to stand up against tyranny has earned him the trust of his comrades, every one prepared to fight for better conditions for the workers and the people generally, can and should be a member of the Party. And experience has shown that these qualities are not the monopoly of a small group. To be a Communist means to be a human being in the truest and broadest sense of the word."

Of course, new members are expected to subscribe to the Party program and status. But considering the specific conditions of Spain, we lay more emphasis on the above-mentioned qualities. Our political maturity is sufficient guarantee against any infiltration by alien trends and individuals. It will not be an exaggeration to say that thousands of men and women in every province are prepared to accept the principles of Marxism-Leninism and are potential Party members. It remains for us to contact them and bring them into the

Party or the Communist Youth League.

True, we have to contend with difficulties, not always—and certainly not mainly—of an objective nature. For there are still comrades who do not appreciate the urgency and importance of increasing the Party's numerical strength. They do not realize that in the present situation numerical strength means improving the quality of all political work. Some comrades accept this in theory but do very little in practice to win over mass-movement activists.

On the whole recruiting is still spontaneous and this tells on the quantity and quality of new members.

But we are working patiently and perseveringly to overcome these difficulties by improving the quality of political work in all our organizations. All our experience shows that everywhere there are opportunities for building big Party organizations, and where we are active our link with the masses is much stronger and the popular movement grows in strength, scope and militancy and is in a better position to stand up to police repression.

All these adverse circumstances notwithstanding, the Party has grown substantially in the past two years, and has been especially successful in enlisting young people. Some provincial organizations have doubled their membership, and the Communist Youth League has registered even bigger gains. We are convinced that there are still vast untapped potentialities and that the Party's growth can be accelerated. We aim at mass organizations in every part of the country, like those in Madrid, the Asturias, Seville and in other areas.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS LEFTIST GROUPS

A motley collection of Leftist groups has cropped up in Spain in recent years. Some have been short-lived, others have changed their signboards but not their politics. At present there are ten or twelve such groups in various parts of the country, each with a tiny membership and none with anything resembling a national organization. Most are made up of middle class youth, are active in the universities but have made no noticeable headway among workers and peasants. This does not, of course, apply to the Catholic democratic movement which in some cases exerts a definite influence on part of the working class and peasantry.

In the Basque country there is an active nationalist organization, ETA, composed of

young middle-class people. It is especially active in exposing the bourgeois and reactionary character of the former Basque Nationalist Party, of which, incidentally, some of its leaders were members. The ETA tries to dramatize its nationalist slogans and has shown utter contempt for mass action. Some of its leaders advocate secession from Spain and the formation of a Basque state which would include some French provinces. Its discussions usually end in a split.

In some provinces these Leftist groups call themselves National-Liberation Fronts. They are active chiefly in university centers and have so far been unable to bring together even four or five NLF groups in a single organization. Their members share in mass actions, the workers' commissions and the Democratic Students' Union. The groups profess to be socialist, actually they are ultra Left and, more often than not, anti-Communist. There are small nationalist groups in Catalonia, Galicia, Valencia and in other areas.

None of these groups has a national organization; their total membership is very small and their future uncertain.

However, it should be borne in mind that these groups are made up of young people who hate the dictatorship and are often subjected to its repressive measures. And though their political views and tactical concepts are vague and erroneous, we must pay tribute to their anti-Franco sentiment and revolutionary verve. Most of their members eventually accept socialism and the Marxist ideology, subjects on which there is still much confusion among them.

Many of the young people who began by joining these groups are now respected members of the Communist Party. We are thus in a position accurately to judge the nature of the Leftist groups.

And our attitude is clear: we do not reject cooperation with them in the fight against the dictatorship, and particularly in the mass movement. But we challenge their erroneous Leftist conceptions and take a firm principled stand on the paramount problems of the Spanish revolution.

We feel sure that these Leftist trends will be overcome not only by ideological work, which, of course, must be conducted systematically, but also as a result of practical experience and implementation of our policy. Last but not least, Leftism will be overcome with the development of the

mass movement, in which the Communists play a leading part.

The Chinese leaders' factional activity has had meagre results in Spain. True, 30 or 40 young Party members living abroad succumbed to the Chinese propaganda, but in Spain itself it has affected only a few students and this was exploited by demoralized elements to call for withdrawals from the Party. So far the factionalists have not been able to set up a united organization, let alone advance a political program in opposition to that of the Communist Party. More, part of those who had been taken in by this demagogic propaganda have returned to the Communist Party, others have withdrawn from the movement altogether. The Party reckons with those who, while remaining in these groups, honestly participate in mass movements, though, of course, it exposes their preposterous ideas. On the whole, it can be said that the divisive activities inspired and lavishly financed by China have ended in a fiasco.

Like other capitalist countries, Spain has its professional anti-Communists, operating in diverse guises. Financed by the CIA and by Franco's secret police, their job is to slander the Communist Party and to impede its development. But they do not present any great danger: they meet with a stern rebuff not only from Communists, but also from members of other parties and political groups and are being increasingly isolated, so that their subversive activities become more and more difficult.

PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

The Party's central organ, *Mundo Obrero*, is published in most provinces and its more than 50,000 copies are passed from hand to hand and reach every part of the country. *Mundo Obrero* is known and read by workers, peasants, students, professionals and many middle-class people.

Our theoretical and political journal, *Nuestra Bandera*, has a large readership and enjoys a reputation for the quality of its journalism. Its circulation is about 20,000.

Provincial committees in the Asturias, Barcelona, Seville and Las Palmas run their own newspapers, which deal with specific problems and popularize the Party's general policy. The United Socialist Party of Catalonia has its own central organ, *Treball*, and in the Basque country the Party

publishes the *Euzkadi Obrera*. Our Galician comrades publish newspapers and bulletins less regularly. The Communist Youth League paper, *Horizonte*, is supplemented by ten provincial publications.

We are working to make our papers, magazines, bulletins and other propaganda vehicles available to everyone everywhere. We consider this a priority task.

All our propaganda carefully takes into account local conditions. In other words, analysis of the general situation and explanation of the Party's policy is paralleled by examination in depth of concrete problems concerning a given locality or section of the population.

Two two latest books of our General Secretary, "After Franco, What?" and "New Approach to Spain's Problems," are widely known. In fact, it is true to say that very few books published in Spain have enjoyed such a wide readership. Thousands of copies have been sold in every part of the country.

Millions of Spaniards listen every day to Radio Espana Independiente. The reputation it enjoys can be judged from the fact that it is customarily referred to as Radio Verdad (Radio Truth).

The situation in Spain calls for direct mass political agitation. The Party's slogan is: "Every Communist must be a political agitator!" We want the voice of the Party heard in every factory, shop, building site, mine; in every university and institute, in every educational center. Our comrades should use every opportunity to explain the policy of the Party and the Youth League. They should initiate in every village bold action against the regime, which is to blame for peasant poverty. Every action of the government has to be exposed as part of its reactionary policy.

