

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

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The ideas of internationalism — an invincible force

Revolutionary struggle in the Dominican Republic and its lessons

—J. I. Quello, N. Isa Conde

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We are publishing in this issue the proceedings of an international meeting commemorating the Thirtieth anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. The reader will find contributions by Comrades B. N. Ponomaryov, J. Koplenig, K. Bagdash, J. Duclos, R. Ghioldi, D. Nemes, G. Gensini, F. Dahlem, W. Jarosinski, D. Ibarruri, E. Staikov, V. Koucky, C. Lightfoot, I. Norlund, A. Kambakhche, J. Ledwohn, F. Nassar, J. Montes, E. Papaioannou, A. Zanzolo, R. Amaya Amador, A. Meirelis, R. Acosta, J. Lehtinen, T. Davagsuren, P. Mavromatis, G. Unzueta, M. Harmel, R. Soria Romero, S. Sawaya, S. G. Sardesai, G. Oehmann, J. Demir, M. G. Mendis and G. P. Frantsov.

The issue also includes articles by Comrades Z. Mlynar, Secretary of the Juridical Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by F. Billoux, member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, J. I. Quello and N. Isa Conde, leaders of the Dominican Communist Party, J. Gonzalez, Acting General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile.

Meeting in hall of the Editorial Board of Problems of Peace and Socialism, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

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The ideas of internationalism — an invincible force

**International meeting held on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary
of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern**

An international meeting devoted to the 30th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International was held in Prague over October 21-23. It was attended, on the invitation of the Editorial Board of **Problems of Peace and Socialism** and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by representatives of the Communist parties of Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Honduras, India, Italy, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Mexico, Peru, Salvador, Soviet Union, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, and United States, the Progressive Party of Working People (Cyprus), Socialist Unity Party (Germany), Party of Labor (Guatemala), Socialist Workers' Party (Hungary), Tudeh Party (Iran), People's Revolutionary Party (Mongolia) and United Workers' Party (Poland), and by representatives of other fraternal parties. Among the participants were veterans of the Communist and working-class movement and delegates to the Seventh Congress.

The meeting was opened by **Vladimir Koucky**, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

I am sure, he said, that everybody here will share my profound satisfaction and pleasure that such a representative gathering of Communists from so many countries is assembled here. This is further confirmation of the invincible force of the ideas of proletarian internationalism, which are essential to all our parties, to the entire international Communist movement, just as air and the sun are to life.

The world of today is a very different world from the one that existed at the time of the Communist International. The rise of the community of socialist countries, the success of the national-liberation movement and the further advance of the international working-class and revolutionary movement, have fundamentally changed the political map of the world. The content of this great change was assessed in the 1957 and 1960 documents unanimously adopted by the international Communist movement. Since then, however, the new developments in the world have posed new problems for the revolutionary movement; new experience has been accumulated corresponding to the new concrete conditions.

The policy charted by the Seventh Congress was seen by the international Communist movement above all as the response of the movement to the looming threat of fascism. The Congress' recognition and analysis of the process of differentiation taking place in capitalist society, from which it proceeded to elaborate its new line, fully corresponded not only to the situation of the day but also to the general developments in the revolutionary epoch ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was this long-term policy of the Seventh Congress that evoked a really widespread response among the working class and all working people.

When essaying to assess the significance of the Seventh Congress what are the issues

that stand out? First of all, the fight against imperialist war, for safeguarding peace. The Congress enriched Marxist thought when for the first time it critically examined the possibility of a new imperialist war and fascist aggression, when it put forward the idea of averting war through joint action by all peace-loving forces, relying on the peace policy of the only socialist state in the world at the time—the Soviet Union.

Thanks to this realistic approach it was possible to broaden the mass base of the front of the fight for peace and to strengthen it organizationally. But due to circumstances of which we are all aware, war was not averted at the time. Now, however, when the possibilities for curbing the aggressive forces of imperialism are incomparably more favorable the determination of the Communist movement to preserve peace is most important in view of the danger of a thermonuclear war hanging over the world.

The Congress thesis regarding the organic link between the fight for socialism and the fight for democracy is valid to this day. The Seventh Congress called on all contingents of the international Communist movement to see this not as a propaganda slogan or tactical maneuver, not to counterpose the fight for democracy to the fight for socialism, not to see in this any departure from revolutionary principles but an integral part, a prerequisite and vital aspect of the struggle. This principle is applicable not only to the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries but also to the socialist countries and to the national-liberation movement, especially at those moments when the emancipatory process has to grapple with the social problems of the working people.

The Seventh Congress stressed that the Communists could not by themselves avert world war and fascism and safeguard peace, democracy and social progress.

Hence it was necessary to approach the question of working-class unity in a new way, to broaden out the alliance with other sections of the working people, with all democratic and progressive forces, including some of the democratic forces in the political camp of the bourgeoisie. The Congress considered that the primary task of the Communists was patiently to convince the working people, on the basis of their own experience, of the soundness of the Party's policy, to win over the working masses to the side of progress by practical activity, and not only propaganda.

The Seventh Congress emphatically rejected the former over-simplified appraisals of various political forces, which sounded very revolutionary but which, in effect, hampered and in some instances even prevented the Communists from winning over potential allies who ultimately fell under the influence of reactionaries. This concerned the radical trends in the Social Democratic parties and the national bourgeoisie in the colonies. There is no need to stress the importance at the present time of rallying broad sections of the people in the different countries for joint efforts to advance the revolutionary movement.

Another important conclusion to be drawn from the decisions of the Seventh Congress is the need for real and principled, and not mechanical or formal, unity in the international Communist movement, a unity not static but dynamic, and which is inconceivable unless our movement as a whole and also its parts strive to be equal to the tasks of the day, tasks which demand that we see not only the present but also the future, as was done by the Seventh Congress in its basic decisions.

We return to the Seventh Congress not in order to quote its conclusions, but because of its bold Leninist approach to world developments and the tasks of the revolutionary movement.

We Czechoslovak Communists gratefully recall the legacy of the Seventh Congress. We are proud that outstanding representatives of our Party, Klement Gottwald and Bohumir Smeral, actively participated in the preparatory work of the Congress alongside Georgi Dimitrov. The subsequent changes and processes in modern history of the peoples are connected, in one way or another, with the decisions of the Seventh Congress—the congress of people's unity in the fight against fascism and war.

Comrade Koucky expressed the hope that this international meeting would contribute to enriching contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought as the bedrock of the political activity of the Communist and Workers' parties, of the entire Communist world movement.

On the following pages we print abridged speeches by delegates to the Seventh Congress and of representatives of the parties that are members of the Editorial Board.

The historic significance of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and our time

B. PONOMARYOV

Secretary, Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS of the Comintern was a milestone in the history of the world Communist movement. It contributed immensely to the growth of the movement and enriched Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics in the struggle for the vital interests of the working class and the people generally and, above all, the struggle against fascism and world war. Its decisions were a logical step in the development of the world Communist movement and its struggle against the Right-wing opportunists and "Left" doctrinaires.

The march of history has shown us that the line charted by the Seventh Congress was correct and scientifically grounded. It helped to concentrate the forces of the working class and the masses generally on the main sectors of the struggle.

The realization of the Seventh Congress decisions proceeded in a complex and difficult situation. Imperialism did everything in its power to "crush" communism, resorting to the most extreme and indescribably brutal means. But in vain. The Communist movement coped with the difficulties and won epoch-making victories.

The conditions nowadays are much more favorable for successful struggle for socialism on a world scale.

The socialist front has extended. One-third of mankind is already living under socialism. The Soviet Union, the first socialist country, has launched out on the building of communist society. The revolutionary process now has as its mainstay the socialist world system consisting of 14 states.

The revolutionary movement has spread throughout the world. The working class in

the developed capitalist countries is waging an active struggle against the monopolies and their reactionary policy. The disintegration of the colonial system has dealt a painful blow to imperialism. More than sixty new sovereign states have emerged, and some of them have declared it their purpose to forge ahead towards socialism. The national liberation movement has become a powerful force for progress.

There is now a greater variety of methods and means of leading the masses towards revolution.

All this indicates that the conditions are taking shape for a fresh advance of the world revolutionary cause, a further sweeping offensive against the imperialist positions.

I.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern convened at a time when the dark clouds of fascism and war hung over mankind.

The capitalist system had just emerged from an unprecedentedly grave economic crisis. Imperialist reaction and fascism, its shock force, believed it could resolve the contradictions of capitalism by crushing the working-class movement and its bulwark, the Soviet Union.

The responsibility for the future of socialism, the world liberation movement and human progress generally devolved on the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist parties. Through collective effort the Seventh Congress made a profound examination of the situation and worked out a program of action consistent with the interests of the working class and the people generally in all countries.

The significance of the Seventh Congress is that it charted a clear-cut strategic plan and flexible tactics for the Communist parties in their struggle against the fascist offensive and the danger of a new world war, and that it outlined the ways and means of uniting all the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces for this purpose.

The reactionary forces of imperialism, represented at that time by fascism, the Congress pointed out, were the *chief enemy* of the international working class and the liberation movement as a whole. Hence the call to concentrate all forces against fascism and the war it was hatching.

The *chief way* to discharge this task was to create a united front of the working-class movement (workers' united front), a national people's front and anti-colonial, anti-imperialist united front), and to cement all anti-fascist forces on a world scale.

Pointing out that the Soviet Union was the *main force* capable of repelling fascism and preventing an imperialist war, Congress declared defense of the first socialist country to be the prime international duty of all the Communist contingents.

The Seventh Congress mapped out new forms and methods of work for the Communist movement.

History is an impartial judge. Today each participant in the liberation movement can see that it was the Communists who gave timely warning of the danger of the world war prepared by fascism, and that they fought without thought of self to save mankind from the danger.

In speaking of the significance of the Seventh Congress we must pay due tribute to the militant and purposeful revolutionary activity of the Communist International.

The First International raised the banner of proletarian solidarity among the working class of the European countries and the USA. The Second International, before it degenerated into opportunism, promoted the development of mass workers' parties. The Third, Communist International helped to build on all the continents truly revolutionary parties, equipping them with Marxism-Leninism, with the principles of proletarian internationalism, and initiating the fusion of the international working-class movement with revolutionary Marxism. The Comintern revealed the epoch-making significance of the first socialist state and its role in the world liberation movement. It reinforced the international unity of the working class, fought to promote and ensure the victory of the national-liberation movement, and helped to bring about greater cohesion between victorious socialism, the working-class movement in the developed countries and the national-liberation movement. The Comintern defended Marxist teaching against vulgarization and distortion by the opportunists of the Second International and "Left" doctrinaires. And it saved the lives of thousands of activists

of the Communist parties in many countries.

The experience of the Comintern, freed from extraneous accretions and shortcomings, is invaluable for the entire Communist movement. Its traditions live on in the struggle of the Communist parties for democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.

II.

In marking the 30th anniversary of the Seventh Congress, we lay special stress on the militant impact of its decisions against wars of aggression and against imperialism which spawns war. Congress squarely posed the question of a new working-class approach to the problem of war. "The time has gone," Dimitrov said, "when the working class did not *independently and actively* take part in resolving vital issues such as those of war and peace."

The Congress repudiated the fatalistic belief that in the new conditions it was pointless and hopeless to try to avert world war. It also categorically rejected the slander that "the Communists want war because they hope it will lead to revolution." Marxist-Leninists do not associate the prospects of mankind's advance towards socialism with world war. On the contrary, the fight for the ultimate aims of the working-class movement has always been linked up with the fight against imperialist wars. "We uphold peace," Palmiro Togliatti rightly said, "not because we are mild Tolstoyans but because we seek to ensure the conditions for the victory of the revolution."

The need to remove the "war party" from power, to abolish the rule of the monopolies, the inspirers of predatory wars, is today too brought home more and more to the people in the course of struggles waged against the aggressive policy of reactionary imperialist circles and to build democratic unity. Those who strive for revolution must actively and resolutely combat the aggressive policy of imperialism—this is the conclusion the working-class movement has drawn from the lessons of history.

At the same time, in opposing the imperialist policy of suppressing the revolutionary, liberation movements, the Communists have supported, and will always support, just wars—wars waged in defense of socialist gains, national-liberation wars, and uprisings of the people against imperialist oppression.

The Communists made it clear to the workers that the main burden in the fight for peace and the main responsibility for it would be theirs. To fulfil this mission, the working class had to achieve unity in its own ranks both at home and on a world scale. In the final analysis this unity should find embodiment, to use the words of Dimitrov, in a "single international policy of the working class aimed at preserving peace." This policy presupposed the utmost support for the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, for, as was pointed out in the Seventh Congress decisions, "the peace policy of the

USSR, which counterposes proletarian internationalism to nationalist and racial strife, is aimed not only at defending the Soviet state and ensuring the security of socialist construction, but also at protecting the lives of the workers of all countries, the lives of all the oppressed and exploited peoples. It safeguards the national independence of the small nations, serves the vital interests of mankind and acts as the guardian of culture from the barbarity of war."

Speakers at the Congress said that it was not enough to carry on general anti-war propaganda, that it was not enough merely to want peace, that hard work was needed to uphold peace.

Although the world today is very different from what it was 30 years ago and the alignment of world forces has radically changed, the ideas put forward at the Congress as regards combating the threat of a world war remain valid.

"Fascism means war," the Congress declared. The same reactionary imperialist circles that engendered fascism are now too the chief aggressive force, the source of the danger of war. The threat of war stems primarily from U.S. imperialism.

Today, as 30 years ago, the Communists are resolved to do everything in their power to avert world war. But if the imperialists nevertheless succeed in unleashing it, the Communists will exert every effort to smash imperialism. The Second World War showed that in our time any bid for world supremacy is doomed to failure. This is a serious warning to those who would follow in Hitler's footsteps. The peoples are sure to sweep away anyone who ventures to plunge mankind in a global holocaust for the sake of winning world supremacy.

The warning issued by the Seventh Congress against underestimating the war danger is as timely as it was then. Local wars are fraught with no less danger than before. That is why repelling the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam has a fundamental bearing on the defense of world peace. This is a matter that concerns everyone. The Soviet Union, true to its internationalist duty, is rendering the heroic Vietnamese people every possible assistance.

The opportunities for averting world war are much greater today than three decades ago. But in order to turn these into reality it is imperative, as world Communist forums have stressed, to conduct unflagging political and organizational work to unite all peace-loving forces, all the opponents of imperialism.

Whatever the specific nature of the activity of the anti-imperialist peace forces in particular countries or groups of countries, it is extremely important to unite all these forces on a world scale. Those who today hinder the unity of the peace-loving forces bear a very grave responsibility before history.

Working to prevent a new world war, the Communist parties are selflessly combating

imperialism, rallying the working class and all other sections of the working people to the struggle. In the conditions of today the fight against the danger of world war is a fight against the most reactionary contingents of imperialism, a fight to isolate the militarists, the worst enemies of the working class and the hangmen of the national-liberation movement. At the same time, it is a fight to create the best possible conditions for building socialism and communism, for progress in the new national states, and for defense of the vital rights and interests of the working people of the capitalist countries.

III.

The Seventh Congress substantiated the idea of the *unity of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces*, which underlay all its decisions. Recalling and further developing Lenin's concept of the *working-class united front*, the Congress pointed out that its mainspring should be unity of action of all the anti-fascist forces, and particularly between the Communists and Social Democrats, in the struggle against the reaction and the danger of world war, for the interests of the working class. At the same time, the Congress delineated the perspectives of working-class unity as a weapon in the struggle for socialism. It rejected the erroneous assessment which labelled Social Democracy as "social fascism." Severe criticism was also levelled at the sectarian, dogmatic attitude to other contingents of the working-class movement—the reformist and Catholic trade unions, anarcho-syndicalist organizations and so on.

Events since then have shown the immense potential contained in the idea of proletarian unity. The experience of the working-class movement in a number of European countries on the eve of the war, the anti-fascist resistance movement, the formation of national fronts in the People's Democracies in the struggle for socialism, and the success of joint actions by working-class contingents in the capitalist countries convincingly prove that unity is a mighty weapon in the hands of the working class and a reliable means enabling it to play its progressive role in society.

Communists have taken many steps to build unity of action with the Social Democrats, but in most cases these efforts have met with no response on the part of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders.

The Communists criticize and will continue to criticize Right-wing Social Democrat views and actions which run counter to the interests of the working class. They criticize and will continue to criticize the ideology of Social Democracy, uphold and advocate the Marxist-Leninist teaching, whose correctness is borne out by the march of events. However, Communists are firmly of the opinion that ideological divergences should not hinder practical unity of action with the Social Democrats now.

The conditions for achieving unity of action

between the various workers' parties are more favorable nowadays. Here a big role is played by the moral and political prestige of socialism and by the consistently peaceful foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Many of the anti-Communist prejudices implanted by the Social Democratic leaders in the working-class movement over the years are being dispelled. The atmosphere is being cleared for friendly cooperation among all contingents of the working-class movement.

In the present conditions we have every reason to believe that unity of the working-class movement, built in good time, with a clear-cut program and a precise plan of action, not only creates an insuperable barrier to intrigues and provocations by imperialist reaction but also helps the working class to attain its socialist ideals.

The Seventh Congress, generalizing the experience of the Communist parties, drew the conclusion that, while the alliance of the working class and peasantry remained as important as ever, the scope of the alliances entered into by the working class in the capitalist countries was expanding. It advanced the idea of the *popular front*. "The popular front," Maurice Thorez said, "is a close and durable alliance between the working class and the middle strata of the population, and is in line with the basic precept of Lenin's teaching."

We can justly say that the modern world Communist movement acted upon the tested ideas of the Seventh Congress when it put forward the slogan of an *anti-monopoly coalition* in the capitalist countries.

Concern for the *national-liberation movement* has always been a fine Communist tradition. The Comintern, following Lenin's counsel, actively helped to develop the anti-colonial struggle and always promoted enduring ties between the colonial peoples and the working-class movement in the developed countries.

Lenin created a teaching on the character and role of the national-liberation movement in the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolution. Basing itself on this teaching, and elaborating it in conformity with the conditions of the new epoch, the CPSU has always devoted close attention to the national-liberation movement and has rendered it every support.

It is not hard to see that the *anti-imperialist front* now taking shape in the newly emerged national states and uniting all the patriotic and progressive forces is the historical continuation of the ideas of the Seventh Congress, which advanced the slogan of the anti-imperialist united front.

In recent years national democratic forces, or, as they are frequently called, revolutionary democrats, have emerged on the political arena of the national-liberation movement. Drawing on the historical experience of the working class, they are forming democratic parties which proclaim the non-capitalist way based on scientific socialism as their goal. Wherever

hegemony belongs to these revolutionary democrats and not to reactionaries and wherever they bring together the revolutionary energy and knowledge of all revolutionaries, social progress is more rapid.

The Communists and the Communist parties are dedicated and staunch fighters against imperialism, for the national independence of their countries and peoples, for socialism. They give their active support to all truly progressive steps taken by the national governments and revolutionary parties. Clearly, one cannot speak of building socialism, of directing one's country onto the socialist path of development, and at the same time take an anti-Communist stand and combat the Communist parties. The greatest progress is made where all the revolutionary forces are in alliance and cooperate fruitfully. Cooperation between the Communists and all democratic parties is not only possible but necessary if the newly emerged national states are to forge ahead successfully.

Unity of the three main revolutionary detachments of our time, of which the Communist movement is the standard-bearer, is the surest way to final victory over capitalism and colonialism, to peace and socialism all over the world.

IV.

In accordance with the new tasks facing the Communist movement, the Seventh Congress outlined ways and means of improving the work of the Communist parties. It advanced ideas of lasting significance, namely:

- selfless devotion to the Marxist-Leninist teaching and its revolutionary ideals;

- uncompromising struggle by the Communists against imperialism and its ultra-reactionary outgrowth, fascism;

- correct correlation by the Communist parties of their national and international tasks;

- implacable struggle against all varieties of opportunism—revisionism, dogmatism and nationalism;

- independence of the Communist parties in all internal matters and in working out their strategy and tactics;

- unceasing effort to cement the militant unity of the Communist movement;

- the need to strengthen contact with the working class, the masses generally, the trade unions, and the women's, youth and other organizations;

- ability to put forward at each given moment the most effective slogans understandable to the masses and capable of rallying them to the struggle.

The Congress decisions prepared the Communist movement ideologically and politically for the battles with fascism, for the struggle to advance the socialist cause.

Owing to the complex conditions in which the Communist parties fought the class enemy, the world balance of forces at the time and the shortcomings and mistakes that made them-

selves felt in the international Communist movement, not all of its sections were successful in carrying out the ideas of the Seventh Congress. But for all that the movement as a whole confidently made headway.

Acting in the spirit of the Seventh Congress, many Communist parties showed exemplary skill in "navigating the tempestuous seas of the class struggle." Both before and during the war the Communists proved themselves selfless fighters for the working-class cause, the cause of the people, proved that they were champions of the genuine national interests of their countries, and that their parties were militant and truly revolutionary.

The Popular Front victory in the 1936 election in France not only averted a fascist putsch, but also made it possible to effect a number of progressive democratic reforms in the interests of the working people.

The epic national-revolutionary war of the Spanish people against Franco and the Italo-German invaders revealed the immense possibilities of the popular front in rallying the nation to resist fascism. The popular front government set the stage for Spain's becoming the first people's democratic republic in the world, which Jose Diaz described as a republic without big landowners, without reactionaries, a republic based on the people.

The Anti-Japanese National United Front established by the Chinese Communist Party in 1937 on the basis of Seventh Congress ideas was the mainstay of the Chinese people's resistance to the aggression of the Japanese imperialists and their henchmen.

During the Second World War the Communists proved to be the staunchest fighters and made the biggest contribution to victory.

Under the leadership of Lenin's party, the Soviet people fulfilled with honor their duty to the international working class and the peoples of the world, making the decisive contribution to the defeat of fascism, for which progressives everywhere give them due credit. Three and a half million Soviet Communists gave their lives in the Great Patriotic War.

The Communists of France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Greece, Albania, Denmark, Norway and many other countries were the heart and soul of the resistance movements and the organizers of partisan warfare. Seventy-five thousand French Communists, 42,000 Garibaldi brigade members led by Communists, and 50,000 Greek Communists and other democrats laid down their lives in the fight against fascism. The Bulgarian Communists carried on a selfless struggle against fascism during the war years. A big contribution to the fight against Japanese militarism was made by the Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Malayan and Philippine Communists. Communists in Britain, the United States, Australia, Canada and the Latin American countries worked effectively to marshal the forces of their people to defeat fascism. Communists in Germany, Rumania,

Hungary, Finland and Japan carried on a courageous struggle within the fascist bloc involving great sacrifice.

The resistance movement embodied the idea of the unity of Communists, Socialists, Catholics and non-party people, of all anti-fascists. In some countries this unity paved the way to the victory of people's democratic and socialist revolutions.

The irreconcilable struggle waged by the Communists against racism and chauvinism was an important factor of victory over fascism. For it is a feature of fascism to set one people against another, to preach the superiority of "chosen nations" and to whip up nationalistic sentiment to the extreme degree.

The Seventh Congress counterposed to the misanthropic racist concepts of fascism the principle of combining the genuine national interests of the working people with their international interests.

The Congress severely criticized the national nihilism rife in some of the Communist parties and the underestimation of national features by Communists. Internationalism in the Leninist sense does not rule out national pride, pride in the democratic traditions of one's people. Quite the reverse. "Proletarian internationalism," Dimitrov said at the Congress, "must, so to speak, 'acclimatize' itself in every country in order to strike deep roots in the native soil. The *national forms* of the proletarian class struggle and of the working-class movement in the various countries do not contradict proletarian internationalism. On the contrary, it is in these very forms that the *international interests of the proletariat* can be successfully upheld."

The conditions in which the Communist parties are working today are even more varied. The scope of the parties' national tasks has grown. But national tasks could never override the need for the international unity of the Communists. This is all the more obvious in our day when the danger of anti-internationalist trends is clearly growing.

Marxist-Leninists have always been aware that while the nationalism of the oppressor nations, used as a tool for the imperialist enslavement of economically underdeveloped countries, is of a chauvinist complexion and hence reactionary, the nationalism of the oppressed peoples is chiefly of an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist cast, and reflects their striving for national independence. But in the case of the latter, too, the ruling circles of a particular country may at times use nationalism to further their own narrow interests and this, experience shows, obstructs closer ties between the peoples of the new states with one another and with the peoples of the socialist countries.

Experience shows that even when the vanguard of the working people comes to power, manifestations of nationalism do not vanish automatically. In our time unrelenting struggle by the Communist movement against all manifestations of nationalism is an important con-

dition for consolidating the united worldwide anti-imperialist front, the militant alliance of the three great movements of our time.

Proletarian internationalism is the precious gain of man's revolutionary history. It provides the groundwork for bringing together the workers and all other sections of the working people of different countries and nations and uniting their forces in the common struggle against imperialism and for socialism. Proletarian internationalism is always historically concrete. It found expression in the international campaigns in defense of famous revolutionaries such as Dimitrov, the Bulgarian national hero, and Ernst Thaelmann, the valiant German Communist who was elected honorary chairman of the Seventh Congress. Shortly after the Congress it was expressed in the political, military and moral support given by the Soviet Union to the heroic anti-fascist struggle of the people of Spain, and in the formation of the International Brigades which fought shoulder to shoulder with the Spanish patriots. Proletarian internationalism was vividly exemplified by the tremendous assistance which the Communists of every country rendered the Soviet Union in the years of the fight against fascism. It is manifest in international working-class united action, in the founding of international working-class organizations, in broad international agreements, alliances with other sections of the working people, etc.

The attitude towards the Soviet Union was the prime criterion of proletarian internationalism at the time of the Seventh Congress. It was necessary, the Congress declared, *"to help strengthen the USSR, and to fight its enemies with all available forces and means"*.

On its part the CPSU declared, in the report of its representative Manuilsky, that, like the entire Soviet people, it would remain true to the great causes of proletarian internationalism and fulfil its duty to the international working class.

In our time the internationalist is he who works to strengthen the positions of world socialism, to cement the unity of the socialist commonwealth, who combats attempts to split it, gives practical support to the national-liberation movement, the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries in defense of its interests, for democracy and socialism, and who helps in every way to unite all the revolutionary forces. The internationalist fights imperialism and chauvinist ideology by his deeds. This is the supreme criterion of internationalism.