Political agitation is thus a matter of the utmost urgency.

FIRM UNITY

The unity of our Party is firm and unshakeable. That has been traditional in the Spanish Communist movement. Even in the tragic days of 1939, when tens of thousands of Communists were arrested, tortured, murdered, when many had to flee the country—even in these conditions unity was steadfastly maintained. Every attempt to undermine it resulted in the exposure and isolation of its perpetrators.

Today, too, unity is an essential condition for victory in the fight against the

Franco dictatorship and for its replacement by a society based on justice. Unity of the Party's will or, in other words, Party discipline, is consciously accepted by all its members, both young and old.

True, underground conditions necessarily limit the application of democratic centralism, and in the present circumstances centralism prevails over democracy, but Party members realize that this is an unavoidable necessity.

Yet, notwithstanding illegality and the difficulties it creates, the Party leadership encourages, indeed facilitates, political discussion in all organizations, supports their initiative and stimulates criticism and self-criticism as the only effective instrument for revealing and eliminating shortcomings in our work. Before adopting any decision our leadership solicits the opinion of as many comrades as possible. It does not tolerate dictation or paternalism on the part of leading Committees, resolutely opposes bureaucratic methods, and advances to responsible positions young members whose work and ability have won them the confidence of their comrades.

Strengthening Party unity is intimately connected with observance of the Leninist norms of Party life, and this receives constant attention in our Party.

The Party, which has a membership of tens of thousands, takes pride in its activists, courageous fighters supremely devoted to the working-class cause, always searching for the new, always studying, determined to enrich our policy, exacting towards themselves and others. They respect their comrades, listen to their views, and are always prepared to discuss new proposals. They are men and women who devote all their time, energies and knowledge to the struggle. These are real Communists, real revolutionaries, whose example is admired and emulated. We are proud that our Party has such people in its ranks.

Our membership learns from the day-to-day struggle, but also from the experience of the international Communist movement. And we never forget that there is the great Soviet Union, the October Revolution, the Party forged by Lenin. It stands as a beacon for all Communists and revolutionaries. Friendship with the great Soviet people and its steered vanguard, the CPSU, is the sacred duty of the Party and of every Spanish Communist.

Eduardo GARCIA

San Marino Communists in congress

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of San Marino, held in April, examined the economic and political problems of our ancient republic in context with the worldwide struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The discussion revealed the gravity of the international situation resulting from U.S. imperialism's attempts to push through its aggressive global strategy.

The United States is applying that strategy in Vietnam, now the focal point of international affairs. It is being countered by popular solidarity with the Vietnamese, and the Congress noted that the Vietnam conflict has become the demarcation line between the forces of peace and war, democracy and imperialist oppression, socialism and capitalism.

The Congress emphasized that the victories of the Vietnamese people were possible thanks only to the extensive economic, political and diplomatic assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

American imperialism, the Congress further stated, finds itself in a political, military and economic crisis when the forces of democracy, peace and socialism unite and isolate it in the eyes of world opinion. The fight against imperialism and for peaceful coexistence stimulates the effort for far-reaching structural reform in Western Europe.

This has been fully corroborated by events since the Congress, notably the big strike actions in leading Italian industries and the movement against the Gaullist regime in France. They effectively refute the contention that the working class is being "integrated" in the capitalist system and that the revolutionary forces are outside that system.

The facts show that in Western Europe the working class, together with the students and peasants, is waging a decisive anti-capitalist struggle for socialism, which creates a real danger of crisis for the capitalist system.

On the other hand, the demand for deep-going structural reforms comes not only from the Marxists. A large segment of Catholic opinion is urging progressive solu-

lutions for social problems that cannot be solved within the framework of capitalism.

All these problems were discussed at the Congress. The delegates came to the conclusion that today imperialism does not play a decisive role in international politics. But we should never forget that imperialism has not changed, and we should not therefore underestimate its strength and the danger it offers. The new alignment of forces enables the anti-imperialist and socialist front to impose peaceful coexistence, which would make it possible to carry out far-reaching structural reforms and advance socialist democracy in large areas of the world.

In its report to Congress, the Party Central Committee says: "All these new developments create the foundation for a new alignment of forces. They signify realization of the policy mapped out by the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, which, having established the possibility of avoiding war and imposing peaceful coexistence, called for broad development of socialist democracy."

The discussion now taking place in the socialist countries has revealed increasing acceptance—albeit in a new form—of the need for close contact between the development of socialist consciousness and administration of the economy, the need to promote initiative and democratic mass participation in both of these processes.

It would be absurd to believe that the economic reforms now being carried out in these countries signify a return to capitalism. The very opposite is true. The European socialist countries have entered a new and higher phase of development. Its chief characteristics are consolidation of socialism and efforts to bring out its vast advantages.

Last but not least, the Seventh Congress of our Party discussed unity of the Communist movement. It pointed out that, at a time when the effort for peace and socialism is gaining momentum throughout the West, it is especially important to re-establish and consolidate united action against the aggressive forces of imperialism.

San Marino Communists emphatically reject dogmatism and nationalistic chauvinism. They attach immense importance

to unity in diversity, to the independence of every Party choosing the time and methods of winning power and building socialism. However, they also stress the vital need—confirmed by the recent victories—to strengthen the unity of the Communist and anti-imperialist movement on a basis of peaceful coexistence.

This is a task of the utmost importance and it will confront the International Conference when it opens in Moscow on November 25. It is to be hoped that, without resorting to excommunication and outright condemnation, the conference will take a long step towards that goal.

* * *

The changed balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism, collapse of the myth of U.S. superiority, isolation of the war forces and the failure of anti-communism, are all salient features of the present international situation. And it is these new factors that are largely responsible for the deep crisis of the Christian-Democrat regime in Italy, as evidenced by the Communist success in the recent parliamentary elections. It is against this background that we have urged a new policy for San Marino, a democratic and socialist alternative to the present government coalition.

San Marino's geographic position and small size dictate close ties with Italy. Nonetheless, our republic can, and should, pursue an independent policy in external and internal affairs. However, the policy of the Christian-Democrats and their Social-Democrat allies has virtually placed the republic under Italian tutelage.

It will be recalled that in 1957, following the split in the Socialist Party, the lawful Communist-Socialist government was overthrown by a group of adventurers from the Christian-Democrat Party, supported by Italian reaction. This minority has been able to maintain itself in power due to the fraudulent electoral law. It allows San Marinians living abroad to take part in the elections, with the result that the Christian-Democrats polled about nine per cent of votes which could not be verified. Furthermore, the Christian-Democrats were supported by the Italian government, even by the U.S. government.

But for all that, the Center-Left experiment in Italy was not duplicated in San Marino. For the Socialist Party (after the split in the Social-Democrat organization) refused to sever its ties with the Communist Party, or join a government together with the Social-Democrats.

In 1966 there was a sharp quarrel between the Christian-Democrats and their Social-Democrat allies. However, the latter soon returned to the government, the fraudulent electoral law was repealed.

This brief flash-back to history will explain to the reader why today our republic has been reduced to the level of a modest administrative unit of Italy, deprived of all independence and cruelly exploited by the Italian monopolies.

This new "structure" rests on a peculiar customs arrangement. Customs inspection has been abolished, and a fixed duty is collected on all goods crossing the border. This is much more advantageous to Italy than to San Marino. Apart from everything else, it virtually eliminates the sovereignty of our republic, with its thousand-year history of freedom and independence.

These are some of the factors that determine our Party's policy, as confirmed by the Seventh Congress. And that policy is to initiate, jointly with all democratic, socialist, secular and Catholic forces and with due account to their common interests, a campaign for a new agreement based on respect of San Marino's sovereign rights and designed to facilitate its economic, political, social and cultural progress.

The discussion about our specific road to socialism can produce no practical results until our independence is restored. For without economic independence there can be no real political independence, which is crucial to the building of a socialist society. The problem is acquiring increasing urgency, and we feel that there are realistic possibilities for its solution.

The loss of political independence and economic subjection to Italian capital have had a grievous effect on political and social life. The government is motivated entirely by vassal submission to Italy, paternalism and anti-communism. Our many small enterprises are mostly controlled by Italian capital, attracted by the advantages offered it by the government. Italian corporative associations are deeply entrenched in the economy. The government is doing nothing to alter the situation.

It has no economic program, though it is investing huge sums in unproductive enterprises that add nothing to the national income and only accentuate vassal dependence on Italy and retard economic progress.

Agriculture is in a state of profound crisis. There is a mass spontaneous exodus from the farms. Attempts to found capital-

ist-type agricultural enterprises have only aggravated the crisis.

Destruction of our ancient urban structure in the interests of land speculators is causing great material damage and is leading to the gradual demolition of historical monuments. Our schools, organized on the Italian pattern, are having a very hard time. Culture is conspicuous by its absence. The tourist trade, our most important money earner, remains unstable, though it could be organized on a more permanent basis.

San Marino has traditionally been a centralized state, but now, deprived of the necessary revenue, this has proved anachronistic.

All this has aroused widespread discontent, not only among workers, but also among tradesmen and artisans. The resentment has spread to the Social-Democrat and Christian-Democrat parties and is especially strong among students and progressive-minded intellectuals. The decisions of the Second Vatican Council have freed many Catholics of the fear of excommunication for political activity, and this has led to an increasingly constructive and concrete dialogue about a democratic future for San Marino.

In this situation, Congress called on the people of San Marino to build a broad alliance of all democratic forces for a democratic alternative to the present government coalition. The reaffirmed unity of the Communist and Socialist parties will be the backbone of the alliance.

And this unity is especially important now, after the crushing election defeat of the Italian United Socialist Party. The elections showed that cooperation in the government with moderate Christian-Democrats whose sole concern is to help the ruling class, causes widespread indignation among the people and the loss of confidence in the party.

The platform of the alliance, the Communists suggest, should be democratic economic programming based on a general agrarian reform as the starting point of economic progress. This is important because our agriculture is confined to a narrow range of crops, and agrarian reform could do much to develop the food and other industries and thereby stabilize employment and eliminate uneven development as between urban and rural communities.

In general outline, the Communist proposals envisage the following:

1. An agrarian policy designed to re-fashion the structure of agriculture and create an administrative and production system that would stimulate general development through voluntary cooperation.

2. Expropriation of land to help housing construction and prevent land speculation.

3. Establishment of a credit bank to provide long-term loans to assist economic development. The bank should be based on the existing savings-bank system and supervised by a committee appointed by the Grand Council (parliament). Furthermore, the bank should be financed jointly by the state and existing credit institutions.

4. Organization of a state Chamber of Commerce to coordinate and direct the activity of the appropriate government agencies, and also of industrial, agricultural and artisan enterprises.

5. A plan to boost tourism, envisaging the safeguarding of historical and artistic monuments and the construction of more facilities to encourage non-transit tourism.

6. A new budget policy to make the budget an effective instrument of democratic economic programming. The budget should be drawn up for the calendar year in order to bring it into conformity with our national statistics and administrative requirements.

7. Immediate revision of the pension system, with larger old-age and invalid pensions. Abolition of all charity pensions—every citizen must have the right to a decent life.

8. A new progressive tax system, with steeper taxation of big incomes and no taxation of low incomes.

9. Considering the nature of our society, a date should be fixed for the establishment of institutions to guarantee respect for the rights and obligations of citizens, their participation in the affairs of state, comprehensive control of the administrative authority and legislative activity to assure that laws conform to the Constitution. There must be a proper division of authority, complete independence of the courts and promotion of democracy through election to local government bodies with administrative powers.

10. A new foreign policy to guarantee the rights of our sovereign and independent state. San Marino and its people must always side with all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces working for international peace and security.

The Congress devoted special attention

to our school system, insisting that it be reorganized along democratic lines to meet the requirements of the renewal of the state and society. Tuition should be based on scientific principles and complemented by vocational training.

The Congress singled out as a priority task the framing and enactment of a new democratic electoral law. But this can be achieved only if parliamentary activity is backed by mobilization of the masses. The return to direct franchise by secret ballot and to democratic representation in parliament could, considering the declining Christian-Democrat influence, result in the emergence of a new Left majority, and this would create the prerequisites for reforms that would enable San Marino to advance towards socialism.

That is why the search for our path to socialism—in a country that has several parties and accepts the principles of alternative government—is not merely a propaganda slogan, but a concrete goal for today and tomorrow.

The tasks set by the Seventh Congress

necessitate constant improvement of the ideological and political training of Party cadres and members.

Contact with the masses and inner-Party discussions have given more clarity and weight to our policy. But there is still need for more mature unity based on the political obligations and ideological understanding of our membership, and on work among the masses.

We must steadily improve inner-Party relations, striving for maximum democracy and maximum member participation in shaping policy. This should go hand in hand with unity and political and organizational discipline, which are essential to political initiative. Democratic centralism, therefore, remains the underlying principle of Party organization and activity.

These principles will guide the Communist Party of San Marino in its sustained efforts for a new Left majority and towards its goal of setting our republic on the socialist path.

Ermenegildo GASPERONI

Human rights in Human Rights Year, 1968

D. N. PRITT

The adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 represented an advance in the expression of hope and resolve for the improvement of man's economic and cultural life; it was splendid that agreement was reached on the terms of the Declaration, whose twentieth anniversary was celebrated recently by an international human rights conference in Teheran.