V.

The unity of the international Communist movement has always been a condition ensuring cohesion among all revolutionary forces. Naturally, the strengthening of the unity of Communist ranks is the prime concern of Marxist-Leninists.

The shaping of world Communist unity is a historical process correlated with the main tasks of the working-class movement and the working people generally at each given stage.

The 1957 and 1960 meetings formulated the principles of the relations between Communist parties and their international solidarity in the present conditions. Events since then have confirmed the importance of these principles to the world Communist movement.

Today the forms of cooperation between the fraternal parties have become incomparably more flexible and varied. But as in the past, the Communists, proceeding from the common objectives uniting the fraternal parties, strive to find solutions strengthening the solidarity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and enhancing the might of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces and their confidence in victory.

The unity of the international Communist movement today implies unanimity as regards the basic objectives, readiness for united action even when there are differences on one or another theoretical or political question.

The CPSU believes that today — when imperialism is heightening international tension, engaging in aggression in various parts of the world, waging a savage war against the peoples of Vietnam, carrying out acts of intervention in the Congo and the Dominican Republic, continuing its provocations against free Cuba, stepping up its preparations for a world war and carrying on a frenzied anti-communist campaign — unity of the ranks of the world army of communism is needed more than ever. Joint action against the aggressive acts of imperialism is the urgent international duty of each Communist Party. In their communique the participants in the Consultative Meeting held last March emphasized that now *"as never before all Communist parties must show understanding of their international responsibility and unite for the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against the rule of monopoly capital, for active support of the liberation movement and the defense of peoples that have become the victims of imperialist aggression, in the fight for universal peace based on respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all states."*

The Communist movement develops in struggle against opportunist trends, primarily in struggle against revisionism and dogmatism.

Reared by Lenin in a spirit of irreconcilability to opportunism, the CPSU wages a steadfast struggle against all departures from Marxism-Leninism, against revisionism in all its manifestations. As a Party standing at the head of a country, it does not merely confine itself to condemning opportunism. The fight against opportunism is an integral element of its policy, which is based on the consistent realization of the Leninist principles of building communism, the Leninist ideas of scientific guidance of society. The fight against opportunism is embodied in the fight all along the

line against imperialism and its anti-Communist ideology, in effective support of all liberation movements, and in educational work to overcome the survivals of the bourgeois ideology and nationalist prejudices.

The CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties perseveringly combat dogmatism and sectarianism. For the CPSU, a party at the head of a country, this implies above all a creative approach to all the problems of building Communism, taking cognizance in good time of new developments, an irreconcilable stand against doctrinairism, against any tendency blindly to cling to outdated patterns. At present, on the basis of a study of the objective development of socialist society and scientific assessment of its needs and possibilities, the CPSU is working out and implementing political solutions which offer the maximum scope for the country's advance towards communism.

In the sphere of international policy our Party takes a realistic view of the world situation and the concrete conditions and possibilities of each of the revolutionary detachments, and upholds, flexibly, in true Leninist fashion, the interests of the socialist community, the national-liberation movement and the working-class movement.

Experience shows that revisionism and dogmatism frequently intertwine and thrive on each other's opportunism. A correct Marxist-Leninist policy, therefore, implies irreconcilability to any form of opportunism, to any attempt at undermining the solidarity of Communists.

The Communist parties adhering to the correct, Marxist-Leninist standpoint are working hard to ensure unity of action in the Communist movement and to achieve cohesion of its ranks on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, to combat every attempt to aggravate the differences.

It should be noted that a considerable part of the differences in the Communist movement today stem from diverging approaches to the cardinal issues of our time, first and foremost to the question of which of the forces making up the revolutionary movement should be considered the main force. Ours is a time of rapid growth of the revolutionary movement. Revolutions of different types come together in a powerful stream. Together they form a single world revolutionary process, even if they differ from one another as regards their nature, motive forces, level of development and international significance.

Marxist-Leninists hold that the socialist world system is the chief revolutionary force of our time. It exercises a decisive influence on the world revolutionary process, and is a bulwark of the national-liberation movement and the entire liberation struggle of the working class and the masses generally all over the world.

The CPSU, fully aware of the gravity of the difficulties encountered in the international Communist movement, is doing everything in its power to help overcome them on the basis

of Marxist-Leninist principles. In the present conditions the way to unity lies above all through concerted practical action on the part of all Communists, coordination of their international policies to combat imperialism. Bilateral and multilateral meetings and negotiations between the fraternal parties are highly important. The CPSU, like other Marxist-Leninist parties, believes that thoroughly prepared world forums can do much towards overcoming the differences and cementing the unity of the Communist movement.

In its March resolution "On the Results of the Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties," the Central Committee of the CPSU stressed: "The CPSU will continue steadfastly to follow the Leninist line set out in the Program of the CPSU and the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings, firmly to uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to work together with the other Communist parties for the unity of all the socialist countries, of all the Marxist-Leninist parties, of all the revolutionary forces of our time in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, for peace, democracy and socialism."

The Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU held in October and November 1964 and in March and September 1965 are of fundamental importance for our Party's activity both at home and in the international arena. Boldly and firmly the Party eliminated the obstacles there were to correct Leninist methods of elaborating and carrying out its policy. Our experience and the development of Soviet society show that these measures were timely.

The decisions of the Central Committee meetings are based on the pivotal ideas of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses and have one basic objective: to ensure successful building of Communism in the USSR, reinforce the unity of the Communist movement and the socialist community, and strengthen our positions in the struggle against imperialism, against the war danger, for peace, democracy, and socialism.

The Party is concentrating on the key fields in building the material and technological base of communism, working for an upswing in agriculture, and improving the work of industry.

Having critically reviewed the scientifically unjustified methods of management that failed to pass the test of practice, the Central Committee of the CPSU is working to make better use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, and of material incentives, to increase production and raise the standard of living. Our Party is improving the methods of Party leadership in the ideological sphere to meet the needs of the present stage in the development of Soviet society with the object of heightening in every way the com-

munist consciousness of all the peoples of the USSR.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Soviet Union is doing its utmost to strengthen friendship with the socialist countries, to develop relations with the young national states, and is consistently working to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. Needless to say, the policy of peaceful coexistence includes determined and timely action against the aggressive imperialist forces led by the United States.

Our Party firmly pursues a policy of strengthening the unity of the socialist community. Its Central Committee has done everything possible to normalize relations with the Communist Party of China. But, as is known, these steps have so far produced no positive results.

Our country is looking forward to the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU, an important event in the life of the Party and the whole people. The preparations for the Congress are highlighted by steady progress in building Communism, which our Party and people consider their chief international contribution to the struggle against imperialism and for mankind's social progress.

* * *

The thirty years since the Seventh Congress have been replete with events of epoch-making importance. The material base of the world revolutionary forces, the socialist system, has expanded and become stronger. The number of Communists in the world has increased more than tenfold, to nearly 50,000,000. This redoubles our faith in the victory of the great cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and makes the Communist parties and their supporters all the more sure of the soundness of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Communist parties place their growing strength at the service of grand and positive ideals — ideals diametrically opposite to the destructive, aggressive designs and nature of imperialism. The Communist objectives are peace and the security of nations, national independence, democracy, socialism and communism.

The strength of the Communists has grown tremendously, and so has their responsibility for the future of socialism, for the cause of the working class, for the deliverance of man-

kind from the danger of thermonuclear war.

The CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties hold high the banner of solidarity of the international army of Communists. Not a split but unity — this is the watchword of our Party, a contingent of the world Communist movement.

There are great social battles ahead. In all parts of the world an epoch-making struggle against imperialism and for man's social progress is gaining momentum. As this struggle proceeds, the Marxist-Leninist parties soberly assess the setting in which it is waged, the extent to which the objective and subjective factors have ripened for one or another form of revolutionary action. They know that there must be no lagging behind events, that blows must be delivered to the class enemy when the conditions for this have matured and the masses are ready for action. But the Communists also know that essential stages of development cannot be bypassed, that they must not run ahead of events and call for decisive action before the masses are ready. The Communist parties are guided by Lenin's words that for the triumph of the working-class cause "we need no hysterical outbursts. What we need is the measured tread of the iron battalions of the proletariat."

Marx in his time paid tribute to the Communards in Paris for "storming heaven." The heroic assault initiated by them was victoriously continued by the proletariat of Russia under the leadership of Lenin's Party. Speaking at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Lenin, with complete faith in the revolutionary might of the working-class movement, said that when the Communists learn to improve the methods and content of their work the "prospect of the world revolution will be not merely good, but excellent."

Looking back over the path traversed by the revolutionary movement, we can see that the revolutionary reconstruction of the world is proceeding steadily, overcoming all the obstacles in its way. The cause of socialism has been advanced by the militant contingents of the working class in the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia. And the heroic people of Cuba have established socialism in Latin America.

We can confidently say that the final victory of communism is assured.

Characteristic features of Leninist strategy and tactics

JOHANN KOPLÉNIG

Honorary Chairman,
Communist Party of Austria

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS of the Communist International is rightly regarded as a turning point in the history of the Communist movement, as the beginning of a strategic reorganization by the Communist parties. Its significance lay in the fact that it mobilized the working class, all anti-fascists and democrats to fight against fascism and the growing war danger. The strategy of a united front of all anti-fascist, democratic and patriotic forces, elaborated and proposed by the Seventh Congress, largely contributed to the victory over fascism.

This was not the first time that the Communist International had raised the question of a united front of the working class, of a political alliance with other political groups and sections of the working people. Unity has always been a feature of the Leninist strategy and tactics. What the Seventh Congress did was to pose this question in a new way, in the new situation brought about by the advent of fascism to power in Germany.

In its discussions and decisions the Seventh Congress proceeded from the profound analysis of the international situation made by Dimitroff in his report, from the realization that fascism was not merely the replacement of one bourgeois government by another, but the replacement of one state form of class domination by the bourgeoisie — bourgeois democracy — by another form, that of the terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary and aggressive part of monopoly capital, a dictatorship spearheaded politically and economically not only against the working class, but also against the broadest sections of the people, against the entire nation.

When it elaborated its strategy for a united front and a people's front on an international scale the Seventh Congress was able to draw on the experience gained in this respect in a

number of countries. In France, for example, united action had already been established between Communists and Socialists and the people's front was taking shape. In Austria the Communists and Socialists had fought jointly in February 1934 against the fascist offensive. A united front had crystallized in the course of the Asturian miners' uprising and in the joint actions by the Italian Communist and Socialist parties. In other countries Communists jointly with Social Democrats and anti-fascists of different trends and views, were waging a struggle in defense of democratic liberties.

The Seventh Congress was the first step toward overcoming erroneous views which hampered the development of the struggle. Besides a frequent underestimation of the fascist danger the principal obstacle to deploying the anti-fascist forces was an undialectical approach to bourgeois democracy. A consequence of this was that the Communist parties were unable to draw the proper conclusions in good time from the profound crisis in which bourgeois democracy found itself. Thus at its Eleventh Plenum in the spring of 1931 the Executive Committee of the Communist International stated:

"If the struggle against fascism is to be successful it is essential that the Communist parties mobilize the masses on the basis of a united front from below against all forms of bourgeois dictatorship, against all its reactionary measures aimed at clearing the way for a naked fascist dictatorship. It is essential that they rapidly and resolutely rectify the mistakes which in the main boil down to the liberal view of seeing fascism as the opposite of bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as the opposite of its naked fascist forms, a viewpoint which, clearly, reflects the social-

democratic influences in the Communist movement."

This assessment, in effect, equated bourgeois democracy with fascism. And this at a time when advancing fascism openly proclaimed the aim of destroying bourgeois democracy and its institutions, which it did when it came to power.

Lenin noted in his time that the attempts to apply in a new, fundamentally different situation slogans and tactics which were right and appropriate in some other period, were most unfortunate for the working-class movement. The general offensive of fascism and its victory in Germany brought home to the working class the need to defend the democratic rights of the people against fascism. But some time passed before this was fully realized by the revolutionary working class movement.

In his closing speech at the Seventh Congress Dimitrov said that a number of Communist parties while mobilizing the masses to repel the onslaught of fascism, nevertheless had their misgivings about formulating positive democratic demands, fearing that they would thereby create democratic illusions among the masses. This fear, he said, has its source in an incorrect and undialectical approach to bourgeois democracy. "Our attitude to bourgeois democracy is not the same under all conditions. For instance, at the time of the October Revolution, the Russian Bolsheviks waged a life and death struggle against all those political parties which, under the slogan of defense of bourgeois democracy opposed the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. The Bolsheviks fought these parties because the banner of bourgeois democracy had at that time become the standard around which all the counter-revolutionary forces gathered to challenge the victory of the proletariat. The situation is quite different in the capitalist countries at present. Now the fascist counter-revolution is attacking bourgeois democracy in an effort to establish the most barbaric regime of exploitation and suppression of the working masses. Now the working masses in a number of capitalist countries are faced with the necessity of making a *definite* choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism." And Dimitrov concluded with the words: "But in order to be able to link up the struggle for democratic rights with the struggle of the working class for socialism, it is necessary first and foremost to discard any cut-and-dried approach to the question of defense of bourgeois democracy."

The correctness of steering a course towards common democratic aims and those of the working class, that is, towards waging a struggle against war and fascism, was borne out at the time of the Second World War. This line was continued after the victory over fascism. It was reflected in the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, at international

meetings and in many documents of the Communist parties. It is to this day, when the situation is fundamentally different from what it was at the time of the Seventh Congress, the guiding principle in our efforts to establish unity of the working class and of all democratic forces in the struggle for a lasting peace and against the capitalist monopolies. In this struggle we, too, seek to enlist the cooperation of all progressive forces and elements of bourgeois democracy, with due consideration, of course, to the changes that have taken place and are continuing to take place as a result of the defeat of fascism on the one hand, and the consolidation of the forces of socialism, on the other.

Parallel with the attempts of monopoly capital and reaction to restrict democracy, to fetter the initiative of the people through anti-democratic laws and authoritarian measures, and by controlling the radio, television, etc., we see on the other hand that the working class and other sections of the working people are no longer confining themselves to defending their hard-won democratic liberties; they are fighting to expand and renovate democracy and restrict the power of the monopolies. These consistent militant actions are becoming an important lever for mobilizing the masses to fight for peace, social progress and the socialist construction of society.

It is clear that bourgeois democracy cannot be equated with socialist democracy, if only because bourgeois democracy does not, and cannot, abolish private ownership of the means of production, with exploitation and class contradictions. To gloss over the basic difference between bourgeois and socialist democracy would be tantamount to renouncing the struggle for socialism. But it is equally clear that we must not overlook the fact that as a result of the contradictions between monopoly capital and the people's interests, as a result of the influence exerted by the socialist world, by the struggle of the working people for social and political progress, changes are taking place also in the bourgeois democracies, changes which should be taken into account by the working class in the fight for socialism.

It is true that although the anti-fascist struggle left its imprint on a number of European countries, recent developments indicate that monopoly capital and the militarist forces are still a threat to democracy and the freedom of peoples, that extension of democracy greatly depends on the struggle waged by the working class in alliance with the progressive and democratic sections of the people.

The Seventh Congress decisions were important for our Party in many respects. They helped us to orientate the masses on launching an anti-fascist national struggle, against Hitler's annexation of Austria. This was a major pre-requisite for uniting the democratic and patriotic forces in the struggle against Hitler and recreating an independent and democratic Austria. Out of this united front policy there

evolved our active cooperation, after the liberation, in building up the Second Republic and our policy of permanent neutrality.

Restoration of national sovereignty and the people's deep-rooted striving for independence and neutrality greatly weakened the positions of the pan-German and reactionary circles in the country. This in turn led to a certain realignment of political and class forces and in a certain sense to a change in the economic structure of the country. This change was most evident in the large-scale nationalization of heavy industry which formerly belonged to German monopoly capital. Nationalization in Austria was not only an event of considerable socio-political significance; it is also a major factor in safeguarding her independence. Despite its shortcomings this nationalization cannot be identified with state monopoly capital. We see it as an important element making for the further extension of democracy and social progress. As a result of the nationalization monopoly capital in Austria has been weakened and certain curbs have been imposed on the international monopolies, especially German monopoly capital which is trying to bring the Austrian economy under its control. Thus the movement in support of nationalization and its expansion is merging with the movement to safeguard the country's independence and neutrality, and to promote democracy and social progress.

In reviewing the situation in Austria we should remember that the proximity of the socialist states, the might of the socialist world and the policy of peaceful coexistence are all factors greatly influencing the country's political development and the actions of the working class and other progressive forces. Despite the policy of social partnership pursued by the Socialist Party, a policy which hampers mass activity and plays into the hands of capitalist circles, the working class carries greater weight today than at any time in its history.

The changes in the alignment of class forces are resulting in the trade unions no longer confining themselves to the traditional struggle for better conditions and a better social policy. The demand is voiced that the working people be given a bigger say in economic and public affairs. This demand was reflected in a decision of the Nineteenth Congress of our Party calling for the participation of factory and office workers in economic management, noting that it was a question of extending the influence of the working class to spheres where employers or their representatives still decided matters on their own. In other words, it is a question of restricting the actual powers of the employer. The movement for working-class participation in economic management is part of the movement for the renovation of democracy, for new democratic forms and methods of government.

In setting these stage-by-stage objectives we proceed from the fact that the factory and office workers constitute the most powerful

force in society. Co-management does not mean reconciliation with capitalism. On the contrary, the purpose is to do away with capitalist domination, to create a social and economic system under which the working class no longer just takes part in management but together with all working people exerts a decisive influence on the country's economic and social development.

The demand to broaden and renovate democracy and to give the working people a bigger say in economic management, like the movement to restrict the power of the capitalist monopolies, undoubtedly represents a new category of democratic demands. These demands extend, more and more, beyond the existing capitalist structure. The movement for these fundamental changes is merging with the fight for a new social system, for socialism. Here we have the answer to the question that arises sometimes: will not the fight for positive democratic demands and for democracy divert the working class from the fight for socialism? In his closing speech at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern Georgi Dimitrov answered this question by quoting Lenin: "It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."*

We believe that in the present situation when we are confronted with the growing activity of reactionary imperialist circles, when it is essential that we look for new ways and means of establishing a united militant front of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces, it is of the utmost importance to establish the interdependence between democracy and socialism.

Defense of democracy and its extension are in present-day Austria closely linked up with the fight to safeguard the country's independence and neutrality against the encroachments by the West German militarists and, in particular, with the fight to prevent the West German and other foreign monopolies from subordinating, directly or indirectly through the EEC, Austria's economy and the entire country to their interests.

Each fraternal Party elaborates its policy and tactics in keeping with the specific conditions of its country, with due cognizance of the practical experience of the Communists of other countries, but without, however, applying this experience mechanically. We hold a constant exchange of views and experience in the interests of promoting the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism to be essential

*Lenin. *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*.

to mutual understanding and unity of action, to furthering our joint efforts to restore and

strengthen the much needed unity of the world Communist movement.

The national liberation movement and the Communists

KHALED BAGDASH

General Secretary,
Syrian Communist Party

WE OLDER COMMUNISTS who had the good fortune to attend the Seventh Congress of the Communist International have unforgettable memories of that occasion. Dealing a smashing blow at sectarianism and orienting the Communists on the struggle for the unity of the working class and of all democratic forces against fascism and the danger of war, on the unity of all patriotic forces in the struggle against imperialism, it was truly a historical turning point.

Although the situation today bears little semblance to that of thirty years ago, the decisions of the Seventh Congress have not lost their significance for Communist theory and practice.

The conditions differed from country to country, and each Party worked out its own tactics adapted to the national scene, but this did not prevent full agreement on a common strategy and common tactics for the entire international Communist movement. The unity of the movement was based not on coincidence of the tactics of the various parties but on complete identity of aims.

Today, when the question comes up of the relation between the tactics of the working-class and Communist parties in power in the socialist countries and the tactics of the proletariat and the Communist parties which still have to win power, we should bear in mind that this is no new issue, that it occupied a prominent place in the deliberations of the Seventh Congress. "For us it is perfectly clear," Togliatti said on this score in his report, "that the aims of the Soviet Union's peace policy

and the aims of the policy of the working class and the Communist parties of the capitalist countries are identical. There can be no doubt on this score in our ranks. We not only defend the Soviet Union in general, we concretely uphold the whole of its policy and each of its actions. But this identity of aims by no means signifies that at each given moment, in the course of each particular action and on all issues the tactics of the proletariat and the Communist parties which are still fighting to win power must wholly coincide with the concrete tactical steps taken by the Soviet proletariat and the CPSU (B) which already exercise power in the Soviet Union."

Today there are two erroneous, and I would say, even dangerous, approaches to this question. The first ignores the specific position of the Soviet Union in the world arena as the main economic, political and military bastion of the socialist camp. The proponents of this view would like to see the tactics of the Soviet Union completely coincide with the tactics of every other Communist Party. More, they would subordinate the tactics of the Soviet Union and its entire foreign policy to the tactical requirements of the other Communist parties.

The second erroneous trend holds, on the contrary, that all the Communist parties should take exactly the same attitude as the Soviet Union and other socialist states towards the governments of the countries concerned. We have seen this view crop up in the case of some of the newly-free countries of Asia and Africa. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries pursue a policy of alliance with

these countries against imperialism and for peace and help them to achieve economic independence. But this does not mean that the Communist parties and the democratic forces generally in the latter must under all circumstances support their governments and renounce the fight for democratic freedoms, for the workers' and peasants' demands and against the negative aspects and deficiencies of their foreign policy.

Here one important point should be noted. The issue of democracy cannot be posed today as it was thirty years ago, when the Seventh Congress called for defending bourgeois democracy, or whatever remained of it, against the fascist offensive. Bourgeois democracy has suffered bankruptcy in many Asian and African countries. But this does not mean that just because some progressive measures have been carried out we should remain silent when workers and peasants and progressives generally are deprived of democratic rights. The Communists take a clear-cut class stand. They demand democratic rights, not for the feudal lords, the big bourgeoisie and other reactionaries, but for the fighters against imperialism and reaction, for social progress, and especially for the workers and peasants, for the Communists themselves, for all who truly believe in socialism and want to see its triumph in their native country.

If developments since the Seventh Congress have proved the soundness of its guidelines and decisions, this is above all because the Congress was guided not so much by emotion, or by transient, chance phenomena but because it defined its attitude towards the various strata of society, parties and individuals not on the basis of verbal declarations, official programs or any particular aspect of their policy, but on the basis of their class nature, on the basis of a profound examination of class interests. The Congress did not seek to justify a particular policy by artificially elevating a tactical position or tactical considerations to the eminence of universal theory; to have done so would have meant jettisoning the class approach and, consequently, sacrificing the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Be the objective conditions in one or another country what they may, and no matter how weak numerically and poorly organized its working class, no other social group, no other class and no individual can take over the historical mission of the working class. A policy which does not take cognizance of this is doomed to fail. The only correct policy is that which sees the working class not only as it is today but which takes into account its quantitative and qualitative development in the future. This, of course, is not to say that the other classes and social groups as well as individual leaders play no role in the common struggle. Every social group and each class should be regarded in the light of the place they occupy in the objective process of social development.

Situations may arise when one or another social group or individual leader is carried to the fore on the tide of the struggle against fascism, imperialism, feudalism and, in some cases, also against the big bourgeoisie. When this happens the groups or individuals in question should be supported and an alliance formed with them. But we must be on guard against attempts to justify such alliances by spurious theories repudiating the role of the working class both now and in the future on the pretext of developing Marxism-Leninism to meet the new conditions.

The Seventh Congress, while putting forward the united front tactic, called for safeguarding the integrity of the Communist parties, preserving their independence and strengthening their ranks. Stressing the need for resolute effort to extirpate every survival of self-complacent sectarianism, Dimitrov warned against the dangers attendant upon any "minimizing of the role of the Communist Party in the united front."

We, too, are against sectarianism, and we do not consider it permissible to go so far as to deny the role of the Communist parties and to call for their dissolution. As a matter of fact, the whole point in combating sectarianism is to strengthen the Party. It is essential to underscore the fact that the call issued by the Seventh Congress to the Communist parties to preserve their identity and to carry on independent activities was addressed not only to the parties in the West but also to those in the colonies and semi-colonies. Is there anyone today who would venture to claim that experience has shown that proletarian parties have no place in the conditions prevailing in the newly-free African and Asian countries?

True, at the time of the Seventh Congress the national-liberation movement was a far cry from what it is today when in a number of countries the big bourgeoisie has suffered fiasco and leadership of the movement has passed over either to the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, or to nationalist elements from among the intelligentsia and military people representing the petty bourgeoisie who have effected important socio-economic changes. In order correctly to judge these groups and elements and to assess the nature and trend of the changes they have brought about it is imperative to adhere to the class approach by which the Seventh Congress was guided.

If an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution which has not yet fully carried out its national-democratic tasks (for example, in the sphere of agrarian reform, inasmuch as big property has not been abolished, and in relation to imperialism, insofar as its grip has not been completely destroyed) embarks on measures transcending these tasks and begins to make inroads in the positions of the big bourgeoisie, does this warrant the conclusion that this is already a socialist revolution, or that the given country is moving towards socialism, regard-

less of the class nature of the governmental power and the existing system and irrespective of the role played by the working class and the masses generally?

Needless to say, only sectarians and dogmatists could argue that measures of this type carried out under other than proletarian leadership have little to do with socialism. At the same time there are no grounds for saying that they signify that the given country has taken the socialist way. To take this view would be tantamount to saying that the leading role in establishing socialism no longer belongs to the working class but has passed over to the nationalist groupings and the small bourgeoisie.

Some comrades believe that the far-reaching reforms taking place signify a change in the basis, and that this is bound to bring about corresponding modifications in the superstructure. This view underestimates or ignores the interrelation of basis and superstructure. The superstructure is not always subject only to the influence of the basis. On the contrary, international and domestic factors can cause sudden changes in the superstructure capable of influencing the basis.

We Syrian Communists hold that there is nothing to gain from hasty characterization of one or another form of development as socialism or in the direction of socialism without thorough examination of the nature of the prevailing relations of production and without taking into account the class nature of the governmental power and the social system. Experience shows that sudden changes in governments, in their composition and policy, can alter overnight the general trend of development and jeopardize whatever socio-economic changes have taken place.