It is good, too, that the year of the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration should have been proclaimed as Human Rights Year. And, when we seek to examine the position of Human Rights today, we have to face the realities—often hard and disagreeable—of the actual position in various countries.

These realities, and the problems which they present differ greatly as between socialist and capitalist states. I can best summarize these differences by quoting what I wrote about them twelve years ago:*

"A capitalist state of the democratic type (and there are only a few of this type) proclaims and seeks the liberties which seem good to that small minority of its citizens who form its ruling class: the freedom to trade, to employ or not to employ, to work if someone will employ you, to strike or to lock-out; to exploit, to invest; to own property in land and in the means of production, to buy or sell such property freely, and to live idly on the labor of others if your property permits; to express opinions, to exercise (if you can) monopoly rights and powers in relation to the public expression, distortion, and suppression of opinion, whether in the press or over the air; to travel if you can afford; to live where you can afford. Such a state, if of the democratic type aforesaid, will further proclaim, but will not 'strive officiously' to establish, freedom

from discrimination on the ground of opinion, belief, color, or race . . .

"Moreover, in a capitalist state civil liberties* tend to be regarded—it is perhaps their best feature—as something which the citizens possess as a shield against governments which (being executive committees of the minority ruling class) are thought of as *prima facie* hostile to the majority of the citizens. There is a profound historical reason for this. The doctrines of civil liberty in England, for example, were first asserted and fought for on a large scale by the bourgeoisie in their struggle against the stifling tyranny of the feudal state in its final, absolutist form of the Stuart monarchy. The modern working class, directly it began to come into existence in the second half of the 18th century, took up the fight against the far more efficient tyranny of the bourgeois oligarchy—the Pitts and Castlereaghs, the Disraelis and Salisburys; and really all our present-day civil liberties, so far as the mass of the people are concerned, have been won by the struggle of the working class over the last 150 years."

This statement of the English position is, I think, broadly applicable to all capitalist states of the democratic type.

Let us consider how Human Rights are in fact dealt with today in capitalist, developing, and socialist states respectively.

The elimination of racial and color discrimination may not logically come up first for consideration, but racism is so infectious, so dangerous, and so widespread in the capitalist countries, and looms so largely in the minds of decent men in the "Western" world, that I feel I must take it first.

In the capitalist world, the position in this field has probably worsened in recent years, and is certainly worse than it was twenty years ago. This is only to be ex-

*Labour Monthly, July 1956, pp. 302-9.

*The phrase "civil liberties" is used in Britain to describe what in many countries are called Human Rights.

pected, for capitalist economies are in the main in greater crisis as part of the general crisis of capitalism, and racial prejudices and incitements are both economic in origin and well adapted to be offered by ruling classes as safety-valves to their populations angrily suffering from unemployment and other evils of present-day capitalist life; moreover, in states such as South Africa, where minority white communities seek to maintain political and economic control over the majority of the population there is the added element of fear of the loss of control if even the least advance is won by the majority.

I must consider separately the position in one or two of the more important capitalist states, beginning with the USA, the materially richest country in the world, with some 40,000,000 of its population, of whom most but not all are colored, living below the line of adequate nourishment. The soil is fertile for racism; any idea of genuine equality for colored citizens is a mockery, their incomes, their housing, their educational opportunities, the occupations open to most of them, and their levels of unemployment are all markedly worse than those of their white fellow-citizens. Ironically, it is in the war in Vietnam—the costs of which tend to destroy any immediate prospect of improvement in their economic position — that they achieve something near to equality; the proportion of colored men in the combatant forces, and of the casualties they suffer, is above that of the whites. And the only means available to the colored people to register their protests and to demand remedies is to demonstrate publicly at the risk of being shot down by white police and troops too often deliberately imbued with the racist theory that colored people are not wholly human and not entitled to equality in any field, and that even their lives matter little. The atmosphere is indeed growing so bad that decent whites in the USA look forward with dread to what may happen in 1968 and 1969, and many of them even foresee a substantial breakdown in the life of their country by the end of those years.

In South Africa and in the illegally governed Rhodesia, Africans and Asians are deprived of almost every human right by open Apartheid regimes, and already see clearly that their only remedy lies in civil war.

In Britain, where the colored population has been growing for some years, although it is still only about two per cent

of the total population, the economic position of the Africans and Asians is not unbearably bad (and is in any case better, in mere economic terms, than the poverty they left in their countries of origin); they can in general find work, mainly it is true in the more poorly-paid industries, such as hospitals and public transport and general unskilled work, but there is severe discrimination against them in respect both of promotion in their existing trades and of access to all better-paid work. How badly they will suffer if—as is quite possible—the economy moves into slump it is unhappy to contemplate. In housing, too, they suffer from wide-spread discrimination, which leads to their being crowded into areas of inferior housing which are not unreasonably called ghettos and provide fertile soil for racist propaganda. The situation is rendered much worse by wicked and deliberate incitement of racist passions of the sort which has led to persecutions and pogroms in many countries and at many periods, directed against Jews, Irishmen, and innumerable other minorities. It has been seen, too, that this wicked incitement has affected not only the bourgeoisie but some workers, by playing on their fears of losing their jobs or having their wages lowered by reason of the presence of even a few “non-British” people.

Coming now to the position in the developing states, there is naturally little racist discrimination, since most of their populations are homogeneous.

The Socialist countries, whose populations nearly always contain numerous national minorities, present a vivid contrast. For them, the safeguarding of the dignity of man, which permeates the whole Declaration and is emphasized in the Preamble and in at least five of the Articles, is part of their human and humanistic outlook, and there is no racist or color discrimination.

The next Human Right I take for consideration is the right to a good standard of living, on the achievement whereof depends in reality the winning of almost every other Human Right; with this I can group the right to own property. Here I can take the major capitalist countries in one group. In terms of economic capacity, they are all fully able to give all sections of their populations a good and secure standard of living, and indeed they are several times more able to do so than when they signed the Declaration twenty years ago. In the light of the great increase in productivity in these two decades, all these

countries are behaving much worse than before. The grotesque mal-distribution both of annual incomes and of ownership of property—it is ironical that the right to own property proclaimed in the Declaration should give superficial justification to such horrors—makes a tiny percentage of the population of these states indecently rich, and leaves the vast majority of the people without any property beyond a few consumption goods, an unjust and unnecessarily low standard of living, a little real security. And the disproportion grows worse. Inevitably, as industry, investment, politics—in short, the whole economy—is ever more tightly controlled by ever fewer and larger monopolies, the position becomes more and more antagonistic to the spirit and letter of the Declaration; and the shilling by shilling struggle carried on by the working masses, through their trade unions and sometimes also through their parliamentary representatives, to secure for themselves a better proportion of the huge total output of the country's industries is met by the class-war enemy entrenched in these vast monopolies, who resist every attempted advance with ever greater power and are able—especially in Britain—to enlist even Labor governments to fight the battle on their side.

As for the developing countries, whether they are governed by their own bourgeoisie, as in India, or by military dictatorships supported by capitalist powers, as in Ghana, or by indigenous popular governments, or by the undisguised domination of foreign capitalist powers, as in most Latin American countries, the standard of living is almost everywhere unbearably low, and almost everywhere growing worse. These countries suffer, as part of their heritage from colonial or colonialist rule, from poverty so deep—rendered more horrible, in a few countries such as India, by the fabulous wealth of a tiny minority—that they cannot hope to raise their standards by their own resources more than minimally, and have to look for aid from abroad. At present, all the foreign aid they can get is generally either capitalist finance with onerous “strings,” and too small in quantity even to offset the enormous profits that capitalists draw from buying their products at very low prices fixed by capitalists; the instances where capitalist states have not succeeded in blackmailing them into refusing aid without strings from socialist states—e.g., the great Soviet aid in the construction of the Aswan Dam in the United Arab Repub-

lic—are not numerous enough to alter greatly the general unhappy position.

Then, the socialist countries. Nearly all of them started their life poor and industrially weak; nearly all of them have had to economize for many years on consumer goods in order to build up the industries necessary to ensure both good standards of living in the future and the capacity to resist invasion; all of them suffered terribly in the Second World War and passed through many hard years thereafter, and they are still compelled by the hostility of the major capitalist states—including the subversive activities fomented and carried on by the Central Intelligence Agency of the USA—to incur great military expenditure. And yet all of them, as a matter of principle and conviction, are devoted to securing the best possible standards for all their people, and it is probably already true that the poorest sections of their population are better off than many of the inhabitants of even the most prosperous capitalist countries. There is no class working to impoverish any other class, and standards are at the highest level that the resources of each country can achieve within the limitations imposed by the need for defense expenditure imposed on them by capitalist hostility. Personal property is adequately safeguarded; and large accumulations of property are of course not to be found in private hands.

The next head of Rights to be examined is that of the right to work, the genuine realization whereof can make almost all the difference between frustration and suicidal despair on the one hand and a reasonable human existence on the other. Here again I can take the capitalist countries as one group. There, as I stated in my article quoted above, everyone has the right to work if and only if some employer chooses to hire him, and his pay and other conditions of work are fixed in a perpetual bargaining conflict between employers who want to pay as little as possible and the worker or his trade union who will seek to win the best terms possible in the actual situation of relative strengths. Among the elements of the employers' strength are that it is they who determine how much or how little production shall be carried on, and their efficiency or inefficiency that determines their success in getting orders; and that it may often suit them to invest their capital in other countries where wages are cheaper and leave their own workers unemployed. Moreover it is to their interest, often publicly admitted, so

to arrange the economy that there is never full employment, but always a "pool" of men without work, in order to reduce the strength of the unions in bargaining, and indeed also "to enable us to discipline the men, and to keep them in their place"; this all forms part, one may think, of their loyal observance of the provisions of the Declaration that they and their workers are free and equal in dignity and rights and should act towards each other in a spirit of brotherhood, and that their workers have a right to work, to just and favorable conditions of work, and to protection against unemployment. Any idea that the employers should recognize a moral duty to achieve the greatest possible production in the interests of the prosperity of the whole community is naturally strange to those who order their whole lives on the basis of private profit.

Another bad feature is that in most capitalist countries even the worker who is at work has virtually no right to retain his job, i.e., no right to insist that he shall not be dismissed unless he is guilty of misconduct, without substantial compensation. In a number of these countries, the position has been improving gradually, by legal provision for the payment of at any rate some compensation, but there is still a long way to go.

In the developing countries, the position is much the same as in the capitalist countries, with the sad difference that, with the very low standard of living, the effects of unemployment are even more terrible, that the gap in wealth and power between employer and worker is greater, and that the trade unions, if they are there at all, are weaker.

In the socialist states, it is a matter of deliberate policy, and of economic advantage, that every man and woman should have and should exercise the real right to work. And it is of course the policy of the ruling class—the whole people—that everyone should not merely have work but should work under conditions and for pay which are such as to serve the general good of all. The right not to be dismissed without fault is an integral part of the life of the community. (I remember another trial in Moscow, where a man who was obviously a most unreasonable and difficult person to work with was complaining that he had been dismissed without cause; the case was tried carefully, and the man succeeded because there was no specific misconduct on his part that sufficed to justify dismissal.)

Then come equal pay for equal work, and the prohibition of discrimination on the ground of sex, two points which, in the capitalist world, are nearly identical.

In the capitalist countries, at any rate in the more developed ones, the right to enter any profession and most other general rights—including in most cases the right to vote—are by now freely conceded to women; but in actual practice many economic conditions and not a little prejudice present substantial difficulties for women who seek to practice professions. In the larger field of equal pay for equal work, lip-service is paid to the right, but it has by no means been fully established in most countries; however, ground is slowly being gained, and by now the most important grievance is probably no longer actual difference in pay for the same work, but the herding of women mainly into the more poorly-paid jobs, and the parallel continuance of low wages in industries mainly staffed by women. (And even in industries where equal pay is fully conceded, it is common for employers to try to grade jobs which are really identical as different, so that they can pay women less without appearing to break the principle.)

In the developing countries, the position is naturally worse.

In the socialist countries, the principle is so fully realized in actual practice that when any foreigner asks if this is really the case the Soviet citizen is simply bewildered by the question. The most that any critic could assert would be that the industries where most women are employed are those where the pay is rather below the average; and even then there would be little truth in the charge.

Then we reach the very important field of freedom of expression, assembly, and association. The developed capitalist countries in general proclaim, or at least accept, the principle, and the situation looks good on the surface; but once again the reality is unsatisfactory.

The most important of these freedoms is that of expression in the periodical press, radio and television. These are all in the hands of predominantly "establishment-minded" tycoons or of the ordinary minority ruling class. Thus, the boasted "freedom of the press," boldly described by British official publications as "sacrosanct," and in its narrow sense meaning that there is no direct and official press censorship, becomes in reality the liberty of a few press Lords, of whom Axel Springer may be cited as an example, to tell the public

anything they, with their reactionary interests, want to tell it, with any "slant" or criticism they choose, and—almost more important—to leave untold anything they do not want the public to know. (I remember an almost comic situation some two decades ago in London, when an English politician who had quarrelled with the British affiliate of the World Council of Peace—of which he had for a time been a member—wrote a long letter of denunciation against it, and sent it to the general press; it was in its terms just what they wanted, but they had the greatest difficulty in using it because they had hitherto succeeded in keeping their readers in total ignorance of the existence of the victim!)