Nationalization of enterprises owned by the big bourgeoisie in the newly-free countries is a progressive measure and as such should be supported, but it alone is not enough to judge of the nature of the particular system and its future prospects. Who will claim that socialism boils down only to nationalization and that the other socio-economic and political aspects of the life of society are of no consequence?

The nature of the state sector of the economy, its perspectives and future depend on the nature of the governmental power and the system. The Arab countries offer a multitude of examples bearing this out. For example, the Iraqi authorities nationalized some enterprises belonging to the big bourgeoisie, but what is this nationalization worth when the self-same rulers shelved the none too radical agrarian reform, grant benefits to the imperialist oil monopolies, hold thousands of Communists and democrats in prison, wage a dirty war against the Kurdish people, trample on elementary democratic rights, and give free reign to dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries, accomplices of Nuri Said, who are again returning to political posts in the government and the administration generally? Developments of this type threaten to make the nationalization

meaningless. Our Iraqi comrades are calling for the overthrow of this regime and the Syrian Communist Party fully supports their stand.

The implementation of some deep-going socio-economic reforms is no justification for negating the role of the working class and its vanguard in safeguarding these reforms.

Socialism is indeed becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. But the economic and political influence of imperialism has not yet been abolished.

The socialist world influences the development of human society generally, but this influence cannot take the place of the class forces destined to be the mainspring of social progress in the newly-free countries.

Yet there are those who say that the supporters of the so-called "Arab," "African" or "Islamic" socialism will, eventually, discover that the only real socialism is scientific socialism. From this it would follow that the future of these countries depends on the extent to which the adherents of these credos become convinced of the correctness of scientific socialism.

But experience shows that this is not the case. The shaping of the future depends on the struggle between classes and on the outcome of this struggle.

We consider it essential always to underscore the class nature of state power because the petty bourgeois strata and groups generally, owing to their class nature and the numerous contradictory trends inherent in them, cannot carry economic and social changes to consummation, to consistent and radical socialist reconstruction. The experience of a number of newly-free countries and the changes in the positions of their governments show that this contains a constant threat not only to further progress but also to the achievements gained to date. The same cannot be said of the working class, which is destined, whatever its present status, to play the key role in the process of socialist reconstruction. Success in this reconstruction depends on the activity of the masses, above all of the working class, on the part they play in the life of society.

Agrarian reform and nationalization involve overcoming formidable objective difficulties of an economic, social and political order, as is the case in Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Syria and other countries. The machinery of state alone with its army and police cannot cope with these difficulties. Nor is the popularity of one or another leader enough, as events have shown. What is needed is an influential, authoritative revolutionary mass party enjoying the confidence of the people and hence able to rally the masses to overcome the difficulties and capable of correctly implementing reforms while effectively countering the machinations of the domestic reactionaries and foreign imperialists.

This is not to say that we Communists do not recognize the role of the other revolutionary forces advocating socialism. On the con-

trary, we call for the unity of all these forces in order to overcome the difficulties and to combat the intrigues of imperialism and the reactionaries at home. But this unity cannot be based on the disbandment of the Communist parties or their being dissolved in other parties.

The Syrian Communist Party holds that in order to overcome the difficulties and to rebuff the intrigues of the imperialists and domestic reactionaries it is necessary to achieve unity among all progressives—the Left Baathists, Arab socialists, independent socialists, Communists and all progressives—in a national united front or in some other form according with the conditions in our country.

The Communists are the standard-bearers of socialism. Nothing could be more absurd than the views adumbrated by those who say that with the agrarian reform and nationalization under way the Communists no longer have any role to play. Imperialist propaganda, which is echoed in some quarters, would make it appear as if we wanted a monopoly of leadership, as if we denied that others have a role to play and wished to oust them from the seats of power merely to take their place. All we want is that all progressives, the Communists included, should take part in ensuring the success of the reforms and charting the overall policy of the country. Only in this way can past achievements be consolidated and progress maintained.

The Communists are eager to place the wealth of experience they have accumulated, their loyalty and their capacity for self-sacrifice at the service of society—indeed, they have already done so where they have been given the opportunity—in order to ensure successful implementation of progressive changes and to create the socio-economic and political preconditions for socialism.

The march of events in our area and throughout the world makes it imperative to achieve

not only unity of the progressive forces in each Arab country but also the unity of the revolutionary patriotic forces on the scale of the entire Arab world.

The Syrian Communist Party calls for the establishment of friendly, fraternal relations between Cairo and Damascus on the basis of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. This, we are convinced, would strengthen the positions of both fraternal countries vis-à-vis imperialism, Zionism and reaction in general, and would help to reinforce the Arab national-liberation movement as a whole.

Today the Communist parties are mature enough to need no supreme international body to organize and coordinate the activities of the international Communist movement. But the maturity of the Communist parties does not signify that we no longer need to be bound by any international discipline; it means that we have achieved a level when we are able voluntarily to submit to this discipline even though there is no higher body of the type of the Communist International.

U.S. imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam, U.S. intervention in the affairs of the Latin American and African peoples, the naked aggression of British imperialism against the Arab people of Aden, the collaboration of all imperialist forces with Zionism with a view to preventing the Palestine Arabs from exercising their legitimate rights, and the revanchist resurgence in West Germany which is endangering peace in the heart of Europe—all lend urgency to the question of the unity of the Communist movement not only as a matter of principle but as a vital practical problem the solution of which cannot be put off until a third world war breaks out. This unity must be achieved now so as to prevent a new war, so as to safeguard the freedom and independence of the peoples and uphold peace throughout the world.

For new victories of democracy

JACQUES DUCLOS

**Member, Political Bureau,
French Communist Party**

IN CONNECTION with the problems discussed at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, such topical issues as upholding the democratic gains of the people and extending democracy in the interests of the working people deserve profound study.

In 1935, the year when the Seventh Congress was held, fascism, against which Dimitrov had put up a heroic stand, was on the rampage in many imperialist countries. After Italy it triumphed in Germany and raised its head in other countries, notably in France, Austria and Spain.

The aftermath of the world economic crisis weighed heavily on the working people. Unemployment affected masses of workers, while ruin, expropriation and misery became the lot of the working peasantry.

Encountering the difficulties caused by the crisis, the bourgeoisie tried to load all its burdens on to the working people, but in doing so it met with determined resistance.

Thus in February 1934 in France the workers and democrats joined hands to oppose the fascist leagues which, using Nazi methods, made an attempt to destroy the Republic and establish a fascist regime.

The advance of the workers' and anti-fascist struggle made it possible to achieve and cement the unity of the working class. The Socialist-Communist united front found expression in the United Action Pact concluded between the Communist and Socialist parties.

For the French Communist Party this pact was but a first step. The foundations of militant working-class unity thus laid had to be broadened, the alliance had to be extended to the middle classes so as to assure the defeat of fascism.

In Nantes, on October 24, 1934, just before the Radical Party Congress, Maurice Thorez speaking for the Communist Party suggested the formation of a "Popular Front to fight for bread, freedom and peace." "It is not true," he said, "that the only choice is between the so-called 'national alliance' policy and Soviet

power. There can be a policy meeting the interests of the people and capable of rehabilitating democracy by way of renovating it."

Thus, already a year before the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the question was posed of searching for a form of transition from monopoly rule to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proposal of the French Communist Party was not approved by the Comintern leadership, which suggested that Thorez should renounce his bid for a Popular Front.

Convinced of the correctness of the political line it envisaged for mobilizing the masses against fascism, our Party deemed it its duty to act in the spirit of the proposal it had made.

The Popular Front came into being, and its success in the municipal elections in the spring of 1935 enabled the Seventh Congress to draw useful conclusions for the development of the anti-fascist struggle.

The Congress, drawing on the experience of the anti-fascist struggle in various countries, concluded that the victory of fascism was not inevitable, that it was rather a result of the weakness of the working class caused by its division. Hence it was necessary to exert every effort to build an alliance of the working-class forces, and to do this it was necessary to determine the class nature of fascism, to expose its nationalistic and social demagoguery and to map out the tactics of the working class and the democratic forces.

It was not enough merely to call upon the working people and the masses generally to fight against the fascist danger—it was necessary also to pay close attention to the day-to-day struggle for the demands of the working people, against all the reactionary measures of the bourgeois governments paving the way to fascism.

That was why, in combating the encroachments on democratic freedoms that accompanied the policy of surrender to fascism—which subsequently led to the Second World War—our Party particularly insisted on the

need for unity of action by the working people.

And although today the conditions are different, we still face the same problem of upholding democratic rights.

Indeed, after the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini the reactionaries dare not resort, openly and everywhere, to the fascist methods of abolishing democratic freedoms and establishing terror regimes. The facts show, however, a tendency to reduce to the minimum the role of democratic organs of power.

In France, for example, Parliament is in essence deprived of its powers since the National Assembly has, in effect, been turned into a kind of registry institution. At the same time the powers of the local and department bodies (municipalities and general councils) are being curtailed more and more. There is also a tendency to replace representatives elected by the people with a technocracy devoted heart and soul to the monopolies.

This policy not only negates, or greatly reduces, the role and prerogatives of elected representatives, it also enables the monopolies to tighten their grip on the economy as a whole, especially as regards utilization of state funds.

On the whole, there is an omnipresent tendency to limit the rights of Parliament whose composition, owing to the existing electoral system, often does not correspond to true political trends and alignment of the class forces.

Today the attacks against democratic freedoms are of a more concealed character. That is why it is now more difficult to perceive the threat to these freedoms and, in these conditions, it will possibly not engender such grave apprehensions on the part of the Republicans, democrats and Socialists.

For example, in France, in 1934-36, the threat of fascism and knowledge of the crimes committed by it in Italy and especially in Nazi Germany played a big role in impelling the Socialist Party to adopt a favorable attitude to united action. And the fascist putsch of February 6, 1934, stressed the scale of the imminent danger.

This apprehension on the part of the Socialists was also due to the fact that in Italy and later in Hitler Germany the fascists made no distinction between Communists and Socialists.

This, together with the resolute and unceasing struggle of the French Communist Party for unity, brought about a situation where, to use the words of Leon Blum, the united front of Communists and Socialists became inevitable.

In February 1934, thanks to our Party, greater progress was made in securing united action than had been the case in the preceding months of the struggle.

And so it became possible at the National Conference of our Party held in June 1934 to approve the following agenda: "Victory over fascism through united action! Unity—the goal of the working people!"

At this conference Maurice Thorez proclaimed the slogan: "We are for unity in action against fascism with Socialist workers at all costs. We

are for trade union unity at all costs. We are out to win over the middle classes to the side of the workers, to wrest them from the influence of fascist demagoguery."

The conference was designed to give a fresh impetus to actions in favor of the united front, and, ultimately, on July 27, 1934, a united action agreement was signed between the Socialist and Communist parties.

United, the working class found itself in a position to exert a powerful influence on the middle classes and draw them into the anti-fascist alliance, to the Popular Front, for bread, freedom and peace.

This success showed that not only was the victory of fascism not an inevitable stage in social development but that, on the contrary, successful struggle against fascism had resulted in a further development of democracy.

The fight for unity in action against fascism was developing also in Spain.

In December 1935, I, as a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, was sent on a mission to Largo Caballero, with whom I had three days of discussion, trying to convince him, proceeding from the experience of France, of the need to reach a Popular Front type of agreement with the Communist Party in anticipation of the elections scheduled for the following February.

Later, in 1936, after the military putsch, I was in Madrid when the question arose of Communist representation in the Largo Caballero government. When asked for my views, I expressed myself in favor of representation, and in this connection I would like to recall that at the Seventh Congress Maurice Thorez had spoken about the possibility of an upsurge of the mass movement that would bring about the "need for a Popular Front government which our Party would support and in which it could even participate."

Recalling these facts, I deem it useful to emphasize that the concentration of economic power in the hands of an ever smaller group of capitalist monopolies leads to stepped up attacks against democratic freedoms and engenders a policy at variance with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population.

The monopoly-controlled state adds to its functions of exercising power and maintaining order functions of an economic and political character corresponding to the new requirements.

For example, in France structural modernization is the principal aim of the Fifth Plan for the years 1966-70.

The reverse aspect of this policy is the limitation of consumption, the ever-growing pressure on the middle classes and non-monopoly enterprises, restrictions on wages, refusal to allocate adequate funds for social welfare, "price regulation" aimed at raising the cost of services and rents, the exodus from country to town, and refusal to shorten working hours without any reduction in wages.

The state intervention is aimed at restricting wages and securing the highest level of surplus

value. The state also intervenes in the sphere of investments, the need for which is growing owing to the concentration of production and the technological advance. It places at the service of the monopolies the revenue from taxation—a taxation which while not greatly felt by the latter is certainly onerous for the working people — savings deposits and the nationalized enterprises.

At its inception the regime of personal rule — an expression of monopoly domination — relied on the support of all political groups with the exception of our Party, but since then the policy of the rulers spearheaded against the working class and non-monopoly sections of the population has damaged its influence.

To the policy of one-man rule we counterpose a program containing concrete proposals which could be the basis for discussion between all democrats.

Our Party stands for governmental stability, for a strong democratic government capable of withstanding the reactionary elements and governing in the interests of the people and the nation.

Our program envisages the solution of a whole series of problems, which I will not discuss here but which provide for the functioning of institutions capable of effectively guaranteeing democratic freedoms.

Our program envisages the nationalization of the big monopolies and opens up a perspective for the development of a modern economy and for improving the conditions of the working people.

As regards the foreign policy of de Gaulle's government, we approve some of the measures it has taken in response to the growth of inter-imperialist contradictions. But for all that, we do not forget the pernicious character of the present regime, against which we are striving to unite the working-class and democratic forces.

The regime of one-man rule, signing an agreement for an alliance with West Germany a few years ago, hoped that it would be able to play the leading role in this alliance. But these hopes have crashed.

Today the Bonn militarists are demanding a share in nuclear armament, which is fraught with grave danger to peace.

Precisely for this reason defense of peace is now, as it was at the time of the Seventh Congress, a paramount task of the Communists. But the fight for peace is now being waged in a situation different from what it was 30 years ago.

Compared with 1935, deep-going changes have taken place in the world arising from the victory of socialism in a number of countries and the liberation of many nations from colonial exploitation.

In its fight against colonialism our Party had many important problems to contend with. It had to enter the lists against two colonial wars—in Vietnam and in Algeria.

The war in Vietnam is still going on because the French colonialists have been replaced

there by the U.S. imperialists. Speaking about this war, I would like to recall that at the invitation of our Party, France was visited by a delegation from the Working People's Party of Vietnam and all over the country it was accorded a warm welcome and there were moving manifestations of solidarity. This caused a new upsurge in our struggle against the Vietnam war, to enable the people there to become masters in their own house. As a matter of fact, throughout its existence our Party has repeatedly been faced with the difficult tasks of anti-colonial struggle, and it has coped with these tasks with honor.

It is to the credit of the Communist International that it resolutely posed the question of anti-colonial struggle, to which the Second International never paid adequate attention.

As for the French Communist Party, it can affirm that it has always been guided by the Marxist-Leninist concept that the people oppressed by colonialism are the allies of the working class in the fight against imperialism.

Whereas in 1958 the Communist Party was alone in opposing one-man rule, by 1962 at the time of the referendum designed to whittle down the Gaullist constitution the Communists and Socialists were marching side by side against one and the same enemy.

In the subsequent general election a reciprocal withdrawal of candidates made it possible to elect 64 Socialists, 41 Communists and several other republicans.

At that time the perspective of working-class unity seemed bright, but shortly afterwards the nomination of Gaston Defferre as the Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party created a difficult situation. In effect, Defferre wanted to be simultaneously the candidate of the "Center" and of the Socialist Party. He attempted to form a federation which would lead to the extinction of the Socialist Party itself by dissolving it in a political conglomeration with a strong leaning to the Right.

But with the failure of the Defferre policy, largely because of the unity struggle waged by our Party, a new situation developed.

Now the Communists and Socialists are working side by side and as often as not take a common stand against the one-man rule. And our proposal for working out a common program, determining the common policy of the democratic parties and organizations, will of necessity find a way to the minds of the Socialists, the workers and all democrats.

This has become possible because the tactics of our Party were consistent and flexible, because we were able to discern the trends favorable to unity and to combat those inimical to it.

The policy of the capitalist monopolies spearheaded against the interests of the vast majority of the population creates favorable objective conditions for rallying the working class and the masses—the victims of this policy. The struggle for democracy, against monopoly rule, is the issue of the day in many countries. With a view to ensuring the unity needed for the

success of this struggle, the Communists must convince the Socialists that it is in their interests to fight together with us against the forces of the past and for our common future.

In this context, the dialogue with the Socialists can be conducive to creating a climate favorable to unity, especially if joint action results in a comradeship-in-arms.

It is essential that the Socialists should know, for they do not know this yet, that we do not consider a single party indispensable for the advance to socialism.

On the contrary, we regard the cooperation of various parties in building socialism as both possible and necessary.

And if it is true that a unified party of the working class would be preferable to the existing division, the very process of unification would inevitably proceed at a slow pace because it will necessitate a discussion, since there can be no question of the Communists relinquishing the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Be that as it may, the difference between Communists and Socialists on the problem of working-class unity should not be an obstacle to joint action against the common enemy.

For this unity in action our Party is exerting every effort, brushing aside formalist considerations and placing the essence of this question above everything else.

Lastly, I would like to say that the Communist International proved worthy of the movement to the strengthening of which it made a contribution.

The Comintern was able to fulfil the task devolving on it thanks to the support of the Soviet Union.

We learned from the Communist International the need for struggle against opportun-

ism and revisionism and also against sectarianism or, in other words, against abandoning the principles of Marxism-Leninism and against dogmatism, which does not reckon with the concrete realities.

Our Party, loyal to the Moscow Declaration and Statement, considers that unity of the international Communist and working-class movement is indispensable. That is why it has proposed the holding of an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties and supports any initiative serving the cause of unity of the world Communist and working-class movement, for everyone appreciates that anything that harms this unity does grave injury to our cause—the cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Taught by the Comintern, our Party is fully aware of the necessity of proletarian internationalism and, having discarded national nihilism, has become a patriotic party (which has nothing in common with nationalism).

It is true that we Communists in the different countries work in different conditions, but what we all have in common is Marxism-Leninism.

Nor do we forget that the aim of the Communist International created by Lenin was to wrest the working class from the morass of chauvinism in which the Second International had wallowed.

Today as was the case thirty years ago, but in different conditions, we are confronted with the imperative task of achieving unity of action in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

Only by redoubling our efforts for this unity will we be able to carry on the struggle for democracy which, and we are always mindful of this, is an integral part of the fight for socialism.

Path of joint actions

RODOLFO GHIOLDI

Member of the Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Argentina

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS of the Comintern stands out in the history of the international Communist movement. It crowned the struggle against opportunism and sectarianism. The Congress decisions directed the Communist Parties along the path of joint actions by the working class, the democratic forces and the entire people against fascism, war and imperialism. The alignment of forces at the time did not, it is true, make it possible to avert war. This notwithstanding, the fundamental principles of the Congress inspired the actions of the Communists who in the most difficult conditions fought for the unity of all working people; they helped to create the conditions for the subsequent great victories won by the world proletariat and oppressed peoples. In his report to the Congress Dimitroff stressed that the task was to achieve united action in the struggle against fascism and war. Stressing the vital importance of working-class unity, he noted that even in those countries where the proletariat was relatively weak in proportion to the peasant population and the urban petty bourgeoisie it was necessary to establish a proletarian united front as a factor which would enable the working class to play the leading role.

Unity against fascism and war—this was the keynote of the Seventh Congress. Fascism and war were the two sides of the same medal. It was essential that the working class and all social sections interested in preserving democratic liberties should unite. The unity-of-action slogan had deep roots in the Communist International. The watchword of its Third Congress was "To the Masses!". It had posed the question of a united front already in 1921. However, the rise of fascism and particularly Hitler's rise to power introduced a new element of the utmost danger. The Seventh Congress therefore considered it imperative to make a sharp turn in policy toward unity of action which would enable the Communist parties, the working class and the oppressed peoples

to wage the struggle in the new conditions.

For the Communist Party of Argentina the Seventh Congress was a big event. The process of the Party's formation had not been an easy one. For reasons which I shall not go into here, sectarianism prevailed in the Party in the years preceding the congress. This sectarianism was sharply criticized by Wang Ming at the Congress, and rightly so. In *An Outline History of the Communist Party of Argentina*, published some years later, a detailed account is given of the sectarian mistakes of that period. The resolutions, reports and speeches at the Seventh Congress, which were widely circulated in Argentina at the time, were of immense value to our Party and helped to re-educate our cadres in the spirit of the Congress decisions. It goes without saying that the experience of the broad united front of the working class and the people of France, gained under the leadership of the French Communist Party, and Comrade Maurice Thorez, and later the epic of the working class and people of Spain, led by the Communist Party of Spain, exerted a decisive influence on the Argentinian Communist movement, and in the conditions of our country demonstrated the success of the unity-of-action policy. Needless to say, throughout the years of its existence the Third International played a significant role in consolidating the Marxist-Leninist parties. This was known as the "process of Bolshevization." Speaking of the experience of my Party, I should like to say that this party which emerged in the course of the struggle against the First World War, and which from its very inception was internationalist in spirit, would not have been able to rise to the positions of Marxism-Leninism without the guidance of the Comintern. The Comintern was the treasure-house of the experience of the working class of the world and, first and foremost, of the theoretical lessons and practical activity of bolshevism. Lenin, the first to stress the importance of taking cognizance of the specific

features of the Communist movement in each country, pointed out, however, that some of the basic features of the Russian revolution "have a significance which is not local, not peculiarly national, not Russian only, but international," that the Russian model shows "all countries something, and something very essential, of their near and inevitable future." Lenin also pointed out that as long as national differences remained, the unified tactics of the world communist movement should not ignore them, that the basic principles should be applied in such a way that their modification concerned only details.

The Seventh Congress called for the broadest unity of action against fascism and war. At this moment, while we are celebrating the occasion, reactionaries in a number of countries are rearing their heads, buttressed by American imperialism, the international gendarme. Take Latin America. Here the U.S. imperialists, in complicity with the local oligarchy, are carrying out bloody repressions in the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Paraguay. In the La Plata area they are preparing coups against the people. In Brazil, made desperate by the defeat of the "gorillas" in the recent elections, they declared, through one of them, Lacerda, that in the event of an opposition victory they will "turn everything upside down." It is quite clear that the U.S. extremists are steering a course for war. These facts confirm the validity of the Seventh Congress's theses in our times. The present situation is, of course, different from that of 30 years ago; it is more favorable for the working class and the people, for upholding the national interests, democracy and socialism.

Today we have the support of the socialist world system, the support of the great Soviet Union whose advance towards communism is a powerful factor in undermining the imperialist system. Of great help to us is the anti-imperialist explosion in the countries which only yesterday were oppressed by the colonialists. We have the support of the great communist and working-class movement in the capitalist countries. And on the continent itself the inextinguishable torch of the Cuban Revolution lights the way for all our peoples. Nevertheless, we must not be blind to the grave danger threatening us; the mortally wounded imperialist beast, desperate and at bay, is threatening to hurl humanity into a new world war which means a nuclear holocaust. Our supreme duty is to organize united mass actions to prevent this. That is why we again turn to the decisions of the Seventh Congress, which are an inspiration to us.

The imperialist United States is the main exporter of counter-revolution. In an attempt to disprove this fact Washington has spread, with the help of its ministry of colonies, i.e., the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Defense Council, the story about a "subversive war," its term for any movement

in Latin America which offers, or tries to offer, resistance to the exploitation by the imperialist oligarchy. It is using this as a pretext to turn the national armies, which a hundred and fifty years ago fought a war for political independence, into mercenaries to suppress the struggle for the social and political demands of the peoples.

The imperialist U.S. government is trying to brainwash the Latin American armies with propaganda to the effect that the enemy is within the country. At the same time, as is evident from the "Mann Doctrine," the State Department officially regards military dictatorships as a support for the United States. What is more, Washington reserves for itself the right to intervene militarily in the affairs of any of the Latin American countries, which it has done on repeated occasions in the present century, and only recently in the Dominican Republic. It was at the time of this armed intervention that President Johnson proclaimed the doctrine which has been given his name, viz., the right of the United States to launch armed intervention in any Latin American country where there is a possibility of a Communist government coming to power. Moreover, the President arrogated to himself the right to decide the character of such a government. Sixty years ago, Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed the same diplomatic principle and practised it. It was made clear that the U.S. government had taken upon itself police functions in Latin America. Hence the U.S. House of Representatives voted for a resolution which reproduced the "Johnson Doctrine."

Nearly all the parliaments of Latin America opposed this resolution, not to speak of the political parties, trade union centers and mass and cultural organizations. The Argentine Chamber of Deputies rejected this resolution by 89 votes to 12, declaring that it was an "attempt to violate the principles of self-determination of peoples and non-intervention." The Chamber also rejected the anachronistic "Monroe Doctrine." In these circumstances the statement of General Costa da Silva of Brazil, and General Onganía of Argentina, reflects an attempt by the Pentagon to persuade the "gorillas" of these two countries to act jointly not only against their own peoples but also against the peoples of other countries.

Our Party functions in the conditions of a precarious legality. It is in constant danger of being prosecuted for its ideas. We are debarred from taking part in elections. The authorities' latest measure affects only the Communists. We imperatively need unity if we are to combat reaction and win democratic legality, even within the existing social framework. And we are exerting every effort to secure this.

Argentinian reaction is still able to rear its head because its social roots have remained intact. The democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, which is our immediate object, is aimed precisely at destroying these

roots. But the fact is that not a single terrorist dictatorship has been able to entrench itself, thanks to the resistance offered by the working class and the democratic forces of the people. Of utmost importance is the potential of the democratic forces in the country. In order to set them in motion and enlist their support in resolving political issues they must be united for joint action, and in a general anti-imperialist front. In the fight against reaction we are inspired by the conviction that the oligarchy and the agents of imperialism are resorting to systematic repressions not because they feel invincible, but because they know they are vulnerable.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International stated: "In the *colonial and semi-colonial countries* the most important task facing the Communists is that of establishing an *anti-imperialist people's front*." The same holds true today. It applies particularly to the Argentinian Communists, as the Twelfth Congress of our Party noted. We have set as our aim, parallel with promoting the most diverse forms of mass action, to establish a national democratic front as the most suitable way of realizing a democratic, anti-latifundist and anti-imperialist program. We believe that such a front can unite the workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie and also those groups of the national bourgeoisie directly threatened by the monopolies.

In 1931 Comrade Manuilsky summed up the situation in our countries as follows: "In the countries of Latin America we have a modest task: to finish with putsches and begin the class struggle and the struggle against foreign imperialism." This "modest" task, however, proved to be anything but easy. In order to uproot the "putschist" ideology it was necessary to achieve the ideological and political independence of the working class; and organizing the struggle against imperialism meant affirming, in particular, the concept of anti-imperialist unity. The situation has changed since then, but not because there are no longer coup d'états in Latin America (as earlier noted, the "putschists" have the backing of the U.S. government), but because the conditions of struggle have changed. There are Communist parties today in all the Latin American countries, parties which have accumulated rich experience, and are in the most diverse situations carrying out broad actions in keeping with the specific features of their respective countries. The meeting of the Latin American Communist parties, held at the end of 1964, demonstrated the revolutionary maturity of these parties. Furthermore, the working class and the people are better organized. But the most important development, of course, which has made a tremendous impact, and which is decisive in the present situation, is the Cuban revolution.

The anti-imperialist revolution in conjunction with the struggle to abolish latifundism determines our immediate task. Before the October Revolution Marxism-Leninism affirmed that the

democratic revolution is not separated from the socialist stage of the revolution by a Chinese wall. And as the events at Playa Giron showed, this conclusion was based not purely on theory but also on practice. However, it does not necessarily follow from this conclusion that any of the stages of the revolution can be skipped, that we can pass on directly to the socialist revolution, considering that on the order of the day is the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. Marxism-Leninism combines the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries with the struggle for a socialist revolution in the developing countries.

The 1960 Statement of the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties stressed the dual nature of the anti-monopoly sector of the national bourgeoisie in the developing countries. But this does not mean that we underestimate the importance of the struggle to draw this sector—even if only temporarily—into the broad front of the anti-imperialist struggle. The existing and potential vacillations of these circles can be overcome not by shortening the front, which would only benefit the imperialists, but by organizing and consolidating the unity of the working class, its alliances with the peasantry, and the forces and influence of the Communist Party.

Besides its activity in this direction our Party is waging an ideological struggle against certain trends of the so-called "National Left" which would like to establish this front without the Communists.

At present the question of the different ways the revolution will follow is being widely discussed by all the Communist parties who are deciding the issue in keeping with the concrete conditions in their respective countries. At our Twelfth Congress we arrived at the conclusion that in the course of the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, which we see as part of the struggle for socialism, we must act jointly with the mass movement and, relying on it, firmly take the peaceful path if the conditions for this exist or, failing such conditions, the path of insurrection. But in either case the mass movement is our indispensable support. We believe that the thesis of the 1960 Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties on this score still holds true.

The Communists of Latin America have common problems and common aims. But the conditions in their respective countries are specific. Argentina has a big industrial proletariat; it has a force of nearly seven million wage earners. Nearly all the workers in the country are organized in trade unions. Our purpose is to unite the working class under the leadership of the Party, so that it will be able to play its proper role in the alliance with the peasantry, and in the national democratic front.

The bourgeoisie and the imperialists want to split the trade union movement. Our Party, notwithstanding the difficulties, is doing every-

thing to unite all sectors of the working-class movement and in this way prevent a split. It upholds the idea of a single trade union center, free from the influence of the employers and the government. In Argentine conditions working-class unity signifies, principally, unity with the Peronist working people. This, in turn, calls for serious efforts to wrest the Peronist supporters from the ideological influence of the national bourgeoisie. Herein lies the specific feature of our movement.

The imperialists are resorting to all means, including violence and terror, to check the worldwide movement for social and national liberation. The imperialists speak glibly about the possibility of a nuclear holocaust. However, the alignment of forces is steadily changing in our favor. It is our duty to make the best use of our forces and to unite the peoples to support Cuba which is constantly imperilled, and to support the people of Vietnam. We Latin Americans cannot rest easy so long as the U.S. imperialists have their guns trained on Cuba and so long as there is a single U.S.

marine in the Dominican Republic. Needless to say, the differences that have arisen in the international Communist movement are not making it any easier to perform this lofty duty. While recognizing the right to express different points of view, we believe that the point of departure should be joint actions by all parties against imperialism. We think that joint actions are the best way to create the conditions for overcoming the misunderstandings. We must bar all roads to the imperialists. We abide, on all these issues, by the decisions of the 1964 meeting of representatives of the Latin American Communist parties, in other words, we favor unity of the international Communist movement, based on Marxism-Leninism and the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, we favor an end to the polemics and the factional activities. What we all need most is the fraternal cohesion of all the Communist parties.

Long live the unity of the international Communist movement.

From the people's front to people's democracy

DEZSO NEMES

Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee,
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS of the Comintern marked a turning point also in the policy of the Communist Party of Hungary. Although the Party had begun to modify its policy substantially already in 1933-34, the changes were purely of a tactical nature. We still considered the socialist revolution to be our immediate strategic goal. It was the Seventh Congress that helped the Party to realize that the first task was the democratic reconstruction of the country. Only by taking this course would it be possible to fight successfully for anti-fascist proletarian unity and for a powerful people's front.

The Party waged a tireless struggle against

an alliance with Nazi Germany, against Hungary's entry into the war on the side of Hitler Germany, and for the establishment of an anti-fascist national front. The People's Front acquired broader meaning as a result; it became a national front policy.

It was a hard struggle. The ruling classes of Hungary were jubilant at the partition of Czechoslovakia following the notorious Munich sell-out. The nationalist fumes spread to the liberal opposition parties and to the leadership of the Social Democratic Party. This greatly hampered the development of proletarian unity and the formation of the anti-fascist national front. After Hungary's entry into the war on

the side of Hitler Germany the Party had to wage the struggle in still more difficult conditions. But it unswervingly pursued its policy. When the liberal opposition parties realized that Nazi Germany had no chance of winning the war, they adopted a wait-and-see attitude, in expectation of the arrival of Anglo-American troops.

In the Spring of 1944, when Hungary was openly occupied by the Nazis and the situation in the country became critical, the Party succeeded in forming a political alliance with the Social Democratic Party, the Smallholders' Party, the party of the liberals, and the National Peasant Party, the party of the rural poor. This political alliance was known as the *Hungarian Front*.

The militant program of democratic Hungary, worked out by the Communist Party, oriented the national resistance towards a definite goal. In this resistance movement, which was headed by the working class, the foundation was laid of the future cooperation between the Communists and the Social Democrats. While the Right-wing Social Democrats chose to keep aloof and to bide their time, the Left wing, which pursued a policy of close cooperation with the Communist Party, took over the leadership of the Social Democratic Party.

In October 1944, in the grim days of the German fascist occupation, the Communist and Social Democratic parties concluded an agreement on unity which stated that "only the militant revolutionary unity of the working class, its determination and leadership" can ensure the victory of the Hungarian people in the struggle for peace and for a new democratic Hungary. This required the "establishment of revolutionary unity of the two parties" for the present in the form of close cooperation between them, each retaining "freedom of criticism," i.e., the right to present their ideological and political viewpoints. The agreement likewise established that at the moment the two parties were fighting for a democratic Hungary, but considered socialism to be their ultimate goal; that after the war they would raise the question of "the unification of the two parties, of establishing a single, united revolutionary socialist workers' party." In accordance with the agreement, a steering committee was formed of representatives of the two parties.

This agreement was concluded in Budapest at the time when the Soviet Army had already crossed the Hungarian frontier and had begun the liberation of the country. A new life began in the liberated eastern areas. The Communist Party was in the forefront in building the new democratic Hungary. The Party which had throughout the twenty-five years of its illegality carried on the struggle undeterred by the fascist persecutions, proved to be the only party capable of elaborating a program of national democratic renovation, which it proposed to the people.

The Party was able to chart the policy re-

quired by the situation, to uphold this policy against heavy odds, thanks to the guidelines of the Seventh Congress, and to become the political leader of the working class, the leading party of the nation.

The fact that Hungary was liberated from the Nazi occupation by the army of the land of socialism, and not by the troops of the Anglo-Saxon powers, made possible the free development of Hungary's democratic forces and greatly enhanced the prestige of the Communist Party. The Soviet Army not only smashed the Hitler war machine, but also the Hungarian fascist system which had dragged Hungary into the war and brought it to national disaster.

In November-December 1944 the National Independence Front—the alliance of the anti-Hitler parties and political groups—was formed in the liberated areas of the country where the new democratic power had come into being. The program of national democratic renovation proposed by the Communists was unanimously accepted by the Front.

The program's demands included the establishment of a democratic state; immediate entry into the anti-Hitler war; punishment of traitors; abolition of the semi-feudal latifundium system and the introduction of a land reform; the establishment of state control over all cartels and banks; nationalization of the mines; an 8-hour working day.

A broad anti-fascist national coalition gradually took shape in which the working class and the peasantry constituted the principal force. The coalition included the urban petty-bourgeoisie and part of the bourgeoisie representing political leaders who had dissociated themselves from Nazi Germany. Representatives of the urban bourgeoisie and the rural capitalists made up, together with other conservative elements, the right wing in this coalition, which subsequently became the gathering point for various counter-revolutionary forces. However, the worker-peasant alliance continued to be the main force in the front.

Between November 1944 and the summer of 1945 the basic issues of the democratic revolution were resolved: a new democratic state was established, the working class began to take part in government, in effect, to head it. The Right wing of the government coalition was dislodged. Those who tried to delay the introduction of the land reform were removed. The semi-feudal landed estates were divided up with the help of the landless and poor peasants' committees which had been set up on the initiative of the Communist Party. All these measures further strengthened the alliance of the working class and peasants.

With the complete liberation of the country and the carrying out of the land reform the working class consolidated its leading role in the political life of the country. The Party for its part consolidated its cooperation with the Social Democratic Party, combating the undermining activity of the Right wing of the SDP

and the sectarianism that manifested itself among Communists. The vanguard role played by the working class, which had become a vast organizing force, in the restoration of the country's industry, the introduction of general *workers' control* over production, the active participation of the working masses in the political struggle, and their determination to preserve and promote working-class unity — this was the solid foundation on which the alliance of the two parties rested.

To strengthen the worker-peasant alliance the Communist Party broadened its cooperation with the National Peasant Party and with representatives of the democratic wing of the Smallholders' Party. The Party had won the confidence of the peasantry as the party which headed the movement to divide up the big landed estates.

Through the trade unions the working class strengthened its alliance with the intelligentsia. As a result of the cooperation between the Communist and Social Democratic parties the trade unions became big mass organizations of the industrial and agricultural workers, and of large sections of the intelligentsia, and as such, an important support of the people's democratic forces in the struggle for power.

With the introduction of the democratic reforms of 1944-45, the Hungarian people deprived the landlord class of power and liquidated it economically. However, although the new power extended far beyond the bounds of bourgeois democracy, it was not yet a socialist power. It was a form of democratic dictatorship which ensured the relatively peaceful development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. When the basic tasks of democratic reconstruction were accomplished the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution became the No. 1 task in the struggle for the restoration of the country.

This development proceeded parallel with the further broadening of the cooperation between the Communist and Social Democratic parties, which culminated in their unification. Here it is pertinent to recall certain important events preceding this.

When the struggle for socialist reconstruction grew sharper the counter-revolutionary forces took the offensive. The revolutionary forces launched a counter-offensive. This accelerated the transition to socialist revolution. The reactionary forces gathered together in the summer of 1945 in the Smallholders' Party, the biggest bourgeois party in the national coalition. The Right-wing leaders in this party, who welcomed the reactionary elements with open arms, tried to use the reinforcement of the party at the expense of these elements to enhance their own political role.

There began a struggle for power and the question was: either the bourgeoisie jointly with the rural capitalists, the landlords who had been dispossessed, and the clerical reaction would wrest the power from the working class,

or the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia who were helping to rebuild the country, would deprive the bourgeoisie of power. The Communist and Social Democratic parties joined forces to frustrate the attempts of the reactionaries and big capital.

At the beginning of 1946 all the mines were nationalized with the help of the democratic forces of the country. In the spring of the same year a Left bloc was formed within the Independence Front, on the initiative of the CP, supported by the SDP, the National Peasant Party and the trade unions. This bloc was the people's front of the working class; it had the support of the Left-wing in the Smallholders' Party. The aim of the Left bloc was to wrest power from the reactionaries. On its insistence, in the spring of 1946, five of the country's biggest iron and steel and machine-building plants were made the property of the state.

With the full support of its allies the Party blueprinted the first three-year plan of economic development. It was adopted by an absolute majority in parliament, and in August 1947 we proceeded to put it into effect. The change-over to a planned economy was part of the program of the socialist reconstruction of Hungary; it was an important political weapon in the struggle for the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist one. At the end of 1947 all the banks were nationalized, and in the Spring of 1948—all the industrial enterprises employing more than 100 workers. The development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution took the form of a people's democratic system. The democratic dictatorship grew into the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this struggle the Marxist-Leninist ideology prevailed over reformism also in the Social Democratic Party. This cleared the ground for the unification of the two parties in April-July, 1948, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party played a leading role in government immediately after the liberation. It led the struggle for consolidating its political leadership and for the development of the democratic dictatorship into a proletarian dictatorship. However, it did not proclaim proletarian dictatorship as its aim. And this was not a question of tactics but, to a certain extent, of theoretical unclarity. In its propaganda the Party counterposed the people's democracy to the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintaining that the former could bring the country to socialism without a proletarian dictatorship. But as we were asserting this and as people's democracy was developing we were already, in effect, establishing the proletarian dictatorship. It was only when this process had been completed that the Party confirmed that the people's democracy "can perform the functions of the proletarian dictatorship," and more definitely afterwards that the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established in the country.

In the struggle for a democratic Hungary, and afterwards during the transition to socialism, the Party stressed the importance of political hegemony of the working class. It helped to consolidate the leading role of the working class in exercising political power and to define its ultimate goal—the building of a socialist society—and succeeded in making this goal the goal of the allies of the working class. But the Party still said nothing about the need for proletarian dictatorship. Only when it had become a reality in the country, did it tackle the question.

Since the socialist revolution did triumph in our country it might have been assumed that the temporary theoretical confusion had been immaterial, that it might have even been of some political use. This is not so. When it became clear that our people's democratic state had become a proletarian dictatorship, the leadership, headed by Rakosi, hastened to adopt a sectarian, dogmatic attitude and to boost the personality cult. The disastrous consequences of this are known. Partly responsible for this was the fact that we had failed to critically analyze previous developments and to draw the necessary lessons and conclusions.

Very good lessons could have been drawn from the course of developments in 1946-48; new possibilities appeared for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The People's Front policy and the cooperation between the Communist and Social Democratic parties enabled the working class to participate in government and to secure the victory of the socialist revolution. The way in which the working class had established the proletarian dictatorship enabled it to rely firmly on the People's Front. The battle for socialism in which the vast mass of the people took part cut the ground from under the feet of the

counter-revolutionary forces and weakened their influence on the people. This opened up new possibilities for strengthening the alliance of the working class with other sections of the working people, for promoting socialist democracy. Instead, the leadership, headed by Rakosi, pursued a policy which reduced these possibilities to a minimum. As a result development was distorted and incredible political damage was done. These mistakes were due to the intoxication with success and to theoretical immaturity with regard to the role of proletarian dictatorship in the new conditions, and also to the erroneous view, which was elevated to a dogma, that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the class struggle grew sharper.

Great damage was caused after 1948 by the dogmatic policy pursued at the time, by underplaying the successes of the policy of the anti-fascist national and People's Front to abolish the power of the big landlords and big capitalists, the lessons of the victorious democratic revolution and its development into a socialist revolution. We consider it our duty to liquidate the regressive effects of this dogmatic policy and objectively to appraise the policy of the People's Front. As we celebrate the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern we at the same time review the experience of how the party of the Hungarian Communists and the Hungarian working class relied in their struggle on proletarian unity and the policy of the People's Front to effect the democratic reconstruction of the country and to achieve the victory of the socialist revolution. And this experience has been very instructive for us: since the defeat of the counter-revolutionary revolt of 1956 the Party is drawing on this experience in its People's Front policy, in developing the socialist national unity of the people.

The creative approach

GASTONE GENSINI

Director, Central Party School,
Italian Communist Party

WHAT DO I REGARD as the most durable and most topical element of the Seventh Congress in the light of the past thirty years? As I see it, it is the political and ideological courage with which the Communists overcame the stagnation that had set in in the world Communist thinking, which had not gone beyond the "class against class" policy and identifying Social Democracy with social fascism. The Communists proved capable of drawing from European and world events, from their own day-to-day experience in France, Spain, Austria, Italy and China, strategic and tactical conclusions valid for the entire movement while not losing sight, as can be seen from Dimitrov's memorable report, of the need to reckon with the specific conditions of each country. Further, it became clearer to all in the International that the more the struggle in the different countries is waged in keeping with the conditions in the particular country the more effectively the tasks common to the entire movement will be carried out. By taking this political and ideological approach the Seventh Congress rejected the elements of sectarianism and dogmatism which were still deeply ingrained in the Communist movement. And it was all the more effective since, having renounced stereotyped definitions, the Congress examined, unencumbered by prejudice, the new conditions of working-class struggle in the light of the rise of fascism and the consequences with which this was fraught for the people — war, decline in living standards and loss of their independence and freedom by many people. On the basis of this analysis the Congress worked out a program representing an original contribution to Marxist-Leninist thought.

The method of analysis, elaboration of theory and political struggle which distinguished the proceedings of the 1935 Congress and also some of the essential aspects of the issues it discussed were reminiscent of the early years of the Communist International and the practical and theoretical contribution (not always prop-

erly assimilated) which Lenin made at the time. I recall what a fount of inspiration for us was Lenin's famous "*Left-Wing*" *Communism*. By criticizing the Leftist positions which presented a growing danger as a concomitant of the spread of opportunism in the Social Democratic parties and by laying down guidelines for Communist tactics, Lenin's book gave direction to the process of formation of Communist parties. I should also like to recall slogans such as the united front and the workers' and peasants' government slogans, which, inasmuch as they defined intermediate aims of the struggle, were antecedents of the more profound conclusions with more far-reaching tactical and strategic implications drawn by the Seventh Congress.

I should like to dwell mainly on two points which I believe are of especially great and lasting importance. The first is Lenin's counsel to the Fourth Congress, namely: that the working-class movement should make a thorough study of the situation which took shape during the period of relative stabilization of capitalism and the recession of the workers' movement. "I believe," Lenin said, "that the most important thing for all of us, for the Russian as well as the foreign comrades, is to realize that we still, after five years of the Russian Revolution, have to learn." Clearly, this was a reminder not to stand still but to learn and to give thought to new developments, always taking a creative approach to things.

The second point concerns the impulse Lenin gave to the Fourth Congress and a deeper study of national problems when elaborating the theory and practice of working-class struggle. He criticized the Third Congress resolution on the organizational structure of the Communist parties as being too centralized and "too Russian," as he put it, and consequently inconsistent with the organization of struggle in conformity with the specific national features, as well as with the building of the mass parties

needed to carry on this struggle. Nor was this the first time Lenin spoke out against the idea that the working class in other countries should mechanically copy the Russian pattern, although he never underestimated the importance of Communists abroad assimilating much of this experience.

Of the leaders who best of all assimilated the Russian experience, i.e., were able to draw on it in order to obtain a clearer understanding of the tasks facing the working class in the concrete national setting, mention, in my opinion, should be made of Gramsci and Togliatti. They were men who always sought to deepen the slogans of the International, to apply them creatively in the specific context of Italian society, taking into account the historically conditioned nature of the working class, and the objective circumstances that prompted some sections of the peasantry and people in the South to seek alliance with the working class in the revolutionary struggle. From this standpoint the theses of the Third Congress of the Italian Communist Party which was held in Lyons in 1926 and which marked the culminating point in the prolonged theoretical and political work that accompanied the formation of the Party's leading core, is a document of exceptional value to this day. Even before this Congress Gramsci had examined, in the overall context of the Italian revolution, the sum of issues constituting the problem of the South and the peasant question, both closely connected with the role of the Catholic Church and the Vatican, and defined the role of the working class as well as that of other social forces which he regarded not merely as simple allies but as "motive forces," autonomous sources of movement towards revolution.

It is not by chance that Togliatti was one of those in the Communist International who vigorously opposed oversimplified analyses and the hasty generalizations which tended to multiply after the Fourth Congress; he came out against tendencies to ignore the diversity and multiformity of movements, against the tendency to restrict discussion and inhibit the inner dialectics of the movement. These became the dominant tendencies at the Sixth Congress and also at the Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee the following year.

Togliatti made a big contribution to the struggle against these trends, from his treatise on the Chinese Revolution published in 1927 to his studies on the situation in Spain, Italy and Germany and above all his memorable speech at the forementioned Tenth Plenum. In this speech he examined in detail the economic and political situation, analyzed the forms of naked reaction represented by fascism, and drew from this valuable conclusions as regards the winning over of broad sections of the working people and even the petty bourgeoisie to the side of the working class.

One should, of course, bear in mind the situation which existed at the time and which was, on the whole, correctly assessed by the Inter-

national. This situation was marked by the termination of the period of relative stabilization ("the third period," as the Sixth Congress described it) and the likelihood of a working-class offensive all along the line. It should also be recalled that the Social Democratic parties assumed the role of defenders of the bourgeoisie, and that there was a real danger of opportunism in the Communist parties. All the more erroneous, then, as we can see today, was the dominant trend in the Communist International to regard the advent of the working class to power — especially in some of the Western capitalist countries — as the immediate task, a trend which led to ignoring democratic tasks, to the "class against class" line and equating Social Democracy with social fascism. Instead of promoting "unity from below," as called for in directives, this tended to deepen the differences and aggravate the controversies within the working class. And all the more important, for these very reasons (and also from the standpoint of preparations for the epoch-making Seventh Congress), was the activity of those leaders who resolutely, taking full cognizance of the conditions in which the Communist movement generally and the committees of the International in particular had to work, and conscious that the time for decision had come, initiated a discussion permitting of appraisal neither schematic nor one-sided, thereby helping the movement to perceive the multiformity of the struggle in the overall framework of the common, unitarian tasks.

This, perhaps, was the most significant, or at least one of the most significant, results of the Seventh Congress, a decisive turning point in a situation marked by Hitler's advent to power in Germany, the first manifestations of fascist aggression on the international plane, the gathering on the horizon of the clouds of world war, and, on the other hand, the development in some countries and on some continents of struggles that were beginning to cement working-class unity and to bring together broad social and political forces. In these conditions, as a result of thorough analysis and generalization of experience in Dimitrov's report and summing up of the discussion as well as in other speeches, the Seventh Congress worked out a militant working-class line of struggle against fascism and in defense of peace, democracy and socialism. A new departure here, from the standpoint of traditional Marxist-Leninist thinking, was the idea that in the new situation created by the deep-seated contradictions of imperialism and the existence of a great socialist power, the Soviet Union, the peoples can uphold peace.

New, too, was the dialectical link between the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism — a problem which Lenin had posed time and again.

The Seventh Congress made a decisive contribution in clarifying this link in the context of the new situation then facing the working

class. It also provided a concrete answer to the question of the "form of transition" to socialism, of the multiformity of the ways to socialism. This problem, too, had been studied by Lenin. It was shown that since fascism had come out in Europe and elsewhere as the exponent of naked reaction and total dictatorship in the interests of the most aggressive groups of finance capital, differing in this sense from all other forms of the capitalist system, and since it impelled the world towards war, it was the duty of the working class to safeguard peace, to take the banner of democracy into its own hands, to fight to win power, to take part, in alliance with other political and social forces, in governments not yet the dictatorship of the proletariat. This outlook opened the way to broad alliances, posed in a new way the question of the attitude to be taken towards Social Democracy, called for a more profound approach to the national content of the struggle, "in order to overcome," as Togliatti wrote, "national nihilism and to acquire a correct sense of nationhood without which the working class cannot expect to lead the country and the working masses generally." Consequently, Dimitrov was right when he said in his closing speech at the Seventh Congress that "our Congress has laid the foundation for the broadest mobilization of the forces of all working people against capitalism ever seen in the history of working-class struggle." This mobilization fully proved its worth, especially during the war, when the working class, in the van of the anti-fascist struggle, acted as champion of national aspirations and the freedom and independence of peoples, and, thanks to its victory over fascism, made signal headway in extending and consolidating socialism.

As for the Communist parties, the tactical and strategic line of the Seventh Congress directed their efforts towards building themselves up as national mass parties deeply rooted in the working class and all other progressive forces of society. By then they had become mature, experienced parties able to undertake new and more onerous tasks. The diversity of the situations in which they worked, the variety of their tasks and the need to place greater emphasis on their national character brought the question of inter-party relations to the fore already before the Seventh Congress. It became clear that centralized leadership was no longer in harmony with the new tasks. "Consequently," Togliatti wrote in 1959, "the decision to dissolve the International taken in 1943, which frankly declared that the previous form of centralized organization no longer corresponded to the situation in the movement or the level of its development, was in a sense implicit in the documents of the Seventh Congress."

Now, thirty years later, it may be asked whether the purport of the Seventh Congress transcended its significance during the war, in defeating fascism, and if so, in what sense? I believe this question can be answered only in

the affirmative. Moreover, in my opinion, it must be admitted that the Communist parties which are consistently and creatively following the guidelines laid down at the Congress are making the greatest headway. It must also be admitted that a few years after the war — true, in a different international setting — there once again set in a sclerosis in thinking, an alarming lag developed and serious mistakes were made in the Marxist study of world problems in a rapidly changing political and economic situation just because the methodological precepts and content of the Seventh Congress were allowed to fall into oblivion. This had grave consequences in some countries and for some Communist parties. It is not by chance that precisely at this time it was considered possible to revive the undifferentiated approach to the unity of the movement and revert to centralized organization lacking effective internal dialectics. This was all the more erroneous and risky since it did not correspond to the new dimensions of the working-class and Communist movement or to the bigger demands placed on Communist leadership in widely different historical, social, economic and cultural conditions.