The "freedom" of radio and television works out in much the same fashion, since these are either in the hands of similar—or even the same—tycoons or of governmental bodies with similar outlooks.

Freedom of expression otherwise than by press and radio, e.g., by meetings, processions, and demonstrations varies from one capitalist country to another; it is often outwardly good, but provocations, police violence, prosecutions, and other indirect deterrents are often extensively used.

Freedom of association is again, on the surface, well observed, but there are many direct and indirect infringements. For example, in West Germany the Communist Party has been formally prohibited for over ten years, and anyone who advocates any policy similar to that of the party is prosecuted, not just now and then but in thousands. And in the USA and some other countries, whilst the party is not actually prohibited, it is subject to endless persecution.

In the developing countries, who have nearly all a long and bad experience of the infringement of these freedoms by their capitalist rulers, who systematically betrayed in their colonies every principle to which they paid lip-service at home, too many governments in fact behave as badly as their former rulers did.

In the socialist world, these freedoms are guaranteed by constitutions, and prevail to a great extent; but I must examine the accusations which many capitalist countries, ignoring their own bad records, make on the socialist countries, asserting that they allow little freedom to criticize the government. Whilst the accusations are exaggerated, and often enough simply baseless, they call for consideration. It has to be remembered that, as I expressed it in

my article already quoted, there is a "deep and important qualification, that no regime, feudal, capitalist or socialist, or of any other existing category, can or will ever allow any citizen or group of citizens to use their liberties for the purpose of destroying the state. Be the state liberal or reactionary, predominantly rural or highly industrialized, backward or highly-developed, capitalist, transitional or socialist, it will inevitably, when its existence, or even its power, is threatened, take measures to defend itself, and will suspend, temporarily or permanently, any civil liberty which might help subversive elements to work against it . . ."

Socialist governments, however well they are supported by their populations, must still bear in mind that the general hostility of the major capitalist countries, exemplified by the Cold War and by NATO, and the endless preparation of West Germany for armed attack on its neighbors to recover its 1937 frontiers—and not only these manifestations but the elaborate subversive operations of the Central Intelligence Agency within the socialist countries—present real dangers for them; and they have in truth to regard themselves as in a state of war so far as concerns the safeguarding by strong measures of their countries from subversion. One can feel sure that this is the only counter-motive for the limits they find themselves obliged to set to full observance of the Declaration—in contrast to the capitalist countries, whose governments withhold every right which would hamper them in the class war—and that the socialist states want to serve these freedoms fully.

I come lastly to the head of education; the Declaration proclaims that everyone has a right to education, and that it should be "free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages." In the capitalist states, perhaps more cruelly in Britain than in some others, the education of the masses has always been viewed with disfavor by the minority ruling class. Not merely do they grudge the expenditure of money on such a cause, but they fear that the more the masses are educated the more (and the more effectively) they will make claims for better treatment in all fields of life. They have therefore sought to limit mass education to the minimum necessary to make the workers skilled enough to do useful work for them; and the improvements in educational levels achieved in the last 100 years stand in almost direct

ratio to the increased skills required to provide useful workers in the more elaborate and technical operations of modern history. And, even so, educational expenditure is always one of the earliest to be cut down in times of war or crisis (and nowadays in capitalist states the words "in times of war or crisis" are beginning to mean "almost always").

The developing countries, who had in general been gravely neglected in this field by their former rulers—for example, in the long reign of Britain over India, the literacy rate rose from a little below 10 per cent to about 12 per cent—have been struggling nobly to improve education, but their limited resources make progress very slow. Probably the most successful was Ghana, until the military coup of 1966, after which education has fallen back.

The socialist countries, for reasons similar to those which have influenced them in other fields, have tackled education from the first with an enthusiasm and devotion which have produced almost incredible results. (As for devotion, I remember seeing in Volgograd (Stalingrad) in 1946, when almost the whole population was living in

sheds and ruins, that school-building was given precedence over houses. "You would surely not," they said to me, "let a generation of children go without the best education.") The finest large-scale success has probably been that of the USSR, which has moved from almost total illiteracy to a position where it produces more professionally skilled workers than any other state, and has the highest level of general education in the world. The most spectacular small-scale success was that of Cuba, which by emergency efforts in the twelve months of 1961 taught 1,100,000 illiterates out of a total population of just over 6,000,000 to read and write.

As is only to be expected, the position as a whole is growing worse in the capitalist states; the truth is that anything like the full realization of the proclaimed Human Rights is inconsistent with monopoly capitalist rule, and that any attempt to realize them fully in those states would be to destroy capitalism. There can be no such realization until the world in general has learned to give unconditional priority to the dignity of man over the profits of "superman."

Our great heritage

The works of Marx and Engels are part of the ideological treasure house of the Communist and Workers' parties, a weapon in their struggle. The publication, dissemination and propaganda of the Marxist classics is an integral element of their ideological work.

Immediately after the October Revolution, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made research and publication of the works of Marx and Engels a matter of major concern of the Government and the Party.

In 1918 the Central Committee appointed a commission under Skvortsov-Stepanov to arrange publication of the works of Marx and Engels. In connection with the Marx centenary (May 5, 1918) it was decided to publish a full 28-volume edition, and Lenin was appointed a member of the editorial committee. Others who shared in the editing were A. Lunacharsky, V. Vorovsky, M. Pokrovsky, V. Steklov and other scholars. The first four volumes appeared between 1918 and 1922.

On Lenin's initiative, on January 11, 1921, the Central Committee decided to found the Marx-Engels Institute as an autonomous unit of the Socialist Academy. It was the forerunner of the present Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International actively participated in the work of the Institute, and two of its representatives, Clara Zetkin and Bela Kun, were members of its council.

In those early years the Soviet Republic had its work cut out to make good the devastation of the Civil War. Everything that could be spared had to go into developing industry and agriculture. Nevertheless, the Marx-Engels Institute (renamed the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute after Lenin's death) was given every possible assistance, enabling it to establish contacts abroad and, ultimately, after careful and painstaking effort, bring together the world's richest collection of the works of the founders of scientific socialism. At present the Institute has about 8,000 originals or photostat copies of Marx and Engels documents.

This made it possible, in the late twen-

ties, to start work on an edition of the collected works, and also on an international edition (Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe-MEGA) in the language of the original.

This first Russian edition of 29 volumes (in which Vol. 20, which was to contain the *Theories of Surplus Value*, was not included) was completed in 1947. The MEGA edition was interrupted by the war, after the first 11 volumes had been brought out.