What restored continuity with the Seventh Congress in the postwar and reinvigorated political and ideological work was the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. It took up, in a more developed and enriched form, and substantiated with new theoretical argumentation in tune with the new objective and subjective conditions, the thread of the debates and discussions of the 1935 Congress. This applies, for instance, to the theses concerning the possibility of preventing war while imperialism still exists, national roads to socialism, and the possibility in certain conditions of the transition to socialism by peaceful democratic means — along lines involving a complex interplay of tense economic and political struggles but not necessarily civil war.

It has been asked whether the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU did not take the other Communist parties unawares. On closer examination it will be seen that the parties which worked along lines laid down at the Seventh Congress and developed them in accordance with the situation in their own countries were best able to grasp the propositions advanced at the Twentieth Congress. The Italian Communist Party, for example, had worked out in 1944-45 a strategy which could be directly traced back to the 1935 Congress. Underlying this strategy was the thesis that the internal and international situation made it possible for the working class, which had taken its place at the head of the nation during the Resistance, to forge ahead towards socialism by taking over the banner of democratic tasks, by developing these tasks and imparting to them a new content in the process of the struggle. It was not simply a matter of returning to the democracy that existed before fascism, but of founding a state whose essence

would consist of a complex of increasingly progressive political and economic changes ensuring the leadership of the working class and the working masses generally. The perspective was one of the struggle for "progressive democracy," as we called it then, for a democracy of a new type which broad sections of the working people, the urban and rural middle strata and political forces ranging from the Communists to the Catholics wanted and still want. The Eighth Congress of the Italian Communist Party held in 1956 developed further this orientation which had essentially taken shape in the struggles fought towards the end of the war and immediately after it. From the ideological standpoint too the work done in this direction was all the more fruitful because we had the generalizations of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU to draw on.

The contribution of the Twentieth Congress, which, opening up new horizons, gave added impulse to the development of autonomous, independent relations between the socialist countries and between the fraternal parties thereby repudiating the obsolete concepts of monolithic unity and leading role of one party and one state, was, then, of decisive importance. It made for a more concrete understanding of the common tasks of the entire movement in the fight for peace, for world socialism, and against imperialism, with the search for broader unity as the underlying driving force. If there is any cause for concern today it is above all because the process of renewal initiated in the international Communist movement by the Twentieth Congress has not been rapid enough and because up to the present we have been slow in drawing conclusions from that epoch-making meeting.

Clearly, then, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International is not only a matter of the distant past. Its political and historical significance still makes itself compellingly felt. Its theses, of course, as pointed out above, cannot be mechanically applied to the present. For instance, as I see it, the united front and popular front pattern outlined then can hardly be repeated in the far more complex and contradictory situation of today when broad social and political forces carry much greater weight, imperative though it still is for these forces to act in unity with the working class; indeed, they are objectively prompted to do so by monopoly capitalism which, now dominant in society, has acquired a supranational structure. Today it is a matter of entering into unity agreements in the spheres of both economic and political struggle, and in some cases of pivoting the building of a new majority offering an alternative to the existing governmental

power on the achievement of organic unity of the socialist working-class forces. This does not mean making concessions to the Social Democrats, and in Italy to the Right wing of the Socialist Party which rejects any unity policy as "frontism." It implies, as I have said, exploring the avenues to unity dictated by the times; this is the most effective political and not merely a propaganda approach to struggle against reformist opportunism.

The working class and the democratic forces generally are today faced with the growing aggressiveness of imperialism, which, besides imperilling world peace, is employing new forms of oppression and making new efforts to enslave the countries of the "third world" and of the capitalist West alike. The socialist world, too, feels the impact of the imperialist offensive aimed at tipping the balance in favor of imperialism. Consequently, it is more imperative than ever for the working class to integrate on the national as well as international planes the fight for peace, for freedom, democracy and independence of peoples, and the struggle for socialism. This, needless to say, is not a new task for the working class and the international workers' movement. But the plane on which it is posed is higher, reaching into areas with more immediate implications and offering greater opportunities than before; more, it places greater demands on the ability properly to correlate the struggle waged in the various countries for socialism with the common aims of the entire movement. We are fully aware of the intrinsic links between these two aspects, of the decisive influence which fulfilment of common tasks can exert on the struggle waged by the working class in the capitalist countries for power.

The most important problem in this connection is how to carry out these common tasks, how to unite and achieve the organic cohesion of the international Communist movement. Here too we derive inspiration from the decisions of the Seventh Congress which indicate the direction. This orientation, I believe, calls for a study of the realities of today without trying to fit them into preconceived patterns, eschewing stereotyped phraseology, one-sided concepts and hasty generalizations. The task is fully to understand the widely different conditions and experience, patiently to seek and ascertain the common elements in this experience, and, finally, to avoid any return to the methods and concepts which belong to the past and boldly and resolutely (but without impatience, for impatience spells danger) to promote the process of renewal ushered in by the Twentieth Congress.

Solidarity will triumph

FRANZ DAHLEM

**Member, Central Committee,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany**

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS of the Communist International, a landmark in the international Communist movement, ushered in a new stage in its development. It outlined the strategy and tactics that guided the international working-class movement and all progressives in the fight against fascism and imperialism—the fight from which the commonwealth of socialist states emerged and which gave a powerful impetus to the work of the Communist and Workers' parties and development of the national-liberation movement. It was a reflection of the fact that the Communist International was from its very inception one of the decisive guiding factors in the revolutionary reconstruction of the world.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress can be traced to the basic theses of the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International, worked out under the direct leadership of Lenin. Guided by these Leninist ideas, and helped and supported by the Comintern, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Lenin personally, the Communist Party of Germany grew in the nineteen-twenties into a mass party, one of the strongest Communist parties in the capitalist countries, with an outstanding record in combating German imperialism.

In the nineteen thirties, with fascism on the offensive and the threat of war growing, anything that impeded the policy of the Communist movement became doubly dangerous.

For a number of objective and subjective reasons our Party made mistakes and suffered from shortcomings of this kind. Like other comparatively young Communist parties, it found it hard to keep up with the rapid and deep-going changes in the conditions of struggle and to solve urgent problems in good time. Sectarian sentiment crept into its ranks, largely as a reaction to the anti-working class and anti-national policy of the Right-wing Social Democratic and reformist trade union leaders.

Moreover, the negative aspects of the experience of the Communist parties in the early years, such as the opportunist errors committed by the Communist leaders in the workers' governments in Saxony and Thuringia in 1923, gave an added spur to the extreme Left in the Communist movement. Lastly, the need to engage in polemics with Bukharin, Brandler and other Rights prevented the Communists from preparing adequately for the battles ahead. This explains the serious difficulties encountered by the Party and the setbacks it suffered in its efforts to win over the masses.

The conditions in which the class struggle was waged in the early 'thirties made it imperative to overcome the dogmatic and sectarian views. The experience of many Communist parties, ours included, underscored the need to return to the principles of Lenin's strategic and tactical precepts, to develop them and to apply them creatively in the new conditions.

Elements of the new strategy and tactics later elaborated by the Seventh Congress had appeared some time before in many Communist parties. In the Communist Party of Germany, for example, they included the Program of National and Social Emancipation (August 1930) and the mass movement of anti-fascist action initiated by the Party in 1932. After the establishment of the fascist dictatorship when the Party had to go underground, the vital issue was how to build a united working-class front in the new conditions and achieve unity of action among all those opposed to Hitler. The Party was now confronted with the need to work out a strategy and tactics capable of bringing about the downfall of the Hitler regime and restoring democratic rights and freedoms. This involved further development of Thaelmann's policy of anti-fascist action, rectification of the incorrect views and mistakes of the pre-1933 period, and revising some obsolete attitudes.

Utilization of the experience of fraternal

parties, above all the French, Italian, Austrian and Spanish Communists, and the elaboration of a policy in keeping with German conditions gave rise to a lively debate in the Party. Things were made worse by the fact that some of the postulates laid down by some of the Committees of the International had for some time hampered the search for the right solutions. For example, the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern held in 1933, while drawing many correct conclusions, gave a not altogether flawless assessment of the balance of forces at the time and insisted on some erroneous or outdated slogans.

At the time of the re-orientation which had become essential in the spheres of both theory and practice, Dimitrov, drawing on his experience in the Bulgarian working-class movement and as one of the leaders of the Comintern, gave our Party valuable advice helping it to launch out on a policy of broad mass action.

Dimitrov's courageous stand during the Reichstag fire trial in Leipzig was of enormous importance. Indeed, the fundamental conclusions which he drew from the worldwide protest movement against the Leipzig frame-up were of decisive significance for the future of the Communist Party of Germany and the entire international communist movement.

After his release Dimitrov was able to submit proposals to the ECCI for a policy of broad mass struggle against fascism and war. The crucial problem was that of the Marxist-Leninist united front policy. In the debates with the advocates of obsolete methods in the International, Dimitrov had the support of Dmitri Manuilsky and Otto Kuusinen, representing the CPSU in the ECCI, Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communists, Maurice Thorez, initiator of the Popular Front in France, Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht, Fritz Heckert, Max Maddalena and other representatives of the Communist Party of Germany, as well as comrades from other fraternal parties.

With the help of the ECCI the leadership of the German Party drew important conclusions from the new conditions in Germany. Soon after the Seventh Congress, it held a conference in Brussels at which the general strategic and tactical line of the Comintern Congress was applied to German conditions. The basic guidelines were drawn of a national program aimed at safeguarding peace, overthrowing the fascist dictatorship, creating a democratic anti-fascist German state and channeling the democratic revolution onto socialist lines.

The conference made a profound study of the situation and concluded that in Germany the road to socialism lay through struggle for a democratic system and the establishment of a united front or popular front government. Underlying this conclusion was the Marxist-Leninist view that in the highly developed industrial countries the anti-imperialist democratic revolution is an objectively necessary prerequisite of the socialist revolution.

In June 1936, proceeding from the practical experience gained in the struggle for a working class united front and an anti-fascist popular front in Germany and among the German refugees abroad, the leadership of the party defined its immediate aim as being the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship and the establishment of a democratic republic. It arrived at the conclusion that the democratic republic was, in the conditions of Germany, the best state form under which to solve the tasks of the democratic revolution and develop it into the socialist revolution.

Our Party consistently adhered to the strategic orientation of the Seventh Congress since it coincided with the objective laws of social development in Germany.

Consequently, at the time of the unconditional surrender of Hitler's Wehrmacht, the Communist Party was the only party ready to submit a democratic, anti-fascist program of immediate action to the nation. On June 11, 1945, our Central Committee issued a manifesto which declared: "We believe it would be a mistake to impose on Germany the Soviet system inasmuch as it does not correspond to the present conditions in the country. On the contrary, we believe that in the present situation the vital interests of the German people call for another way, namely, the building of an anti-fascist democratic regime, a democratic parliamentary republic in which the people would enjoy all democratic rights and freedoms."

In working to carry out this political line our Party had the full support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under whose leadership the Soviet Army liberated the German people from Hitler fascism and opened the way for them to a peaceful and democratic future.

Guided by the ideas of the Seventh Congress, our Central Committee called for action to root out the survivals of fascism and for the gradual democratic, anti-fascist reconstruction of all of Germany. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, and later the Socialist Unity Party, the foundations of a democratic, anti-fascist state system were laid in the course of the relentless class struggles fought in subsequent years. The Party was able to solve in the German Democratic Republic the complex problems caused, among other things, by the division of Germany and to build up the class forces needed to pass on to the socialist revolution.

It was also on the basis of the Seventh Congress decisions that the Communist Party set about building a united front taking in primarily the Communists, Social Democrats and former members of trade unions as well as their organizations and leading committees, with a view to making it the foundation of a durable alliance of all anti-fascists.

Embryonic forms of a militant alliance of the Communists, Social Democrats and other anti-fascists took shape in the underground resis-

tance organizations in Germany, in the ranks of the International Brigades and in the Nazi concentration camps and prisons.

In the resolution of the Brussels conference the Party declared: "Convinced that the cause of the proletariat calls for the creation of a united mass party of the German working class, the Communist Party is working to win over all class-conscious workers to this idea. Unity of action is needed to realize this task."

The way to unity of action and working-class unity charted in 1935 proved to be the right way. On the basis of the united action agreement concluded between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in June 1945 the two parties drew closer, mustered their cadres, jointly built up united trade unions and ironed out their differences on many fundamental questions. In April 1946, they united in the Socialist Unity Party on the basis of revolutionary Marxism. This epoch-making victory of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism in Germany laid the groundwork for completing the democratic, anti-fascist revolution in East Germany and directing it along socialist lines.

The Seventh Congress opened up for the Communist parties a highly effective avenue of struggle when it underscored the need to unite the most diverse democratic forces, irrespective of social origin, status, party affiliation or religion, in an anti-fascist or anti-imperialist popular front under working-class leadership. The establishment in 1935-36 in Paris, with the support of our Party, of a preparatory German Popular Front Committee was the first step towards broader cooperation among the Communists, Social Democrats, trade union leaders, Christian workers, members of the bourgeois intelligentsia and other opponents of Hitler.

During the Second World War the popular front policy was developed further in the work done to build a broad patriotic movement of the working class and all other forces aware of their responsibility to the nation, aimed at accelerating the defeat of the Hitler regime and saving the nation from extinction.

On the initiative of our Central Committee the Free Germany movement was inaugurated in July 1943. It gained ground not only among Germans in the Soviet Union but also, and indeed mainly, in the underground in Germany itself and among the German anti-fascists in other countries. It took in workers, peasants, the clergy and progressive intellectuals as well as former members of the Wehrmacht of all ranks.

The durable alliance of parties and organizations existing in the GDR today and known as the National Front of Democratic Germany is the result of the implementation by German Marxist-Leninists of the popular-front policy put forward by the Seventh Congress. In the course of joint work to build and consolidate the democratic anti-fascist system in East Germany, the character of the old bourgeois

parties with which the workers' parties concluded an alliance in 1945 changed and they developed into parties supporting the transition from the democratic, anti-fascist revolution to the socialist revolution and are now taking an active part in building socialism.

Although the working class and other democratic sections of the population were unable to prevent Hitler from unleashing the Second World War or to overthrow Nazi rule, the members of our Party fought heroically in the resistance movement against Hitler. Some five thousand German Communists and other anti-fascists joined the International Brigade in Spain to fight fascism. Many of our comrades took an active part in the resistance movement and partisan struggle in many countries, and many more fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army, doing their bit to defeat Hitler. Tens of thousands of German Communists and other anti-fascists gave their lives in the struggle. More than half the membership of the Communist Party were thrown in concentration camps and prisons. But the struggle and the sacrifice were not in vain. Thanks to the victory of the Soviet Army over Nazism, the German working class and its allies were able, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, to ensure the triumph of the ideas of the Seventh Congress in one part of Germany.

Today creative realization of the decisions of the Seventh Congress concerning the unity of all peace-loving and democratic forces is more imperative than ever. Since the military defeat of Hitler developments in West Germany have taken a direction diametrically opposite to that in the GDR. In the West, German imperialism has restored its economic and political power, and we see a resurgence of militarism. The traditional contradiction between the economic power of German imperialism and its limited influence in the world arena is making itself felt more than ever before as the main source of the aggressiveness of the West German imperialists. Flaunting the slogan, "We are an economic giant and shall no longer remain a political dwarf," they and their leading party, the Christian Democrats, are out to establish their political and military domination in Europe.

The Federal Republic, owing to the policy of *revanche* pursued by West German imperialism, has become a seed-bed of war in Europe, a source of danger second only to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The Bonn government is the only government in Europe putting forward territorial claims and scheming aggression against other countries. Nuclear arming of the West German imperialists would vastly increase the danger of war, and a nuclear war sparked off on German soil would have fearful consequences not only for Germans but for all the people of the world.

It is in the national interests of all Germans, whether they live in the German Democratic Republic or in the Federal Republic or West

Berlin, that West German imperialism be prevented from laying hands on nuclear armaments or even a finger on the nuclear trigger.

There is the danger that the result of the recent Bundestag elections will add to the recklessness and other perilous trends among the West German rulers. Recent back-stairs bargaining over the composition and policy of the Bonn government shows that the Christian Democrats will use the election result to press harder for nuclear armaments and redouble their efforts to win the dominant position in Europe. This aggressive foreign policy is accompanied by a stepped-up drive to stamp out bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms, even those recorded in the West German constitution; this can be seen from the attacks on the trade unions, cultural workers and scientists and from the growing pressure to secure the speedy adoption of the emergency laws. This again shows that revanchism, preparation for war, and more reactionary home policies, gradual emasculation and abolition of even bourgeois democracy, are two sides of one and the same medal.

We, German Marxist-Leninists, have always regarded as our main enemy West German imperialism and its war party, the Christian Democrats—a party which for the last two decades has pursued, together with U.S. imperialism, the policy of dividing Germany, of militarization and nuclear armament.

Our Party, whose efforts are directed against imperialism and militarism, has always been guided by awareness that peace can be ensured and the vital issues confronting the German nation solved only if the workers' parties, the trade unions and other working-class organizations in the two Germanys and in West Berlin reach agreement and carry on a joint struggle. As regards working-class united action, the Seventh Congress provided the guidelines which, in effect, to this day underlie our policy of building the unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces. Our Party will not allow itself to be diverted from this line, even though some West German Social Democratic leaders still subscribe to bellicose anti-communism. We shall remain true to our policy of seeking unity with the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions in West Germany and West Berlin, for they are a potential force in the fight for peace and democracy. History has proved that this is the correct line.

The working class is destined to be the decisive, leading force in the popular democratic struggle in West Germany. In fighting for democracy and peace it is bound to win the support and sympathy of growing numbers of intellectuals, peasants and handicraftsmen, and also of the small and medium employers. The call issued at the Seventh Congress by Dimitrov to rally all the democratic and peace-loving forces of the nation in a united front points the way to the solution of the vital issues facing our people as well as to peace in Europe.

Together with all those West Germans who reject the policy of revenge, nuclear armament and imperialist aggression, we are fighting for national unity in a Germany which would never again give rise to war and where not reaction but peace and social and cultural progress in the conditions of genuine democracy would prevail.

In the present situation, when the aggressive forces of imperialism are pursuing a policy of intervention in the internal affairs of other nations, a policy of naked aggression, and when the militarist policy of West German imperialism presents a growing threat to peace and security in Europe, the interests of socialism, peace, progress, freedom and national independence call for maximum cooperation, solidarity and joint action on the part of the anti-imperialist forces. The Socialist Unity Party has repeatedly underscored the need for talks between the Communist and Workers' parties with a view to achieving agreement on joint action against the U.S. aggression. The absence of coordinated effort in support of the embattled Vietnamese people can but hurt the common struggle of all the anti-imperialist forces and, in particular, the interests of the German working class and the GDR. It can but encourage the ultra-reactionaries in the USA and West Germany to embark on even more aggressive and provocative actions. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam could be defended more effectively and the struggle of the South Vietnamese patriots facilitated if the fraternal socialist countries were to come out together against the U.S. aggression.

As we see it, the best way to strengthen the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement is to heighten the international responsibility and activity of every party and to take joint action against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in support of the liberation struggle of the peoples, for peace and international security, for socialism.

Consequently, joint struggle against the common enemy determines the main content and extent of the relations between the fraternal parties. The key elements here are exchange of experience and bilateral and multilateral conferences to deal with international issues of common interest with a view to achieving the aims and solving the tasks jointly set by the fraternal parties. Such meetings, as was shown, for instance, by the conference of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe held in Brussels in June 1965, could help to create favorable conditions for the convening in the future of an international conference of all Communist and Workers' parties.

Our talks, conferences and exchanges of views with fraternal parties as regards the present situation and ways and means of strengthening our common struggle show that the majority of the Communist and Workers'

parties take a unanimous stand on the German problem, and that joint action by the parties

is the most effective way to overcome to present differences.

Unity of the working class and the democratic forces is an effective weapon in the struggle against imperialism

WITOLD JAROSINSKI

Secretary, Central Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party

THE THIRTY YEARS that have passed since the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the epochal changes that have taken place since then, emphasize the tremendous international significance of its decisions. The role of the Soviet Union, the role of Communists and of the patriotic and democratic forces rallied around them in the victorious fight against fascism, the rise of a number of socialist states, the disintegration of the colonial system and the emergence of new national states in Asia and Africa—all have confirmed the soundness of the basic idea of the Congress, namely, the need for unity of the working class and of all the democratic and progressive forces in the fight against fascism, against predatory wars and imperialism.

The pioneering spirit of the Seventh Congress, which summed up the experience of the working-class movement of that time in a Leninist way and pointed to the ways and means of resisting the fascist onslaught, was manifested primarily in the fact that it:

—defined the new strategy of broad alliances, and pointed to the possibility and the necessity of uniting the whole of the working class, all democratic sections and groups in the fight against fascism, capitalist reaction and imperialism;

—stressed the role of the working class of each country as heir to the progressive traditions and cultural heritage of its people, as the main force standing guard over their independence which is imperilled by the aggressive forces of fascism and imperialism;

—pointed to the new possibilities arising in the fight for socialism on the basis of the fundamental democratic changes carried out by Popular Front governments; pointed to the interdependence of the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism;

—tried to find a new approach to the relations between Communist parties, stressed the need to broaden their initiative and independence and also the need for them to take more fully into account the specific national conditions of their country.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress, which affirmed the harmony of interests of the working people of the world with the interests of safeguarding the peoples against the fascist danger, helped to create better conditions for the political work of the Communist parties. Nor was the significance of these decisions confined to their providing an international basis for the actions of the Communist parties. They also had a bearing on all potential allies of these parties, the Social Democratic and

peasant movements, and the intelligentsia.

The new line of strategy and tactics charted by the Seventh Congress, with the active participation of the Communist Party of Poland, was of paramount significance for the Polish Communist movement, corresponding as it did to the vital needs of the Polish people and the genuine interests of our country. At that time Poland was confronted with the growing threat from Hitler Germany, the realization of whose aggressive designs was objectively facilitated by the short-sighted policy, based on class egoism and anti-communism, pursued by the reactionary regime in Poland—a policy which was anti-Soviet and hence pro-Hitler.

The platform of the Popular Front put forward by our Party was a platform of struggle for a basic turn not only in home affairs but also in foreign policy, a platform of struggle to uphold Poland's independence, to protect her from Nazi aggression through a system of collective security and a defensive alliance with the Soviet Union and the peace-loving states in the West.

Fighting for a United Front and a broad Popular Front, the Polish Communists worked to overcome the sectarian outlook which for a long time had impeded their activity. Renunciation of the false theory of social fascism, begun in 1933-34, enabled the Party boldly to take the road of rapprochement with the organizations of the Polish Socialist Party.

Under pressure from reaction and because of their anti-Communism, the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist and Peasant parties rejected our proposals for a Popular Front.

On the grounds of the growing struggle, in an atmosphere of radicalization of the rank and file in the Socialist and Peasant parties, and thanks to the Communists, a temporary conditional agreement was reached between the Communist and Socialist parties in the summer of 1935. The Left in the Socialist Party was growing stronger and displayed a tendency towards a united front. In the Peasant Party and in the peasant youth organizations radical elements were becoming more active, leaning toward cooperation also with the revolutionary working-class movement.

In the late 'thirties things became very difficult for the Polish Communist Party. Today we all know the tragic circumstances in which it was dissolved in 1938.

However, even after the dissolution of the Party, the Polish Communists carried on the fight in the spirit of the anti-fascist Popular Front. Everywhere, even in prison, they called for struggle for democracy and in defense of Poland's independence. In the memorable September days of 1939 many Communists, both those who remained at liberty and those released from jail, took up arms against the fascist invader. Marian Buczek, a Communist leader imprisoned for years by the reactionary regime, fell on the battlefield.

At that time the Polish Communists justly held that for Poland, the first victim of the

Hitler aggression and which did not receive the aid promised by its Western allies—France and Great Britain—the war was from the very outset a just war, an anti-imperialist war. This should be recalled because in some Marxist writing support is still given to the incorrect thesis advanced by the Comintern Executive in the autumn of 1939, which defined the first stage of the Second World War solely as war between imperialist blocs.

The new situation which had taken shape as a result of the Hitler occupation of Poland and other countries in Europe called for a new strategy which would take into account the achievements of the Seventh Congress and the experience of the anti-fascist popular front and which at the same time would transcend their limits. This situation made it possible and necessary to unite both the democratic sections and groups, and also the masses of the people for struggle against the invader. The policy of the Nazi butchers, the Gestapo terror, the wholesale killings in prisons and concentration camps were directed from the very beginning against all classes and threatened the people as a whole with physical extermination. This circumstance gave rise to the need to work out a correct program in the struggle for the very existence of the people.

The camp of the bourgeoisie, rallied around the émigré government in London, continued to cling to pernicious anti-Communist and anti-Soviet attitudes and was incapable of producing such a program. It was drawn up by the Communists who later formed the Workers' Party. Without a party of their own, they found themselves in extremely difficult conditions in the initial phase of the occupation. The difficulties encountered by the entire world Communist movement in connection with the specific conditions in which the first stage of the Second World War proceeded until Hitler attacked the USSR, and the tactical line of the Communist International determined by this, also affected the Polish Communists.

They, however, braved the difficulties and formed, in 1939-41, a number of anti-fascist groups and organizations, with the participation also of radical Populists and Left Socialists, as the basis on which to re-establish the Party.

The new concepts of the Workers' Party signified, as in the international Communist movement as a whole, elaboration of the strategy of the broad anti-Hitler National Front, presupposing the possibility of uniting not only the working class, the middle sections, the petty-bourgeois groups but also the bourgeois parties on the platform of the anti-Hitler struggle for the independence of the people. This was creative application of the principles of Leninist strategy in a new historical situation. The slogan of the nationwide armed struggle against the invader advanced by our Party, the idea of friendship and militant alliance with the Soviet Union, the idea of the unity of all patriotic forces in an anti-Hitler

national front, and of struggle for a democratic system, corresponded to the vital interests of the people, to the cause of their survival and liberation, and opened up broad possibilities of further social progress.