A significant development was publication of a number of hitherto unknown or unpublished Marx and Engels works. Many of their manuscripts were gathering dust in the archives of the German Social-Democratic Party and other places where they were subjected to the "gnawing criticism of the mice." Most of these manuscripts were acquired by the Institute and brought to Moscow. The collection included such major contributions as Marx's *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, *The German Ideology*, *Great Emigres*, the *Dialectics of Nature*, economic manuscripts of 1857-58 and other works that have since become part of the Marxist heritage.

Another landmark was the second edition of the *Collected Works*, begun in 1955 and brought to completion in 1966.

Though it consists of 39 volumes containing some 5,500 major works, articles, letters and other items, it cannot rightfully be described as containing the entire literary legacy of Marx and Engels. But it is the most complete edition so far, and compared with its predecessor, it contains about 1,000 new items, including some 600 Marx and Engels letters.

The most important new item in the second edition of the *Collected Works*, is, of course, the *Theories of Surplus Value*, which make up about half of an extensive manuscript dating to 1861-63, that is, to the second stage of Marx's interpretative generalization of economic data. Marx never returned to the *Theories*, being engrossed in his work on *Capital*. Engels, who undertook to edit the Marx manuscripts, was unable to finish his work on the *Theories*.

They were first published in 1905-10 by

Karl Kautsky, but unfortunately the Kautsky edition was anything but a faithful reproduction of the original.

Contrary to the view expressed by Engels—and to the very logic of Marx's research—Kautsky did not regard the *Theories* as Volume IV of *Capital*, but rather as a work parallel to *Capital*, and one, moreover, that lacked an integral structure. This, he believed, entitled him arbitrarily to change the structure and even delete certain passages. Moreover his deciphering of the manuscript, written in Marx's characteristic hand, was far from perfect.

The defects of the Kautsky edition were so glaring that in 1930 the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute decided to prepare an entirely new edition. This took a long time and the *Theories* were brought out only in the 1950's, first as a separate volume and later as volume 26 of the second Russian edition of the *Collected Works*. Pains were taken to assure a correct reading of Marx's not always legible manuscript, to verify the editor's item headings (of which there are 268), check and expand the editorial notes and provide more auxiliary data.

With the appearance of a separate edition of the *Theories* and of volume 26 of *Collected Works*, Marx's *Capital* was for the first time given its full and finished form.

The Marx-Engels correspondence, given in full in volumes 27-39 of the second edition, is one of the most valuable elements of Marxist theory and revolutionary experience.

All the "new" works previously printed separately or in volumes of the Marx-Engels Archives now form part of the second edition. Most of these materials, some of them old discoveries, come from various archives, or were acquired after World War II at international auctions or through exchanges with foreign research institutions. Some documents were presented to the Institute by friends abroad.

Much of the hitherto unknown material was discovered after painstaking examination of newspapers and journals published in Europe and the United States in the days of Marx and Engels. This entailed careful reading of thousands of periodicals which, there was reason to believe, might contain items by Marx and Engels, interviews with them or reports of their public speeches. This search was highly rewarding.

The second edition has two special sections, *Manuscripts* and *Supplements*, both

of which are of great research value. Made up mainly of brief items, they cast light on different aspects of the work of Marx and Engels, provide additional biographical data and broaden our knowledge of the history of Marxism and the international workers' movement.

The appearance of the second edition aroused wide interest and soon became the prototype and basis for similar editions in other languages—German, Japanese, Korean, Hungarian, Czech, Polish, etc.

The GDR Institute of Marxism-Leninism completed the first German edition for the 150th anniversary of Marx's birth. Like the Russian second edition, on which it is based, it consists of 39 volumes. Publication of the works of Marx and Engels in their native language is a big achievement for GDR research and publishing organizations. The value of this edition is all the greater since about two-thirds of everything that Marx and Engels wrote was in German. Consequently, the reader will now be able to study most of these works in the original and with a competent scientific commentary. In addition, this will help to disseminate the Marxist classics and facilitate their translation into other languages.

The Marxism-Leninism Institute willingly shares its unique collection of documents and its rich experience with scientific and publishing organizations and Marxist researchers in other countries. It maintains regular and, I might add, very fruitful, contacts with its counterparts in the socialist countries and with the Antonio Gramsci and Maurice Thorez Institutes and the Amsterdam International Institute of Social History. It supplies photocopies of its documents, early Marx and Engels publications and other requested material to publishing houses in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Japan, the United States and many other countries. Its central archives and library, with its unique collection of over two million volumes on the history of socialism, the labor movement and Marxism-Leninism, are open to all researchers, and many come from all parts of the world to avail themselves of the Institute's facilities.

Latterly it has undertaken more joint publications in cooperation with organizations in other countries. For instance, together with the GDR Institute of Marxism-Leninism it prepared, for the centenary of the First International, a documentary volume, *The International in Germany*, pub-

lished in the GDR. It contains a wealth of carefully organized material on the part played by the International Working Men's Association in the German labor movement in 1864-72, how it helped it overcome Proudhonism and Lassalleian dogmatism and bring into being the first mass Social-Democratic Party. The book also describes Marx's work as Secretary of the General Council for Germany. As was only to be expected, it has met with a warm response and enjoys a wide readership.

The two Institutes are now cooperating on a two-volume collection of documents of the Communist League, the first international proletarian party founded by Marx and Engels, the first socialist organization of the German proletariat and the symbol of the international character of the workers' movement. Brought together in this edition will be materials tracing the history of the Communist League, beginning with the League of the Just (1834-36).

Work is nearing completion on another joint project, this time in cooperation with the History of the Party Institute of the Polish United Workers' Party and the GDR Institute of Marxism-Leninism. It will be a scientifically prepared volume of Marxian documents on the Polish question relating to the early eighteen-sixties.

Still another volume recently published by the Nauka Publishing House in Moscow contains Marx's *Mathematical Manuscripts*. Hitherto these were known only from the Marx-Engels correspondence or from mentions in various biographical studies; only a fraction of the Manuscripts were published.

Marx began his study of mathematics in connection with his work on *Capital*. From algebra his interest gradually shifted to higher mathematics, particularly differential and integral calculus. The material conditions of the Marx family in London did not allow either the time or the necessary means for such study. But in a letter to Engels (November 23, 1860) Marx wrote that mathematics give him the "necessary tranquility." He could indulge in his mathematical studies, he wrote, only in his "free time," in "intervals between work," that

is, after 10 hours of concentrated research. In the 1860's Marx collected numerous books on mathematics, many of which he studied with characteristic thoroughness, making copious notes and comments.

The *Mathematical Manuscripts* are important for an understanding of mathematical logic and the dialectics of variable quantities; but they are also of undoubted biographical interest, for they cast additional light on Marx's methods, on the way he "lifted the veil of secrecy" from so abstract a science as mathematics.

The Marxist classics are being published in the languages of the multi-national Soviet Union. Large editions have been put out in the Union and Autonomous republics.

Progress Publishers and other Soviet organizations are putting out the Marx and Engels works in German, English, French, Spanish, Arabic and other editions.

Much has been done in the half-century of Soviet rule—the writings of the founders of scientific socialism have been brought out in 2,394 editions, totalling 85,428,000 copies. But much remains to be done. The Institute is now working on 11 supplementary volumes of the second editions of the *Collected Works*. In them, the reader will find early works written before 1844, when Marx and Engels completed their evolution from idealism to materialism, from revolutionary democracy to communism; articles written in 1848-49 and discovered only recently, hitherto unpublished rough drafts and variants of some sections of *Capital*, and numerous other items. With the appearance of these 11 volumes, the second edition of the *Collected Works* will contain practically everything Marx and Engels wrote.

Another ambitious project is a complete edition of Marx and Engels in the languages of the original. This is being done by the Marxism-Leninism Institute and its counterpart in the German Democratic Republic. The idea is to publish everything—literally every line—from the pens of Marx and Engels, including notes, marginal notes on books, etc. Both Institutes look forward to wide international support in this complex task.

A. MALYSH

Brief notices

ERNA HECKEL. *Kultur und Expansion. Zur Bonner Kulturpolitik in den Entwicklungslaendern*. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1968. 208 S.

ERNA HECKEL. *Culture and Expansion. Bonn's Cultural Policy in the Developing Countries*. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1968. 208 pp.

Neo-colonialism is looking for subtler methods as the struggle for true liberation grows stronger. Various means are employed to influence the economy, policy and spiritual life of the newly-free countries. The book under review, produced by the chair of literature and art, Institute of Social Sciences, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, examines the cultural expansion pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany in the developing countries, a relatively unexplored form of neo-colonialism. The writer shows that Bonn's cultural activity in those countries pursues the objectives of its expansionist and intrinsically aggressive foreign policy and that it is part and parcel of Bonn's external course.

The first chapter traces the growth of German imperialist expansion in the cultural field. It dwells on the new forms of West German propaganda and pinpoints Bonn's efforts to prevail on the Third World countries that East and West are equally remote.

The second chapter reveals the neo-colonialist substance of Bonn's policy in the developing countries and shows it to be a part of its foreign policy, indicating the link between it and the increasing West German economic expansion. The author exposes the pro-imperialist activity of Bonn's ideological services in the newly-independent states.

The third and final chapter scrutinizes the forms of West German imperialist ideological expansion, showing that its main purpose is to disseminate anti-communism and dampen the natural interests in the socialist world. The author notes, however, that the peoples of the ex-colonies are beginning to perceive the hostile essence and neo-colonialist orientation of Bonn's cultural policy.

The book contains considerable factual material revealing the organic connection

between the monopolies and the ideological services of the Federal Republic. One of the tables reveals how many members of monopoly boards are, at once, heads of cultural institutions.

B.A.

L. A. LEONTIEV. "Kapital" K. Marxa i sovremennaya epokha. Moskva, Nauka, 1968. 398 pp.

L. A. LEONTIEV. *Marx's "Capital" and the Present Epoch*, Moscow, Nauka, 1968. 398 pp.

This book by the eminent Soviet economist dwells in its eight chapters on the historical significance of Marx's "Capital," examining the connection between Marxist theory and the problems of our time. The author shows that Marx's "Capital" prompts our contemporary to obtain a profound understanding of the historical relationship, character, content and perspective of the great processes of our time. Creatively developed by Lenin in accordance with the imperialist phase of capitalism, Marxism continues to serve today as a sharp and powerful weapon of the working class, the Communist and Workers' parties, in their fight for the socialist reconstruction of the world.

The author shows that the peculiarities of the transition from capitalism to socialism determine the specific tasks facing Marxism-Leninism as a whole and its economic theory in particular. Among these tasks he lists a study of the emergence of the communist social formation, the complex processes of interaction between the two opposite socio-economic systems, the changes in modern capitalism, etc. This calls for the creative use and further development of the ideas contained in "Capital," in the Marxist-Leninist theory.

Enriched continuously by new conclusions drawn from generalizations of revolutionary practice, Marxist-Leninist theory is a match for the most complex of problems. The writer demonstrates that vital and creative Marxism-Leninism can cope with all the problems of our time and, conversely, that anti-Marxism and all its varieties have proved barren and reactionary in the confrontation.

V.T.

Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication

Karl Marx o gosudarstve i prave (Karl Marx on the State and Law.) Moscow, Yuridicheskaya Literatura, 1968. 205 pp.

LENIN, V. I. *Posledniye pisma i statyi* (Lenin, V. I. Last Letters and Articles. December 23, 1922-March 2, 1923.) Moscow, Politizdat, 1968. 71 pp.

LENIN, V. I. *Opere complete* (Complete Works.) Vol. 49. Bucharest, Editura politica, 1968. 655 pp.

ULBRICHT, W. *Probleme der sozialistischen Leitungstaetigkeit* (Problems of the Guidance of Socialist Society.) Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1968. 643 pp.

BEKES, R. *A mai szocialdemokracia* (Modern Social-Democracy.) Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1968. 185 pp.

Geschichte der Aussenpolitik der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (History of the Foreign Policy of the German Democratic Republic.) Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1968. 528 pp.

Istoria natsionalno-gosudarstvennogo stroitelstva v SSSR (1917-1966) (History of National and State Development in the USSR/1917-1966.) National and State Development in the USSR During the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism (1917-1936). Moscow, Mysl, 1968. 500 pp.

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Kleines politisches Woerterbuch (Concise Political Dictionary.) Compiled and edited by G. Koenig, G. Schuetz, Dr. K. Zeisler (Chief Editor). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1968. 772 pp.

Lichnost pri sotsializme (The Individual under Socialism.) Moscow, Nauka, 1968. 200 pp.

LUGACIU, P., PUICA, V., NEAGU, M. *"Capitalul" lui Karl Marx in Romania* (Marx's Capital in Rumania.) Bucharest, Editura politica, 1968. 250 pp.

Nauchnoye upravleniye obshchestvom (Scientific Guidance of Society.) Part Two. Moscow, Mysl, 1968. 343 pp.

POPISAKOV, G. *Ikonomicheskite otnosheniya mezhdu SSSR i NRB* (Economic Relations between the USSR and the PRB.) Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, 1968. 482 pp.

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RYBICKI, Z. *Administracyjno-prawne zagadnienia gospodarki planowej* (Administrative and Juridical Problems of Planned Economy.) Warsaw, PWN, 1968. 329 pp.

SZITA, J. *Magyarorszag gazdasagi kapcsolatai a fejlodo orszagokkal* (Economic Relations between Hungary and Developing Countries.) Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1968. 258 pp.

WODDIS, J. *An Introduction to Neo-Colonialism*. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1967. 133 pp.

"PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"



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