It will be recalled that the bourgeois parties flatly rejected the concept of a broad anti-fascist National Front. Seeking to restore their rule, the bourgeoisie embarked on the disastrous road of instigating civil war against the most patriotic, Left and democratic forces of the people, trying at the same time to stir up animosity in the country against its ally, the Soviet Union, and the liberating Soviet Army. Having proclaimed the theory of "two enemies," the bourgeois camp did not develop an armed struggle against the occupation army but called on its supporters to "stand by," counting on the weakening of the Soviet Union in the war. Thereby the bourgeois parties virtually renounced active national-liberation struggle.

This being the case, in the conditions of a decisive turn in the course of the war as a result of the victories won by the Soviet Army in 1943, and also thanks to the upsurge of the mass movement and armed struggle headed by our Party, we adopted the strategy of an anti-Hitler National Front. At the turn of 1943 the Party sponsored the establishment of the National People's Council (NPC)—an underground parliament and the leading body of the anti-Hitler democratic National Front. Its backbone was the united front of Communists and Socialists.

The formation of the National Council was a turning point in the political life of occupied Poland. It signified that the anti-fascist struggle of the people was now headed by democratic forces under the leadership of the Workers' Party. It frustrated the plans of the bourgeois camp to take over power and broke the ground for the establishment of people's rule and for the formation of an independent people's state.

The cooperation of our Party with other social groups and organizations in the National Council was a new form of broad democratic contacts between the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party and other progressive forces, signifying the birth of a new democracy, the embryo of the future system of people's democracy.

The ideological foundation of this cooperation was the National Council platform which, in line with the ideas of the Party program and the attitude of its allies, charted the shortest and most effective way to the liberation of Poland through nationwide armed struggle, cooperation with the Soviet Army and the forces of the entire anti-Hitler coalition, and advanced the concept of a new Poland with just frontiers and a new social system based on genuine democracy. It called for deep-going socio-economic changes according with the aspirations of the masses and making for the rapid rehabilitation of the country and its all-round development. The realization of this platform made it possible later to wage a successful fight

gradually to rally first the bulk of the people and then all the people.

In this way the Workers' Party made a special contribution to the struggle of the anti-Hitler coalition. Having put forward a correct program of action by the patriotic forces, heading the most determined and militant elements of the public, and promoting all forms of the liberation struggle, and especially its highest form—the armed struggle—the Party opened up in Poland an important sector of the Eastern anti-fascist front, tying up the forces of the enemy and hindering his actions on other fronts.

The role of the democratic National Front was determined not only by its organizational network but also by the soundness of our Party's political line, by the fact that this line coincided with the interests of the people, and this—in the conditions of crisis of the bourgeois camp and the bankruptcy of its policy at the time of the liberation of Polish lands—created real prerequisites for a government of the people, for extending and strengthening the national front, and for establishing an independent people's republic.

The liberation, which Poland owes to the Soviet Army and to the Polish Army that fought shoulder to shoulder with it, the re-establishment of Poland within new, just borders, the establishment of people's power and the deep-going social reforms carried out by it, confirmed the correctness of the political line and activity of the Party in the national-liberation war. The dialectics of this struggle, in the conditions of the anti-fascist war and the collapse of bourgeois concepts, resulted in a combination of the liberation struggle with the putting forward by the working people of democratic, revolutionary demands, and imparted to it an anti-capitalist and anti-landlord class content. Thanks to this the democratic forces headed by the working class and its leading core—the Workers' Party—were able to take power into their hands and to carry through profound revolutionary social changes. One of them—the agrarian reform which transferred the landlords' estates to the peasants—was in a way the consummation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, while others, like the nationalization of industry, were of a socialist character, laying the foundation for socialism.

In implementing this line, the Party realized that, as Wladyslaw Gomulka put it in 1945, "... the way to socialism is neither short nor easy." As the people saw it, the revolutionary working-class movement in our country became the executor of the behests of generations of patriots and revolutionaries, and carried to completion their struggle for the restoration of independence and for the emancipation of the people from the grip of landlords and capitalists. Acting in alliance with the people of the Soviet Union and other progressive forces, our people crowned with

victory the age-long struggle against German imperialism.

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The militant alliance of the advanced forces of the working class, the peasants and intellectuals, expressed organizationally in the co-operation between the Workers' Party, the Socialist Party, the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, gained in strength in the struggle for liberation and for the revolutionary reconstruction of the new Poland. What decisively determined the character of this alliance was the fact that its leading core was a Marxist-Leninist party—the Workers' Party.

The fight for working-class unity—this invariable principle of the revolutionary working-class movement—acquired a paramount significance under the people's rule, and especially in view of the perspective of the country's socialist development.

At the bedrock of the merger of the Workers' Party and the Socialist Party lay the United Front policy which, during the occupation, had been pursued by the PWP and the Socialist Workers' Party (Left Socialist). The United Front formed the basis of the relations between the Workers' Party and the Socialist Party, reborn after the war, in the first three crucial years of People's Poland.

The transition from the United Front and unity of action of the two parties to the organic unity of the working-class movement was decisive in consolidating the gains of the people's democratic revolution. The unification of the two parties in 1948 on the basis of Marxism-Leninism strengthened still further the leading role of the working class among the people. The united front and, later, the merging of the two workers' parties, helped to strengthen the alliance with the peasant movement and overcome, in the course of an intense political struggle, Right-wing influences in this movement. This process was completed in 1949 when the two peasant parties merged in the United Peasant Party.

Our experience in building socialism revealed to us the usefulness of a multi-party system of socialist democracy. The roots of this system are embedded in the traditions of the political life of our country. This system, however, does not signify that the parties belonging to it are representative of various class and social strata.

The strategy of broad alliances for the attainment of both the tasks of the Communist movement at the given stage and the ultimate aims of the proletariat is one of the main propositions in the theory of Marxism. The founders of Marxism paid special attention to this problem. Later, in the new conditions, Lenin enriched the Marxist concept of alliances with a new content. Lenin's thinking on the subject, the starting point for the questing of the Seventh Comintern Congress, subsequently illuminated the way for the Communist parties which during the anti-fascist war came face to face with grave ordeals. Today, in the new

historical setting, the issue of building a broad alliance of all anti-imperialist forces occupies the central place in the activity of Communist parties, which history has entrusted with responsibility for the destinies of the peoples.

Today there is no international center of the world Communist movement. The movement has now reached a stage of development when contacts between parties are maintained by different means. In the complex conditions of our time the different and specific features of the various countries, demand that each party independently decide on its political line, proceeding from an analysis of the concrete conditions in which it has to work. Each Communist party is responsible for its policy primarily to the working class of its own country and its own people. This is the main source of contact between the Communist movement and the people and the principal condition of its influence among the masses.

Under the impact of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which abolished the personality cult—a phenomenon both harmful to and at variance with the very essence of Marxism—the Leninist principles of equality, independence and fraternal solidarity were restored in the relations between Communist parties.

In these conditions the unity of action by all the Communist parties in the international arena acquires tremendous importance. This unity is created not by the decisions of any coordinating center, it is being forged by all the Communist parties in the course of mutual consultations and joint decisions on the general principles of the strategy of the anti-imperialist struggle.

At the present decisive stage of the worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism, the problems of crucial concern for man, and primarily the problems of war and peace, the development of the socialist revolution, and the final abolition of colonialism in all its forms, are universal in character and are being tackled on a world scale. Therefore, on these key issues of world politics and struggle against imperialism a common stand of all the parties is essential. The basis for this is furnished by the decisions of the two international meetings of the Communist parties in 1957 and 1960.

Those who counterpose their specific interests to the global strategy of the Communist movement are doing grave harm to the struggle against imperialism.

Each party has its responsibility for the interests of the entire international working-class movement, and this responsibility should be a vital component of its own interests, which it should always take into account in solving its own problems, and in so doing it should never lose sight of the fact that the unity of the Communist movement is a must for the fulfilment by each party of its internationalist duty and a condition of success in the struggle against imperialism for world peace.

The present international situation calls with renewed emphasis for unity of action of the Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism, and especially for a common line in the foreign policy of the socialist states no matter what differences may exist between them. The unity of our movement, especially the political unity of the socialist states, is the main and indispensable condition for cutting short the intrigues of imperialism, making it retreat in Indochina and other parts of the world, where it is trying to stifle the freedom of the peoples and planting seedbeds of war.

In the highly differentiated conditions of the modern world there are objective conditions and the need for unity of action by the Com-

munist movement and the other progressive trends of our time, above all, with the powerful national-liberation movement on the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive trends which are steadily gaining weight in the developed capitalist countries. Today more than ever before, the fight for socialism is intertwining with the fight for national liberation and the fight for peace, with all three merging in a single, powerful anti-imperialist movement of the peoples. In this situation unity of the world Communist movement becomes the main condition of unity for all the anti-imperialist forces, i.e., the decisive prerequisite of their victory.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the Spanish experience

DOLORES IBARRURI

Chairman, Communist Party of Spain

AMONG THE POINTS discussed at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern were the application of Leninist principles in the international Communist movement, the fight against sectarianism and opportunism, the strategy and tactics of the Communist parties in the struggle against fascism and the war danger, and the unity of the working class as an indispensable condition for its alliance with the democratic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces.

Many of these questions are still on the order of the day. And this shows how vital, how timely the decisions of the Seventh Congress are today for the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of the Communist parties. This of course does not mean that the methods of struggle and organization employed by the international Communist movement in the past can be repeated, or mechanically transplanted to the different conditions of today.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress are timely for many reasons. Firstly, because they represented a sharp turn in the political life of the Communist parties, in their struggle

against fascism, in defense of democracy. In my view it would be wrong to strike out these decisions and start all over again. For these decisions made it possible to give practical realization to the unity of the Communists and the democratic forces in the fight against fascism and contributed in no small measure to the victory of the peoples over Hitler. And in view of the existence of opinions and methods of struggle which revolutionary experience has proved to be not only shallow and meaningless but harmful to the peoples' struggle for democracy, the study and implementation of the Seventh Congress decisions in the light of our own time can only be useful and expedient.

The Congress took place at a time when the world situation was pregnant with danger. But the events in Europe at that time showed that whereas the reactionaries in all countries were bent on taking the path of Hitler, neither the working class nor considerable groups of the democratic bourgeoisie were willing to relinquish the democratic gains of the people without a struggle or to let fascism turn back the

wheel of history. Among the Social Democratic leaders who had been unjustly characterized as social-fascists — a mistake that created well-nigh insurmountable obstacles to unity—there were those who, in common with the majority of the Socialist workers, were ready to resist fascism.

Could we, proceeding from an erroneous concept of what is revolutionary and what is not (a concept unfortunately still adhered to by some Communist leaders), fail to take this into account? It is obvious — and this too is a lesson of contemporary value — that the Communists alone, notwithstanding their heroism and self-sacrifice, isolated as they were from the democratic forces of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, from the Socialists, were not in a position to repel the fascist drive for power, just as today they alone, in isolation, cannot effectively enough combat imperialism and the power of the monopolies, or develop and regenerate democracy.

Commemorating today the Seventh Congress of the Comintern I should like to honor the memory of the great revolutionary Georgi Dimitrov who brought to the Congress the prestige earned by his rich experience and heroic fight against reaction in many countries of Europe.

Examining in a critical, Leninist spirit, the balance sheet of the Communist parties' activities, Dimitrov pointed to the reasons for the weakness of the Communist parties, and he drew the conclusion that the tactics and strategy of the parties should be changed, adapted to the realities, and that an end should be put to the extremist and dogmatic phraseology which sometimes repelled the masses, those masses who in the final analysis make revolutions and who build socialism.

The Congress criticized the delusion, current not only among Left Socialists and anarchists but also among some Communists, that when a political or revolutionary crisis sets in it is enough for a left working class organization to issue the call for an armed uprising for the people to plunge into the fray. Spain offers an example of this error at various periods.

Experience has shown that this theory as a rule is false, that before the masses can be rallied for decisive action, they must first be schooled in revolutionary and political struggle. Experience past and present shows that what is correct, necessary and timely in one country and under certain conditions, may be unsuitable for another country where such conditions do not and cannot exist. Every Communist Party in elaborating its policy, tactics and strategy proceeds from the specific features of its own country, its own people.

I should like to dwell concretely on our own Spanish experience as being the most typical and indicative in the light of the Seventh Congress.

Comrade Duclos has recalled that in 1935, on the instructions of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, he visited Spain and dis-

cussed with Largo Caballero, the Socialist leader, the question of forming a bloc of democratic and working-class forces in Spain.

But what happened in Spain at that time?

What happened was that the Spanish people had made two revolutions: one, the peaceful revolution of 1931 which overthrew the monarchy, and the other, the armed revolution of 1934 which prevented the advent to power of fascism.

In 1933 when Hitler came to power in Germany, the Spanish reactionaries, who had retained all their privileges, their wealth and their vast estates, believed that this was the opportune moment to recapture their lost political positions and to restore the regime the people had overthrown. Taking advantage of the impotence of the Republican-Socialist coalition, which despite its weakness did represent broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the workers, they forced it to resign. They achieved their purpose. The new government, no longer as "proletarian" as its predecessor, announced that a general election would be held in November 1933.

The Communist Party, true to its policy of unity, offered the Socialist Party to put up joint lists of candidates wherever possible. The Socialists, however, rejected the proposal and suffered a crushing defeat. In Malaga, where Communist Party influence was strong, a People's Front of Socialists, Communists and Republicans was formed. The reactionary candidate was defeated and for the first time in Spanish history a Communist Deputy was elected to Parliament—Dr. Bolivar who courageously upheld the policy of the Communist Party and the interests of the working class in the reactionary Cortes of that period.

The Spanish Communist Party was severely criticized by the Executive Committee of the Comintern for organizing that coalition which was considered opportunist policy. But the criticism didn't worry us greatly, for we knew that we had acted correctly. And we continued to pursue that policy.

The electoral victory of the Right heightened the danger of a reactionary comeback. Had it not been for the resistance of the masses there is little doubt that Spain would have been saddled with a fascist regime similar to the Dolfuss regime in Austria. But despite the Government persecution, and despite the anti-Communism of the Socialist leaders, the Communist Party again suggested to the Socialist Party that we should form a united front. At the same time, the Party called on the workers to form an anti-fascist worker-peasant militia to counter the fascist hoodlums then using violence against the democratic and working-class forces.

At first the Socialist Party rejected our proposal for a united front. But the seed had been planted, and before long a Left wing began to take shape in the Socialist Party which (it must be admitted) was even more sectarian than the Communists. Instead of ac-

cepting the Communist proposal for a united front, the Left Socialists proposed setting up workers' alliances, an invention of their own which did not include the peasantry whom the Socialist leaders at the time did not consider a revolutionary force.

Since the Communist Party could not agree to the exclusion of the peasantry, one of the motive forces of the democratic revolution, it rejected the idea of the alliances. But as the fascist danger grew and a critical situation emerged, the Communists decided to join the alliances, reserving the right to fight for the inclusion of the peasants in these organizations.

The Communist Party stood for accord with all the Republican democratic parties. The Socialists opposed this view, maintaining that the main thing was to launch the struggle and that all the others would follow suit.

On the evening of October 4, 1934, when it was learned that the Right-wing leadership had entered the government, the order for a general strike was issued in accordance with a decision adopted by the workers' alliances in September of the same year. The struggle at once acquired a violent character and soon developed into an armed uprising, especially in the Asturias where, thanks to the united action of the Socialists, Communists and Anarchists, the struggle lasted for more than two weeks.

October 1934 was a baptism of fire for all the parties of the working class and democratic forces in our country. The Communist Party, which emerged from this struggle stronger, was now a force to be reckoned with in the political life of Spain.

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Among the Communist parties which participated in the work of the Seventh Congress was the Communist Party of Spain. Thanks to its participation in the October uprising and the complex situation in Spain our Party was in a better position than other fraternal parties of the Congress concerning the establishment of a popular democratic and anti-fascist front.

In 1935 an acute revolutionary situation took shape in Spain. Despite the 2,000 killed in the Asturias and the 30,000 thrown into jail, the fighting spirit of the masses remained unbroken. This could not but influence the attitude of the Republican and Socialist leaders. The first joint meetings of the working-class parties and Republican forces took place at which the Communist Party submitted a draft program reflecting the pressing demands of the worker and peasant masses.

This program was rejected. After detailed discussion a program was adopted which, while offering no solution to the basic problems of the revolution, nevertheless provided an acceptable, if not too stable, political basis for uniting the working-class and petty-bourgeois democratic and Republican parties. The Communist Party endorsed the program although it considered it far from adequate. The formation of

the Popular Front was in itself a crushing defeat for the reactionaries.

The Right, however, did not abandon their designs, and immediately after the Popular Front victory in the elections of February 16, 1936, when the Left forces won the majority in parliament, they prepared to seize power, relying on the aid of Hitler and Mussolini. Only the political blindness of the Republican government—which, like the President, declared that the Communists were exaggerating the fascist danger—made it possible for troops to land in Spain from Africa and to extend the insurrection to the entire peninsula. And then something inspiring and unprecedented happened. The entire people rose in arms against the fascist aggression.

Side by side with our people the men of the International Brigades fought against the fascists, thereby giving the world an inspiring example of internationalism, displaying the most sterling revolutionary qualities of men reared in the Leninist spirit, in the spirit of the Communist International.

The fight of the Spanish people was the first big battle against fascism. It would be no exaggeration to say that by their heroic resistance the Spanish people postponed the outbreak of the Second World War for nearly three years.

Republican Spain was crushed because the naked intervention by Hitler and Mussolini was facilitated by the policy of so-called "non-intervention" by the imperialist powers, powers which boasted of being democracies. But defeat did not mean that we had chosen the wrong path. On the contrary, the Spanish experience showed that the formation first of a united front and later an anti-fascist Popular Front acted as a powerful stimulus to broader and fuller working-class unity. This is borne out by the amalgamation of the trade unions under Communist influence with the unions in which Socialists played the main role; the merging, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of the Socialist and the Communist youth organizations in the United Socialist Youth; the merging in Catalonia of four Marxist parties in the United Socialist Party, and the establishing of a liaison committee between the Socialist and Communist parties which, among other things, was charged with the task of exploring ways of achieving the organizational unity of the two parties.

During the war economic and political reforms were effected which, while not of a socialist character, were not typically bourgeois-democratic either. These reforms were guaranteed by the new government with the active and direct participation of the masses. This was no longer a bourgeois government. It was a people's government. The republic underwent profound changes, which although not extending beyond the framework of the bourgeois constitution of 1931 nevertheless converted it into a democratic parliamentary republic of a new type, a precursor of the

people's democracies which came into being in Europe after the Second World War.

Thus, Spain was the first country where in the course of the fight against fascism a democratic dictatorship of workers, peasants, petty and middle bourgeoisie was established, a dictatorship exercised by a coalition of political forces, beginning with the Communists and ending with the Catholics, and based on the parliamentary system.

As Comrade Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, observed recently, "the experience of the war in Spain is valuable because it shows that the struggle of the people, of its democratic forces against fascism or against other forms of monopoly domination is capable of engendering forms of cooperation on the road to socialism in which, in addition to the workers and peasants, wide-ranging socio-political forces may participate."

What is the current policy of the Communist Party in the conditions of the Franco dictatorship? It is still a policy that envisages the overthrow of the dictatorship and its replacement by a system of political and social democracy which would permit the free play of all political forces in Spain.

But our tactics have not been identical throughout the twenty-five years of fascist rule.

During the first ten years, when all democrats were subjected to brutal repressions, we organized and supported the guerrilla movement in which hundreds of our comrades gave their lives. This movement, although it did not succeed in rallying the masses of workers and peasants to take to arms against the dictatorship, showed the Communists' resolve to try all forms of struggle against the fascist regime, not to allow the butchery of peasants to go unpunished. At the same time we supported the policy of national unity of all the anti-Franco forces.

The experience of our guerrilla movement—and others may perhaps be able to benefit by it—shows that it is not always possible to overthrow reactionary regimes by armed struggle waged by groups of courageous men, particularly when there is no political crisis in the country and no big supporting actions by the working class and other national forces, no war and no foreign troops occupying the country.

At a later date, the Communist Party, developing the idea of uniting the forces of the anti-Franco opposition and exposing the Franco propaganda which sought to depict the rebellion of the reactionaries against the bourgeois-democratic republic as a crusade in defense of religion, advocated a policy of national accord. It showed that the sole purpose of the fascist rebels had been to safeguard the interests of the financial and landlord oligarchies.

The call for national accord was a reply to the Franco policy of continuing to divide the people into those who had sided with Franco and those who had defended the republic; the

Communist Party, extending its hand to those who had sided with Franco, pointed out that the war of 1936-39 was lost by the whole people, including those who fought against the Republic, since the monopoly oligarchy and the Franco family alone had gained by it.

Thanks to this frank policy toward those who had fought in Franco's rebel army and who are now disillusioned and frustrated, the Communists have been able to awaken the interest of these people in the struggle against the dictatorship and to convince even those who have always opposed Communism that a dialogue and mutual understanding with the Communists is possible. Today the opposition to the dictatorship has spread even to some of the fascist organizations, a considerable section of the clergy, and above all, the younger priests who are publicly advocating structural changes and condemning the dictatorship.

As a counterweight to the Franco trade unions, the working class is forming its own organizations—workers' committees—which are springing up in the enterprises and winning the right to legal existence despite the fascist laws. The working class is forcing the dictatorship to stop qualifying strikes as treason carrying a severe penalty.

Protest demonstrations by students and teachers have led to the collapse of the Spanish University Union and turned the universities and colleges into centers of the struggle for freedom and democracy.

The dictatorship has had to backtrack and abolish the law spearheaded against Freemasons and Communists, a law which envisaged the death penalty for anyone suspected of harboring anti-Franco sentiment.

The Communist Party is fighting for a system of political and social democracy which would guarantee civil rights to all citizens, and which would enable all political, social and religious forces to function freely, unencumbered by obligations alien to the interests of the people, progress and the security of the country.

Adhering to the main line of the fight for socialism and communism, the Party is adapting its policy to the situation and to changes taking place in the country, changes which its activity has helped to promote. At the same time, the Party refuses to apply stereotyped, dogmatic and opportunistic formulas which no longer correspond to the dynamics of reality, formulas condemned by Marxism-Leninism as being contrary to the dialectical substance of the materialist conception of history.

Although forced to work in conditions of illegality, the Communist Party is becoming a powerful working-class and peasant Party, upholding the interests of the working class and peasantry, the interests of considerable sections of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, the interests of the entire nation infringed by monopoly oligarchy and the dictatorship.

In working towards this new political and social democracy, the Communists are ready

to cooperate with all forces anxious to change things, with all whose eyes are turned not to the irrevocable past but to the future, to the new forms of life and social relationships which already exist in a substantial part of the world.

Such in general is the political activity of the Communist Party of Spain in the thirty years that have passed since the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

Should our modest experience of struggle prove to be of value to other fraternal parties we would be happy.

How was it that the Communist Party was able to carry on the struggle for so many years against such overwhelming odds and to become the most important organized opposition to the Franco regime? It succeeded because it never ceased to fight and never lost faith in the working masses. Because it has been conscious throughout of the support of the international Communist movement, of the first socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union, and

of the countries of the socialist camp which invariably sustained us in our just struggle.

The knowledge that we were not alone in our long struggle against the Franco dictatorship, the knowledge that the true democrats of all countries were on our side, multiplied the strength of our comrades, our valiant comrades who fought and are still fighting in the underground or who have languished behind bars for years. And the first thing these comrades say to the Party leadership upon emerging from prison is this: "We are at your disposal, ready to carry on the struggle again."

Another thing that helped us was our profound faith that we are fighting for the noblest of causes, the liberation of our people, of which the Communist Party is an inalienable part.

Filled with faith in the morrow, we are marching forward under the banner of Lenin, under the banner of light, hope and victory.

Long live the ideological and political unity of the international Communist movement!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

The Seventh Congress and the Bulgarian Communist Party

ENCHO STAIKOV

Member, Political Bureau,
Bulgarian Communist Party

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS of the Communist International was a landmark in the history of the Communist parties and the international working-class movement in general. Its decisions, which subjected to a penetrating Marxist-Leninist analysis the international situation of the time and the processes then under way in the capitalist world marked a new stage in the development of the parties. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern equipped the Communist parties with the correct Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics in the struggle against capitalist reaction and fascism, in the fight against war.

The significance of the new approach charted by the Seventh Congress on a number of

fundamental issues extends far beyond the boundaries of the time and to this day retains its validity for the Communist Parties and the international working-class movement. We have in mind the new line on the question of the united front which discarded the characterization of social-democracy as "social-fascism" and the "main social base of the bourgeoisie"; on establishing a broad anti-fascist popular front based on the proletarian united front, and the formation of a people's anti-fascist government; on the attitude of the working class to bourgeois democracy, to trade union unity on the national and international front in the colonial countries, etc.

In the center of attention at the Seventh

Congress was the issue of the struggle to avert the new world war the imperialists were preparing and to safeguard peace.

The documents of the Congress provide a striking example of creative application of Marxism-Leninism. Its reports and decisions contained severe criticism of the dogmatism and sectarianism which had prevented the Communists from reaching the masses and working among them. It was pointed out that sectarianism and doctrinaire narrowness were the chief obstacles to the establishment of a united front and a popular anti-fascist front. At the same time the Congress stressed the need to heighten vigilance and to combat Right opportunism, the danger of which would increase with the creation of the united front and the anti-fascist popular front.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress were unanimously endorsed by Communists everywhere, who had come to realize the need for such decisions through their own experience.

Even before the Congress and despite the opposition of the leaders of the Second International, united action between Communist and Socialist parties had taken place in some countries. In France united action by the Communist and Socialist parties prevented the French fascists from seizing power in February 1934 and led in July of the same year to an agreement on united action between these two parties.

A powerful impetus to Communist-Socialist unity and unity with all progressives was given by Dimitrov who at the Leipzig trial stripped the mask from German fascism and helped to rally democrats throughout the world to the struggle against fascism.

As can be seen from the documents published in connection with the preparations for the Seventh Congress, Dimitrov, speaking in the commission set up for the purpose, stressed the need to re-examine a number of obsolete or erroneous policies which in large measure were responsible for the setbacks encountered by the movement. Dimitrov suggested that the characterization of social democracy as "social fascism" and of the Left Social Democrats as the "main danger" should be discarded, that the Communists should direct their efforts at turning the reformist trade unions into instruments of class struggle, and that the united front tactic should be regarded not as a maneuver to expose Social Democracy but as a vital factor in rallying the masses to halt the fascist offensive.

The new political line of the Comintern was elaborated with the active participation of Thorez, Togliatti, Pieck, Manuilsky, Kuusinen, Gottwald, Lenski and other leading figures in the international Communist movement. A big role in shaping the new strategy and tactics of the International was played by the leadership of the CPSU.

Subsequent developments fully confirmed the timeliness and correctness of the Seventh Congress decisions. After the Congress, the

Communist parties re-examined their work in the light of its decisions and took steps to improve the forms and methods of work and to strengthen contact with the working masses. Particular effort was exerted to build a people's front, and to rally the workers and all progressives against fascism and imperialist aggression.

The soundness of the Seventh Congress decisions became clearer after the outbreak of the Second World War when the Communist and Workers' parties labored to unite the democratic and progressive forces, all sincere people for the struggle against Hitler Germany.

For the Bulgarian Communist Party, too, the decisions of the Seventh Congress were of inestimable value. At that time our Party, led by Dimitrov who after his release from the Nazi prison headed our Party once more, was repairing the damage caused by the erroneous policy of the Left sectarian group which gained the upper hand in the Party between 1929 and 1935.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Party, which took place after the Seventh Congress, was of the utmost importance for our Party during the years of fascist dictatorship. It worked out a correct line on the questions of building a united front and people's front in our country, extending the work among the masses in the conditions of fascist terror, utilizing all legal possibilities of contact between the Party and the working people, and intensifying the struggle in defense of the workers' vital interests.

Equipped with the decisions of the Seventh Congress and of its own Sixth Plenary Meeting, our Party, working in the arduous conditions of illegality, modified its methods in keeping with the new Party line, and by skilfully combining illegal and legal forms of work extended its activities in the mass organizations.

The strikes of tobacco workers, textile workers, truck drivers and others in 1936 were a major victory for the movement. These were followed by mass actions in the countryside by tobacco and wine growers, and other agricultural producers.

By this time our Party had learned some lessons in the matter of tactics in the fight against fascism, especially from the mistakes made at the time of the fascist coup d'état in 1923 against the democratic agrarian government of A. Stambolisky. At the time of the coup the Central Committee adopted a neutral position, regarding it as a clash between the urban and rural bourgeoisie. This error, which showed that the Party had not yet fully mastered the ideological weapon of Leninism, that it lacked a true Leninist approach to the question of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, was due to the fact that the process then known as "bolshevization" had barely begun at the time.

With the help of the Comintern, however, the Central Committee of our Party soon perceived its mistake and set to work to build

a united front with the Agrarian People's Union, the Social Democratic Party and other organizations in preparation for the coming crisis. It was thanks to this that when the anti-fascist uprising broke out in September 1923, the Agrarian Union fought side by side with the Communist Party which had organized and led the uprising. Later, influenced by some incorrect policies of the Comintern, our Party committed a number of mistakes of a sectarian nature in applying the united front tactic. This applies particularly to the years of the Left sectarian leadership (1929-1935). Striking mainly at the Agrarian Union, a mass peasant organization, but also at the Social Democratic Party, our Party virtually closed all avenues of approach to these parties.

After the Seventh Congress it concentrated on establishing a united front with the Social Democrats and an anti-fascist popular front. The program of the united front drawn up by the Party included such democratic demands as restoration of the old Constitution, elections based on that Constitution, repeal of all anti-constitutional laws and decrees, disbanding of fascist organizations, etc. With this program the Party approached a number of democratic parties and organizations, as well as the democratic-minded army officers, with a view to uniting them on a common platform of struggle against fascism and war, for democratic rights and freedoms, for peace, work and bread.

To overcome sectarianism and to implement the decisions of the Seventh Congress, the Party carried on extensive educational work among its members. The decisions and documents of the Seventh Congress were translated and published in thousands of copies despite the conditions of illegality in which the Party functioned. Sectarian slogans and methods of work, including the incorrect cadre policy which created a barrier between the younger and older Party cadres, were subjected to critical examination. Moreover, the Party had to put an end to the factional activities which weakened and hampered its activity. Under the leadership of Dimitrov, it was able to cement its ranks and strengthen its unity.

By dint of persistent effort combined with flexibility the Party succeeded in overcoming the obstacles and making headway in building a popular front. Popular Front committees were formed in towns and villages all over the country. United action was achieved with the Left-wing of the Social-Democratic Party and the Agrarian Union, and also with some mass organizations. The Popular Front made notable progress also among the youth. A common anti-fascist youth front was established which, besides the Communist, Social Democratic and Agrarian youth leagues, included various other non-fascist youth leagues and the mass cultural youth organizations. The Party organized a number of joint actions against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship.

It achieved success also in the struggle

against the war danger and in defense of peace. After the outbreak of the Second World War, the Party launched a big campaign in defense of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and urging the conclusion of a pact of friendship and mutual aid with the Soviet Union. The movement for this pact assumed mass proportions toward the end of 1940 when the Soviet Government officially offered to conclude such a pact with the Bulgarian Government.

The full impact of the Party's success in carrying out the line of the Seventh Congress made itself felt after the attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 when the corrupt palace clique dragged Bulgaria into the war on the side of Hitler. This crucial hour, when the fate of the nation was in the balance, found the Party fully prepared to meet the test.

The Fatherland Front founded in 1942 on the initiative and under the leadership of Dimitrov was a continuation of the struggle for the Popular Front. The summer of 1943 saw the formation of the National Committee of the Fatherland Front in which the Communist Party, the Agrarian People's Union, the Social Democratic Party, the People's "Zveno" Union, and some non-party public leaders were represented.

According to the program of the Fatherland Front all the forces of the nation were to be directed toward severing the alliance with Hitler, delivering the country from occupation and establishing close friendship with the Soviet Union, overthrowing the monarcho-fascist clique and establishing a people's government. Working on the basis of this program, the Party directed the revolutionary struggle of the working people and organized an extensive guerrilla movement.

By combining legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle, the Party was able to unite broad sections of the population under the banner of the Fatherland Front. Revolutionary battles were fought all over the country, which, with the help of the Soviet Army, culminated in the victory of September 9, 1944, when a new era dawned in the history of the Bulgarian people, the era of building socialism.

The creation of the Fatherland Front as an alliance of all the progressive and democratic forces of the Bulgarian nation, all its non-fascist political parties and mass organizations on the basis of a worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class and its political vanguard, the Bulgarian Communist Party; combining the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism, and the victory of the socialist revolution in its popular democratic form—this was the principal outcome of implementing the decisions of the Seventh Congress, an expression of the creative application of the line laid down by the Seventh Congress.

The thirty years since the Seventh Congress of the Communist International have witnessed

epoch-making changes that have radically altered the world situation.

This was noted by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in 1956, and the Moscow conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties of 1957 and 1960 which made a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the international situation since the Second World War.

Of no little significance in the conditions of today are the documents of the Seventh Congress concerning the fight against imperialist preparations for world war, in defense of peace. Togliatti's report and Dimitrov's concluding remarks posed in a new light the question of the fight against the danger of world war. The view concerning the fatal inevitability of war under capitalism was criticized as sectarian and dogmatic. Our Congress, Georgi Dimitrov said, emphatically rejects the fatalistic view with regard to imperialist wars. It is true that imperialist wars are the product of capitalism, and that only the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all wars, but it is equally true that the working masses by their militant actions can prevent imperialist wars.

The main task of the international proletariat, Dimitrov pointed out later, was to build a peace front that would encircle the globe with such a dense network of peace organizations, organize such a powerful international solidarity movement and pursue such an active international proletarian policy in the interests of preserving peace, that the criminal hand of the warmongers would be stayed.

The line of the Seventh Congress on the struggle against war shattered the slanders of bourgeois propaganda, echoed by the reformist leaders, that the Communists stand for war since war allegedly provides the most favorable conditions for the seizure of power by the working class.

Proceeding from the radical change in the balance of forces on the world arena in favor of the forces of peace, democracy, the national-liberation movement and socialism, the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU and the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960 showed, on the basis of a realistic assessment of the situation, that it is possible to avert a new world war. This assessment imparted new weight to the point made by the Seventh Congress on the question of war and peace and further developed it.

The Congress decisions on united action by the workers, the peasants, and all working people in the struggle against reaction, in defense of peace and the vital interests of the working people, for safeguarding their democratic rights likewise retain their validity to this day. The decisions on the united front and on the anti-fascist popular front, and the subsequent experience in carrying out these decisions are a rich source of knowledge for the Communist parties, showing how the united action of the democratic forces against imperialism, in defense of peace and democracy and

freedom, can be achieved in contemporary conditions.

Special significance attaches today to the decisions of the Seventh Congress on the need to preserve the unity of the international Communist movement, to combat any manifestation of factionalism. This line, too, was further developed in the decisions of the Moscow meetings in 1957 and 1960. The documents of the meetings emphasize that at a time when imperialist reaction is combining against Communism, it is essential to preserve and strengthen at all costs the unity of the international working class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

To wage a successful struggle against imperialism all the revolutionary forces of our time—the socialist world, national-liberation movements and the working class in all countries—must be united. And for this it is imperative to consolidate the unity of the world Communist movement. This is perfectly feasible inasmuch as "what unites the Communist parties greatly outweighs that which at present disunites them." (The communique on the Consultative Meeting held in Moscow last March.)

The Seventh Congress, as Georgi Dimitrov said, was a congress of unity of the working class of the Soviet Union, the proletariat of the capitalist countries fighting for their social emancipation, and the peoples of the colonies battling for national liberation. It vividly demonstrated the role of the Soviet Union as the mainstay of the freedom of the peoples and as a powerful factor for peace. It noted that only in close alliance with the people of the Soviet Union would the working class of the capitalist countries and the enslaved nations be able to achieve victory. Contained in the Congress decisions was the injunction "to help in every way to strengthen the Soviet Union and to fight against the enemies of the USSR." The past thirty years have confirmed the appraisal given by the Seventh Congress of the historical role of the Soviet Union, a role it continues to play to this day.

The Soviet Union ever since its inception has always rendered every support to the world working-class movement, to the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and freedom. The success of the Soviet Union in the Second World War created the conditions for victorious people's democratic revolutions in a number of countries of Europe and Asia. The fraternal aid which the USSR renders these countries, Soviet credits on most advantageous terms, have greatly contributed to their economic development.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries fully support the national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They are helping to develop the economies of these countries, and to protect them from predatory encroachments by the neo-colonialists. The people of all countries know that if

peace has been preserved and if mankind has not been plunged into another holocaust, it is thanks primarily to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and to the strength of its armed forces.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress were the result of a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis. These decisions show that only the Communist parties armed with Marxism-Leninism can correctly orientate themselves in complex situations, take the right decisions and fight successfully for these decisions.

Imperialist propaganda is waging a slander campaign against the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the hope of sowing discord in the ranks of the working-class movement. But their efforts are doomed to failure.

Equipped with Marxism-Leninism, the Communist parties, despite all the difficulties, are leading the struggle of the workers and all working people from victory to victory, for the triumph of socialism and communism throughout the world.

The fight for democracy is inseparable from the fight for socialism

VLADIMIR KOUCKY

Secretary of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

THE CRISIS OF BOURGEOIS democracy, the direct offensive of fascism, and the rising war danger in the mid-thirties confronted the international working-class movement with the urgent problem of the relationship between the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism.

It remains a lasting achievement of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International that in those turbulent times the Congress worked out the tactics of the working-class movement, tactics which contributed to the further building of a broad anti-fascist front, and defined the concept of "new democracy." Wilhelm Pieck described this as strategy and tactics "rallying the working people to the struggle against fascism and war, and enabling us to go over from the repulse of fascism to the fight for socialism."

Our Party, which took the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern with a deep sense of responsibility, helped actively to formulate the Congress line, drawing on the

experience it had gained in the famous strike in Most, in the movement of the unemployed, and in the fight against advancing fascism. Czechoslovak Communists were quick to realize that the line of the Seventh Congress provided highly favorable conditions for a revolutionary solution of the burning problems of the day, one that would be concrete and understandable to the working people.

This approach was especially important to Czechoslovakia because our country had highly developed democratic forms of social and political life, if in a bourgeois sense. Besides, in the 'thirties the Czechoslovak Republic was encircled by Hitler fascism. Needless to say, these circumstances had their part in moulding the political thinking of our people, the more so as their deep-rooted democratic sentiment and their sense of freedom and justice stemmed from the democratic traditions of a people who for centuries had been subjected to brutal national and social oppression. This democratism of large sections of the popula-

tion, which the Communists fully took into account and relied upon, prevented the home reactionaries, who would have liked to emulate Hitler's example, from putting their designs into practice.

The political spokesmen of the exploiting classes in the pre-Munich republic sought to buttress their influence by playing on the democratic sentiments of the people. They fostered illusions likely to benefit their own interests, claiming that their form of class domination, bourgeois democracy with all its deficiencies, was the sole possible way of realizing democratic ideals.

At the same time, however, big segments of the working people were shedding their illusions, for they had expected the sovereign democratic state which had come into being after 1918 to give them more than it was capable of giving in view of its bourgeois character. But while many working people participated directly, under Communist Party leadership, in grim class and social battles, the majority of the nation still did not accept the revolutionary perspective. The fear of revolutionary changes in the existing situation outweighed the fear of the growing fascist danger threatening the republic from within and without.

The profound dilemma facing our society in this connection could be resolved only through a policy combining the fight for democracy and socialism, and not merely seeing it as a propaganda or "tactical" slogan.

Our Party's policy in defense of democracy implied not preservation of the status quo or of the features of bourgeois democracy—which served, first of all, to disguise the power of finance capital—but a Jacobin, revolutionary defense of the democratic rights of the people, the republican form of the state, and national freedom. It was aimed at deepening the content of democracy, eliminating all reactionary curbs on it, developing it to the full, imparting to it a really popular character.

That is why the actual fight against fascism had necessarily to be linked with the mass movement, and aimed at progressive changes in favor of the working people. Hence the critical attitude of the revolutionary forces to the forms of bourgeois democracy handed down by history in no way ruled out its consistent and resolute defense against fascism. At the same time, the anti-fascist struggle itself tended, through its content and its results, toward a creative negation of the existing form of democracy, and towards its inner reconstruction for the benefit of all the people.

The interests of the nation as a whole necessitated far greater democracy for the people, a more democratic society. To launch a broad democratic anti-fascist movement, to establish what Klement Gottwald called a "popular front of labor, freedom and peace," as the antithesis to the growing fascist offensive, meant imparting to this movement an active and dynamic character, making it a

movement that would aim at both improving the conditions of the working people and ensuring a new role for them in the life of society. The Communist position, therefore, contained both justified criticism of the maladies of bourgeois democracy, which made it feeble against the rising fascism, and the demand that this democracy be staunchly defended against attacks from the Right, and that it be further developed and extended.

The Right-wing Social Democrats regarded the anti-fascist movement as a temporary defensive movement leaving the status quo intact. Proceeding from this "estimation," they claimed that our new tactics signified that we had abandoned our Communist principles in favor of their reformist platform.

They did not realize that this movement had to become the vehicle of an anti-fascist and hence an anti-monopoly *offensive*, the vehicle of a thoroughly democratic structural reshaping of social relations. It was aimed at isolating the fascist and reactionary forces and at disrupting the potential mass base of fascism. It was directed against the reactionary and fascist forces in the political and administrative machinery, towards ridding it of corrupt elements and ensuring its democratic renovation. It had to effect a progressive change in the entire government and coalition system from below, under democratic pressure and based on the movement and direct actions of popular forces. The fight of the revolutionary forces for democracy was aimed at winning more rights, more far-reaching fundamental rights and freedoms for the people, for their social activity and their revolutionary organizations.

The essence of this new line was described and the ways of implementing it in Czechoslovak conditions were specified at the Seventh Congress by Klement Gottwald, who said: "We want this republic, which today is ruled by the bourgeoisie, to become a republic governed by the working people . . . But in the event of this *bourgeois democratic* republic being menaced by bloody fascism, we shall *defend* it against fascism." But, he stressed, the republic itself should *enable* its citizens to defend it. Organizations of working people should be able to function in complete freedom and there should be freedom for the peoples. Workers should not be persecuted and Communists should not be imprisoned. "Persisting in persecution," Gottwald added, "the republic would make its own defense impossible."

In those years there were, in addition to the Right-opportunist trends in the Party that were rejected by the Seventh Party Congress, some Left voices, primarily outside its organizations; the latter accused the Party of abandoning the revolutionary road. These people did not realize that the fight for democracy—especially in a country with highly-developed democratic traditions and forms of life, now threatened by fascism—should not be regarded as an obstacle to the fight for socialism but as

a component of it, as a condition for the socialist revolution and as a step towards it. Yet in contrast to dogmatic trends, the dialectics of development at the time meant that the struggle in defense of democracy and for extending it was practically the sole way of reconstructing society along revolutionary lines. Our Party saw to it, therefore, that its effort was always directed toward fulfilling also the great internationalist task facing it in the broader context of the world democratic and progressive forces combating fascism. This was done, among other things, through aid to the persecuted German democrats and by its support of Spanish democracy, expressed in the watchword "He who defends Madrid also defends Prague", and in the action of the 3,000 Czechoslovaks who joined the international brigades and fought in Spain.

You all know the reasons why our Party could not fully realize its objectives in the brief period between the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the Munich events in 1938. The growing resolve of the people to take a firm stand against the aggressive onslaught of Hitler fascism—of which the Party was the inspirer and consistent advocate—failed in the end to prevent Munich, the conspiracy of international reaction which was aided by the Right at home and before which the spokesmen of the Masaryk-Benes "classical" democracy capitulated in undue haste.

Hitler destroyed the national sovereignty, the republic and democratic liberties. After Munich many in Czechoslovakia fell into scepticism arising from the disillusionment and disappointment with bourgeois democracy. On the other hand, there was the desire to rebuild democracy—not along lines of the earlier bourgeois democracy which had discredited itself, but a democracy capable of defeating reaction and fascism. And the popular effort in this direction merged with their struggle for national existence and statehood.

Being the sole consistent champions of democracy and of the republic, the Communists subsequently carried forward their new strategy which derived from the platform of the Seventh Congress. This enabled the Party in the conditions of occupation and the national-liberation struggle to make the people deeply conscious of the need to prevent simply a return to the pre-Munich state of affairs and to rebuild Czechoslovak democracy by putting it on a consistently popular footing. And when the country had been overrun, the Party headed a broad national democratic front encompassing diverse groups of the population, which participated actively in the national-liberation struggle. After the Soviet Union's victory over fascist Germany and the liberation of Czechoslovakia, this front became the exponent of the victory of the national and democratic revolution in the country and served as the basis for our advance to socialism.

The line of the Seventh Congress and, above all, the Congress conclusions about new de-

mocracy were a source of inspiration to us also after May 1945, when our Party guided the working people towards people's democracy.

This democratic policy of the Party was so successful and advanced so irresistibly towards winning the majority of the nation for its program in the next elections that the reactionaries tried to change the course of developments. They hoped that their obstruction would result in *distorting* democracy, so much so that it would have to be replaced by a bureaucratic administration, which would deprive the Communists of political power in the state and gradually nullify the rights and gains achieved by the people in the course of the revolution. In these circumstances it was most fortunate for the Communists that it was they who had secured a completely democratic, constitutional and parliamentary settlement of the crisis provoked by reaction in February 1948.

February 1948 was a thoroughly democratic solution of complicated political problems in a country whose people had enforced their will in harmony with the principles approved by the overwhelming majority of Parliament, elected in 1946. Any bourgeois democratic government would have envied us such a parliamentary majority. The issue, then, was not of some kind of anti-democratic coup, and still less of a putsch, but of a deep-going and consistent expression of the working people's will for the further democratic and at once socialist development of the country. February 1948 in Czechoslovakia was, therefore, convincing proof of the vitality and farsightedness of the strategic concept of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

The people's victory over reaction provided conditions for the realization of socialist ideals through a mass democratic movement, and became the point of departure for solving the complex problems of the socialist reconstruction of society. And while it is true that in subsequent years the building of socialism was accompanied by a number of adverse factors and by violations of democracy, this could not do away with the essence of revolutionary democracy.

It became obvious, however, that any weakening of democratic principles and any infringement of socialist democracy entails a weakening of socialism.

Clearly many features of our country, features rooted in its past economic, political, social and cultural development which the Party took into account and used when carrying out the line of the Seventh Congress, could not but make themselves felt also during the building of socialism. I have in mind in particular the twenty years of developed parliamentary democracy, the existence of a mass legal Communist Party, a numerically strong and steeled working class, which for decades had influenced also the people in the countryside, the Left sentiment of most of our intellectuals, and the traditional friendship of our people with the people of the Soviet Union, to say

nothing of the high level of our economic development. This signified highly favorable conditions for building socialism and for the steady extension of socialist democracy, especially after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. At the same time, however, it became particularly urgent to carry forward socialist democracy and to ensure for the working people a much bigger say in economic management and in administration.

These facts were borne in mind by the Twelfth Congress of our Party and by the Central Committee in its recent measures to improve our economic management, designed to ensure extensive participation by the working people in management, and to bring the interests of society as a whole and those of the working collectives and of individuals into greater harmony. Along with this, new principles are emerging, and greater scope of activity is allowed for the trade unions in the enterprises.

Much is being done to enhance the role of the elected bodies. Last year's Party documents on the work of the National Assembly and the Slovak National Council, and also the guidelines now in preparation for the further development of the national councils as the direct representatives of the people, afford new opportunities for deepening democracy and for direct participation by the people in solving vital political and economic problems. The nationalities question in our country is being solved in a fundamentally more democratic and internationalist spirit than formerly.

Democracy is furthered by the extension of supervision by the public over the diverse areas of life in our society. The role played by the elected supervisory agencies is growing, and they are becoming part and parcel of the entire system of our democratic institutions.

Special attention is devoted to creating an atmosphere in which civil rights and liberties will be practised in full measure and guaranteed by our legal system. Our first concern is constantly to perfect the legal system, to impart to it stability and to ensure legal guarantees and civil rights that will make for free and full development of the individual in conditions of socialism and will best meet the interests of society as a whole. Our effort, then, is directed against everything likely to infringe the interests of society, to restrict the range of socialist democracy, against ignoring the needs of the working people, against bureaucratic attitudes tending to restrain and curb the initiative of the people, and so on.

We are, moreover, in the new conditions taking a new look at the problem of how best to exercise the leading role of the Communist Party in the system of democratic institutions, of how best to utilize the possibilities for the greater and more active participation by the mass organizations and other political components of the National Front in the effort to make public life in our country richer and fuller.

These measures will enable us gradually to solve the problem of going over to a State of all the people as the materialization of the Leninist principle of organization of the working people, and as a realization of working people's rule and of the highest form of democracy in general.

The Thirteenth Congress of our Party, to be convened next year, will devote itself to these issues, will chart the further course of development of our democracy as a necessary condition for the overall development of socialist society.

The experience gained by our Party in implementing the line of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern confirms the vitality and mobilizing power of the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement. To this very day, that is, thirty years later, the conclusions of the Seventh Congress retain their validity—with modifications, of course—and are reflected in the strategic and tactical principles of the international working-class movement.

On the strength of our revolutionary experience, we would like to express the conviction that the success of the Communist and revolutionary movement in every country hinges directly on the vigor of the political activity of the working people in every sphere, so much so that it will be able to safeguard democracy in public life against reactionary encroachments on it. In the developing countries, too, where the national-liberation movement has grown into an anti-colonialist revolution, further progress will depend, as we see it, on the measure in which the anti-colonialist forces will rely on the masses for support, on the measure in which they will encourage democratic life and enable the people's political organizations to function freely and unhindered. We think that without this there will be the real danger of progressive development in these countries being continually impeded by imperialist intrigue or jeopardized by political gambles.

The experience of our entire movement shows that the establishment of a broad democratic front against imperialism both in the developing countries and in the developed capitalist countries is indispensable for the gradual socialist reconstruction of society. That is why we hold that unity of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces on an international scale is all the more imperative. It is imperative also to discard the tendency of mutual invective and suspicion, the tendency to exclude this or that contingent of the front, or to set up one contingent against another, particularly when a joint fight against direct imperialist aggression, such as is taking place in Vietnam at present, is the order of the day.

The success of the Communist Party in every country is inseparable from the struggle of all the other fraternal parties and of the world Communist movement. Success is conditional on the overcoming of a politically and nationally narrow approach to the problems and on

consistent application of the principles of proletarian internationalism. Concerted effort by the socialist system, whose main force is the Soviet Union, by the national-liberation movement and by the working class in the developed capitalist countries, in joint struggle against capital, for national freedom, democracy and socialism—these are the sound guarantee of our success on a world scale. And in this, the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Com-

munist International are an inspiring example for all of us.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia would like to use the occasion of this important gathering to assure the representatives of fraternal parties that its every effort will be in keeping with our common goals, in the spirit of unshakable loyalty and the militant international solidarity of the Communists of the world.

Prevent war, ensure social progress

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Communist Party, USA

PROFOUND LESSONS can be extracted from the experience of the period of the Seventh World Congress and can help illuminate the path we must follow today in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. We need many more meetings of this character, for it is necessary for the whole world Communist movement to make estimates of the major trends of today's world. In this regard, we, of the American delegation, take this occasion to reaffirm our position and call for a world conference of Communist parties, which would help elaborate these problems in greater depth.

Now I take it that the main purpose of this conference is not merely to recite what was happening in the world at the time of the Seventh World Congress or merely to list the problems the movement was confronted with at that time. It seems to me that our major preoccupation should be to extract the rich lessons contained in the experience of that period and to apply them to the problems of today.

If there is any image that has come down the corridors of time and hangs vividly in my mind, as one of the participants in the Seventh World Congress, it was the ability of the world Communist movement to learn from the masses and to repose great confidence in them.

That Congress above all reflected the experience of the working classes of many countries. It combined this experience and gave it back to the masses as a generalized guide with which to wage the struggle, to bar the path to fascism

and war, and eventually to defeat the fascist aggressors.

The struggle of our time goes forward in a different framework than in the period of the Seventh World Congress and therefore requires many different points of reference. But in an overall sense the validity of many propositions advanced at that time still stands today. The struggles of today are still in the context to promote peace, democracy and progress but they differ in two respects. Today the dangers are graver than ever before in the history of mankind. For we face the possibility of a thermonuclear war. On the other hand, the opportunities and goals are brighter than at any other time in human history. Before us lies the possibility of ending war for all time and ending the exploitation of man by man and race by race. Before us lies the possibility of achieving what great minds have dreamed of throughout the ages and the genius of Marx, Engels and Lenin gave us as the science of the working class.

Today we seek to build an alliance which embraces three major forces: *firstly*, the socialist sector of the world, composed of fourteen nations; *secondly*, the former colonial nations who have won independence from imperialism and comprise over sixty nations; *thirdly*, all the pro-democratic and peace-loving forces within the capitalist world. The unity of these forces is decisive in preventing war and for social progress.

The world has lived under the clouds of

thermonuclear war now for more than 20 years and during this period we have stood at the brink of such a war on numerous occasions. And if mankind has so far been spared such a holocaust it is due to the unity of the forces I have been speaking about. And if greater progress has not been made in rendering the warmakers completely impotent it has been due to the lack of greater unity among these three great forces. And let me state at this point that disunity in the ranks of the world Communist movement has also been a contributing factor. Nonetheless, the absence of monolithic unity does not displace the necessity for common general estimates and unity in action of the entire world Communist movement against imperialism, especially in regards to problems of war and peace, and more concretely the war now being waged in South Vietnam.

It is also imperative that the world Communist movement operate from a correct and common appraisal of the forces that are required for victory over reaction. Today the world Communist movement is under heavy pressure to pursue a policy which could only lead to disaster. We are in essence being told that the working class of the major capitalist countries in general and the United States in particular is of little consequence in determining the future of mankind. We are being told that the unity of the colonial and ex-colonial countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and some socialist countries is all that is necessary to determine the outcome of the conflict. Policies that are being advanced in this direction betray a lack of confidence in the working class as a pivotal force in the struggle to preserve peace. Such an outlook also reveals a lack of confidence in the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system. In a certain sense this line of reasoning is reminiscent of some of the narrow and sectarian tactics which prevailed in the world Communist movement prior to the Seventh World Congress. As we now know, in retrospect, such tactics contributed to the victory of Hitler in Germany with its resultant consequences for the whole world.

Therefore, one of the central problems before the world Communist movement and in the light of the Seventh World Congress experience is to have a correct appraisal of current trends and problems. Let me therefore in summary form present to you a picture of how things are unfolding in the United States.

First of all let me on behalf of American Communists reject any and all concepts which rule out the working class and the masses of the American people as factors in the struggle against imperialism and war. An examination of the crises of the last fifteen years which placed the problem of nuclear war to the forefront found the American people as a potent factor in preventing our warmongers from going over the brink. During the Korean war the American people helped to press a conclu-

sion to that war upon the Eisenhower Administration with Dulles as Secretary of State. Several times during this administration the people gave a sound rebuff to the brinkmanship policies of the late John Foster Dulles. The election of Kennedy in 1960 was a rebuff to the extremist elements of the imperialists who through the candidacy of Richard Nixon sought to enlarge the war effort. Again, in the missile confrontation in Cuba, the American people were a factor and helped to determine some of the saner policies of the Kennedy Administration. In 1964, confronted by the candidacy of Barry Goldwater, an avowed exponent of an American brand of fascism and a reckless purveyor of nuclear war, the people again found the capacity to give a sound rebuff to these suicidal tendencies.

When we speak of the American people being a decisive factor, the working class first of all, the record shows what they have already contributed to the common effort. And if this has been the case in the past, then the present is pregnant with much greater possibilities.

Notwithstanding the Johnson Administration's continued escalation of the war in South Vietnam, notwithstanding his election betrayals, the historian of tomorrow will no doubt record the outcome of the 1964 election as one of the crucial turning points in American history. For what was new and overwhelming in importance was not the election of Johnson per se, but the emergence of a coalition of broad popular forces which holds the key to future victories over the forces of war, imperialism and reaction.

We have seen since the election this coalition, which embraces the civil rights movements, significant church forces, youth and labor, enter into ever broader and united actions.

We have seen all the diverse elements which make up this coalition come to a closer understanding of the primacy of the peace issue. Heretofore, the American people became aroused only when confronted with the direct threat of a nuclear war. Today there is a greater consciousness to end all wars, small, local or general. Heretofore, while peace forces pressed the government on foreign policy they did so believing that its intentions were honorable. Today great changes in the national mood are evident. The whole direction of foreign policy is under attack and question, the morality of the government's foreign policy is being undermined, as the people see immoral acts from day to day in South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

Within this great wave of peace sentiment in the United States, there is also emerging an ever-growing anti-imperialist sentiment and consciousness.

The peace movement in the United States is expanding and on the march. Several days ago over a hundred thousand students and peace forces demonstrated in many cities throughout the country. This was the largest and most

militant form of action ever conducted at a time when our own country was engaged in a war. This action has evoked widespread concern from the Johnson Administration.

The pressures upon the peace movement are great, but as of now the prospects for even broader actions are in the offing. But while we are heartened by the growth of the peace movements, there are many problems; the struggle must be waged against dogmatism and sectarianism not only in the United States, but also in the rest of the world. The Johnson Administration was in recent months able to recoup some of its lost prestige through demagogic usage of opening the doors to negotiations in the war in South Vietnam. It is the estimate in some progressive circles that some Communists in the U.S. and abroad, as well as some Left non-party forces, have not been skilful in coping with this Johnson demagoguery.

The peace movement today comprises:

1. conscious anti-imperialist elements;
2. forces who think the government is sincerely trying to end the conflict and are ready to back actions for negotiations;

3. those who put conditions on the government while accepting the idea that the main reason for the continuation of the war is the "intransigence" displayed by the Viet Cong and North Vietnam.

Groups two and three *make up the majority* of those masses *who desire peace* and an end to the threat of a thermonuclear war.

But irrespective of these variations in assessments, the central point is that most people are willing to struggle. And the more advanced forces have not at all times worked to find tactical or common denominators to enlist united efforts of all forces. We in the U.S. are trying to correct this weakness.

We would urge the world Communist movement also to adopt tactics and methods which will facilitate the broadening of the American peace movement. For unless changes are made internally in the United States, then the peace of the world will hang perpetually in the balance. For those who think that purely military means will rout American imperialism are whistling in the dark. American imperialism can be defeated. But this cannot be done decisively without the active opposition of broad segments of the American people. Thus the struggle to unite powerful sections of the American people with the other two components of the peace forces is the central problem at this time.

One of the reasons why there is a disposition in some quarters, including some Communists, to write off the people of the United States and its working class is a lack of confidence in the general laws and contradictions of capitalism.

The United States emerged from World War II as the richest and most powerful force in the capitalist world. The reasons for this we need not discuss here. However, this fact has

created untold problems. During the twenty years since the war the American economy has constantly expanded. Cyclical crises which have erupted on the average of every ten or fifteen years during this period failed to materialize in exactly the same way. We have had several recessions, with a constant reserve army of unemployed of five to six per cent of the labor force, but nothing resembling the old type of depression.

These facts have led some fraternal parties to conclude that all American workers have been bribed by imperialism and, therefore, cannot be relied on. Hence there is no necessity to find tactical approaches. Whoever reasons in this way misses two important points—one, the standard of living enjoyed by some American workers did not come as "manna from heaven." It came in response to great class struggles and organization. Thus the working class has not been bribed. It fought for what it has got. Its potential for struggle has been and still is great. It is true that the relative position of American capitalism to the rest of the world economically has made the workers an easy prey to capitalist ideology and even to its propaganda about the superiority of capitalism over socialism.

Secondly, they fail to see that capitalism in the United States has not solved its inner contradictions, and that things do not remain static. The relatively high standard of living of the American worker in time may become the Achilles heel of capitalism and its propaganda. Moreover, the struggles of the workers to retain their standard of living in the framework of a situation where the capacity of the capitalist class to give concessions is becoming narrower, are but the prelude to still greater struggles. Already symptoms are seen in the numerous strikes in many industries.

American capitalism is showing signs of wear and tear. Alongside peak production, we have an ever widening polarization between the haves and the have-nots. It is fashionable nowadays in the United States to talk of poverty.

It is estimated that between 30 to 60 million Americans live below the borderline of what is considered sufficient to live on. With automation spreading the enlargement of the sector of the poor will grow. Hence this unstable economic picture with its resultant insecurity cannot but create conditions which will compel the workers to take the path of struggle. Such struggles could overnight change the image of the "corrupted" and "bribed" American worker.

In this connection a good example was the recent development in Los Angeles. The social outburst there was largely a response to intolerable economic conditions. Watts was not an isolated incident — there are many such communities, Negro and white, throughout the United States. In everyone of them there is a time bomb ticking away. And unless a solution is found, sooner or later they will go off. The

problems that are posed by outbursts such as Watts can be met basically only by a reduction in the war budget.

While the Administration voted one and one half billion dollars for its so-called "war on poverty" it voted tens of billions of dollars for armaments and wars of aggression as in Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists also spend billions to keep their puppets armed and in power in other countries.

Economic experts have estimated that it would cost from 15 to 20 billion dollars a year to make a beginning in the many areas like Watts, Harlem and the South side of Chicago to raise the living level of the people from the present sub-standard.

However, this cannot be accomplished unless there is a drastic cut in war appropriation. Hence struggles such as Watts will have a direct bearing on the struggle for peace.

We in the United States are on the threshold of some gigantic struggles. Yesterday it was the civil rights struggles which engaged the world's attention. Today, increasingly, it is also the fight for peace. Tomorrow both of these problems will be joined by economic battles. Together, all of them will strike powerful blows for peace, democracy and progress.

From the foregoing it should be clear that the relationship of forces throughout the world and the U.S. is favorable to preventing a nuclear war, to halting aggression against other countries, to allowing the people of the world to shape their own destinies for peace, independence and a socialist world. Therefore the problem of unity in general and of Communist unity in particular is more imperative than at any time since the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

Under the banner of peace, democracy, freedom and peace

The participants in the international meeting discussed a wide range of problems relating to the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the world Communist movement today. Space, however, permits us to touch upon only a few of these questions. The unabridged contributions will be published in book form.

IB NORLUND

**Member, Executive Committee, Communist
Party of Denmark**

THE DECISIONS of the Seventh Congress and the 1960 Statement, these cornerstones of new forms of international unity, stem from a profound awareness on the part of the Communists and the Communist parties of their responsibility to the international working class.

It is amply clear that going over from international unity secured by juridical bonds to international unity based exclusively on moral and political commitment does not weaken the cohesion of the movement. On the contrary, it makes for more vital and effective unity.

The international unity of Communists rests

on the durable community of interests of the working class of all countries and the consequent common ideology expressed in Marxism-Leninism.

Regional conferences of parties can be a useful method of struggle. For, on the one hand, groups of countries and parties have many common problems the solution of which cannot be put off until issues of a more general nature are resolved. On the other hand, positive results achieved by a group of Communist parties in solving problems largely of a regional nature are of importance not only for these particular parties but for the entire Communist movement. Contributions made to the struggle for Scandinavian neutrality, for instance, are not without interest for Latin America. Efforts towards European security are

bound to draw attention all over the world. Any joint achievement by a number of Communist parties serves to underscore the real political force represented by the Communist movement and thus undoubtedly helps to cement its unity.

Needless to say, regional or group cooperation among Communist parties should not in any way set them apart from the movement as a whole or run counter to its interests. Were this to happen it would be as serious a mistake as national isolation, only committed on a broader scale. But it need not happen; the Communists' sense of international responsibility can prevent such an eventuality.

The Communist parties in the highly developed capitalist countries have a special reason for strengthening cooperation and uniting their efforts. This applies especially to countries with geographic links, as, for instance, those of Western Europe. The Brussels conference of June 1965 offered valuable proof of the possibility and usefulness of such cooperation, provided the independence of the parties is fully respected and views are exchanged in an open-minded and comradely atmosphere.

We can hardly refrain from examining common objective problems in the light of the new features of contemporary monopoly capitalist development and the new methods of waging the class struggle employed by the monopolies. Clearly, it is this new set-up that mainly gives rise to these common objective problems. We are still a long way from having thoroughly assessed the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism. And there is no doubt that this assessment must be made only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and by its methods. Hence the urgency in the present situation of closer cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties in the developed capitalist countries with a view to applying Marxism-Leninism as a practical guide to action, to promoting joint work which in turn will give the masses as well as us, Communists, a better idea of the real balance of class forces.

We believe one of the main areas of joint effort should be elucidation of the nature and methods of modern capitalism and the level of the class struggle in the capitalist countries. This work must necessarily take the form of discussion. Such discussions are, of course, conducted, but so far they have not been systematic enough to be qualified as joint work. There are a great many indications that the conditions for putting such discussions on a proper footing are maturing.

ABDULSAMAD KAMBAKCHE

**Member, Bureau of the Central Committee,
People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran**

In 1942, at its first confidence in Teheran, our Party issued the call: "Workers, peasants, handicraftsmen and intellectuals, unite! Resist every kind of colonization of Iran!" On the basis of these slogans the Party set to work to

build a united front. The first to put forward these slogans in Iran, the first champion of the anti-imperialist united front, was the People's (Tudeh) Party. The initial success was achieved soon after with the establishment of the Freedom Front, which took in newspaper and magazine editors, writers and others dedicated to the idea of freedom. In their declaration they proclaimed their resolve to cooperate with the Party and the trade unions to safeguard the political and economic independence and integrity of Iran, to wage a resolute struggle against colonialist policies, and to work to establish government by the people on the basis of the Constitution and democracy.

During most of the Second World War the national bourgeoisie stood aloof from the anti-imperialist struggle, but towards the end of the hostilities it began to evince anti-imperialist sentiments. Lacking its own party, it gravitated towards the Tudeh Party.

As a result of unflagging effort on the part of the latter a bloc of freedom-loving parties was formed in late June 1946. This front was joined by the Iran Party and other parties representing the national bourgeoisie.

During the struggle for the nationalization of the oil industry, Leftist moods prevented us from winning the confidence of Mossadegh, even though we supported him. After the flight of the Shah success turned some people's heads to such an extent that, contrary to the line of the Tudeh Party, some of its members began to call for the establishment of a people's democratic government. This alienated from us many sections, including Mossadegh and some members of the national bourgeoisie who regarded our united front slogan as a tactical move and not a strategic objective. As a result, vacillation gained the upper hand and Mossadegh refused to appeal to the people to support the legitimate government as we urged him to do. Had he done so, the situation might have been saved.

The Fourth Plenary Meeting of our Central Committee gave the following appraisal of our mistakes: "The diffusion of the national forces and the lack of a united anti-imperialist front are one of the main reasons for the defeat of any anti-imperialist movement. Past experience of popular struggle in Iran has proved this time and again. And especially strikingly was it shown during the struggle for oil nationalization."

Today too we are faced with the task of bringing all the anti-imperialist forces together in a united front. The basis for such unity is now broader than before since discontent has spread to the absolute majority of social strata.

The building of a united front is also our strategic objective, for we do not live for today alone. The conquest of political power by the national forces would still leave the problem of independence far from resolved. The united anti-imperialist front would still be faced with the difficult task of winning econo-

mic independence and uprooting neo-colonialism. The longer it takes us to achieve unity on the national and international plane the more time will be needed for the national-liberation movement to win in each country and on the scale of the entire movement.

JOSEF LEDWOHN

**Member, Political Bureau, Communist
Party of Germany**

With the development of state-monopoly capitalism the state has come to play a new role in the economy and an all-embracing integrated (monopoly and state) machine of coercion and administration has taken shape. As a result, in fighting for their vital interests, the workers are confronted not only by individual employers, monopolies, capitalist alliances or isolated forms of governmental coercion but also by a united economic and state power, by the capitalist system as a whole.

A notable aspect of state-monopoly development in Federal Germany is that monopoly rule has led to an unprecedented concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small minority. Discontent with this state of affairs is growing, all the more so because the handful of multi-millionaires and millionaires are appropriating the fruits of the technological revolution to enrich themselves, dooming the factory and office workers to a life in the shadow of insecurity, and already now worsening the living conditions of hundreds of thousands.

The influence of socialism and especially the economic strength and political prestige of the German Democratic Republic are of prime importance from the standpoint of the conditions of the class struggle in West Germany. This influence, objective in nature, has a multiform impact. It impinges on economic life, for instance, necessitating state monopoly regulation and control of economic life. It affects also the demands of the working class. For one thing, the existence of the GDR makes it more difficult for the monopolies to implement anti-labor measures inasmuch as a sharp aggravation of class conflicts would accelerate the awakening of the West German workers to the need for the workers' and peasants' power in the GDR.

We see a close link between the solution of the national problem and the struggle for peace and against the aggressive plans of the Bonn government. It is common knowledge that the Bonn Republic is stepping up preparations for aggression against the GDR. The military and the government are demanding with growing insistence a revision of frontiers and nuclear armaments. Naked nationalism is becoming more and more evident in the policy of the ruling parties, which flaunt West Germany's economic might and demand the "right" to pursue an aggressive policy of war.

The Communist Party takes cognizance of this state of affairs and the new conditions of struggle in shaping its strategy and tactics. It

proceeds from the fact that new perspectives are now opening up for a broad front of democratic national forces opposed to rule by the monopolies and their war party. The recent decisions of the convention of the metal workers' union are most indicative in this respect. An expression of a new positive development of class consciousness, they are a reflection of the basic interests of the Federal German working class today. In assessing them, we bear in mind that there still exist in the trade unions much unclarity and many illusions as to how these decisions should be carried out. The views voiced at the metal workers' convention and its decisions offer a basis for a program of action, a platform of joint effort by the Social Democrats and the Communists.

The Communists support this trade union program of action and are building closer contact with the Social Democrats in the metal workers' union. The Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party who have dissociated themselves from the basic demands of the trade unions are in the opposite wing of the working-class movement. The important thing, however, is that the majority of the Social Democratic Party, the workers constituting its rank-and-file following, are under the influence of the trade unions.

We Communists fully support the trade unions. The program of action they have adopted and many of their decisions generally offer, in our opinion, a Social Democratic alternative to the policy of the West German government. Thanks to the activity of the trade unions and under the impact of their decisions a discussion is getting under way also in the Social Democratic Party. This may give an impulse to pressures which might enable the Social Democratic Party to discard its policy of community with the Christian Democratic Union.

FUAD NASSAR

**General Secretary, Central Committee,
Jordanian Communist Party**

A study of the work of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and a clear understanding of its Marxist-Leninist spirit, helps us Communists of the developing countries to frustrate the machinations and plots of the imperialists and the reactionaries. It helps us to avoid the dangers of Left sectarianism, dogmatism and adventurism, to make a distinction between the nationalist and religious forces who are hostile to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, but who sometimes oppose communism, or adopt certain Rightist attitudes on certain issues, and the nationalist and religious reactionary and ultra-Rightist forces who try to conceal their collaboration with the imperialists, their hostility to the national liberation movement and to social and economic progress, behind the banner of anti-communism and on the pretext of being the zealous defenders of religion, nationalism and democracy.

Needless to say it would greatly prejudice the national democratic front and the struggle as a whole if we were to determine our attitude to the one or other group solely on the basis of their attitude to communism, or their Rightist views, while ignoring their attitude to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism which have been and still are the main enemy of the liberation movement and of social and economic progress in the developing countries.

The Communists in the developing countries should dialectically analyze existing conditions, which must be taken into consideration when dealing with the problem of unity of all national and democratic forces. It is obvious how erroneous is the stand taken by those revolutionary and socialist forces who try to leave out of account the vanguard role of the working class and to impose on all revolutionary forces, political organizations and parties only one form of political organization, assuming it to be the best form of organization for all countries, in all circumstances and at all times.

It is also wrong to refuse in advance the one-party thesis and to express on it a final and definite decision, applicable to all countries and in all circumstances, as the sectarians do who refuse to study the possibility of adopting the one-party system in certain countries and under certain conditions as a form of the united front for pooling and unifying the revolutionary forces, and the possibility of gradually turning this party into a really vanguard party.

The Seventh Congress showed that Left sectarianism was no longer an "infantile disorder" but a deeply-rooted vice. The Congress called for struggle against it as a precondition for bringing about the success of working-class unity and the anti-fascist people's front. The 1960 Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties was right when it once again warned that "dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unrelentingly." Who today does not feel the aggravation of this danger, especially in a number of the developing countries?

The reasons for this are many. Among them is the relatively young age of the working class and its Communist parties in the countries concerned, and the existence of many economic and social problems as a result of the heavy heritage of backwardness, poverty, disease and ignorance left by the imperialists, and as a result of their continuing machinations.

Sectarianism and dogmatism are becoming a serious danger. They are noticeably reviving and flourishing wherever international tensions are mounting, wherever the revolutionary movement is meeting with reverses as a result of the aggressive actions of the imperialists, as a result of their plots and intrigues. The proponents of sectarianism and dogmatism try to utilize this to prove the correctness of their adventurous and sectarian "theories" — irres-

pective of the damage it causes peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

JORGE MONTES

Member, Political Commission, Central Committee, Communist Party of Chile

Our Party, by creatively carrying out the decisions of the Seventh Congress, achieved unity of the democratic forces. It defeated both the Right and "Left" trends that manifested themselves in the People's Front, and brought the people to victory on October 25, 1938. Our main task was to consolidate the unity of Communists and Socialists. There were successes and reverses in our united front policy which, with certain modifications, we have adhered to ever since.

In the present conditions we intend to pursue a policy of unity of action with all progressives, including both the opposition and pro-government forces, who are fighting the reactionary elements in the government, all forces of the Right and the reactionary groups in the Radical Party. In other words, we are raising the question of united action between the Front of People's Action and the Democratic Party, the Christian Democrats and the anti-Right radicals against imperialism and the oligarchy which are represented by the conservatives, liberals and reactionary groups in the Christian Democratic and Radical parties.

As past experience has shown, unity of action is connected with certain hazards. But this does not mean that we should adopt a sectarian attitude towards the bourgeoisie in general, and bourgeois policy-makers in particular. We therefore consider that the solution is to promote joint actions in defense of the immediate socio-economic demands of the people and against imperialism and the reaction. This will help to lay the foundation for a patriotic alliance of the bulk of the nation, based on the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, which will lead to a social upheaval and enable our country to advance towards independence, the many obstacles notwithstanding.

Our experience likewise shows that we should not disregard any allies, no matter how insignificant they may be, and should avoid making unnecessary enemies, even weak ones.

The same experience in carrying out the policy of alliances shows us that although unity is durable to the extent that it is based on the masses, still we did not make any headway when we raised the question of establishing unity only from below, this being viewed with suspicion and interpreted to mean that we did not want unity from above, on a leadership level with the parties cooperating with us.

We consider that comradeship is very important in our relations with our allies. But this should not be confused with familiarity; it does not preclude working with the cadres of our Party and those of our allies.

Our experience also made us realize that dis-

cussion with our allies must be objective, on concrete issues, free of anything in the nature of invective; that in our criticism of our allies we must be unbiased and not draw foregone conclusions, remembering that people, like everything on earth, change.

People joined the Party who once fought against us. They were honest people who had come to understand many things. Some of them are now members of the Central Committee. But there were also members of the Party who deserted to the enemy camp.

A most important lesson drawn by Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress, and which we have taken into account in our relations with our allies, is that people should be taken as they are and not as you want them to be.

As we broadened our relations with the Socialist Party we arrived at a very simple conclusion: that life teaches all of us. The Socialist comrades learned a great deal from us just as we did from them. At one time they thought they could ignore an alliance with the Communists. We were inclined to think the same. Life, however, has taught us differently.

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU

General Secretary, Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People (AKEL)

The struggle for a truly free, independent Cyprus whose people would be able to freely decide their own destiny, is the concern not only of one class or one particular section of the population. It is a national struggle which is the concern of all the patriotic forces of the country. It is a general democratic struggle which is the concern of the entire people and which can be successfully waged only on a broad national basis.

Thus, the problems of Cyprus at the present stage are problems that affect the vast majority of Cypriots, irrespective of their political views or nationality. This does not mean, of course, that the different classes and sections of the population have not got interests and problems of their own, or that they are equally interested in solving these problems.

When we speak of unity we should always remember that its greatest enemy, the biggest obstacle in the way to achieving it, is sectarianism. The Statement of the 1960 Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties quite correctly stresses that sectarianism and dogmatism in theory and in practice "isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or Leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle. They prevent the Communist parties from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience and using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism . . ."

Sectarianism and dogmatism caused a great deal of damage to our Party in the past. But

we effectively combated these trends and as a result were able to make important headway in achieving unity. Sectarianism and dogmatism are manifested in the most diverse forms. One of the most common is excessive oversimplification, a tendency to fit everything into cut-and-dried patterns, and refusal to appraise political situations or political leaders dialectically. In short, the attitude is a non-Marxist, anti-Leninist one which has nothing in common with reality, with the correct methods for changing this reality for the better, not to speak of revolutionary changes.

Our Party supports the government of President Makarios in the national-liberation struggle. We consistently support this government not because we agree with everything it does, but because we agree with its basic policy which is aimed at achieving complete independence which will give the people of Cyprus the opportunity to decide their own affairs without foreign intervention, foreign troops or bases on the territory of our country. We support the government and are doing everything within our power to consolidate the front of resistance to imperialism and its agents. We are in regular contact with President Makarios with whom we exchange views on current political events and on how to promote the national-liberation struggle. We maintain contact with the Ministers, the Speaker and with MPs who are members of the Patriotic Front, with whom we discuss the various problems relating to the national-liberation struggle and the vital problems facing the people. These regular contacts are very useful. They help to promote unity of action of the Cypriots.

A coordination committee uniting a large number of trade unions and other organizations has been set up to render assistance to the government in the national-liberation struggle. Although we cannot organizationally as yet speak of a national anti-imperialist liberation front uniting the entire people and having central and local committees, such a front does exist. It exists because it has deep roots in the hearts of the people. The people consider unity an indispensable condition to waging the liberation and anti-imperialist struggle effectively.

A. ZANZOLO

South African Marxist

The Communist International played a vital and positive role in focussing the attention of the South African Party on the achievement of national emancipation for the African majority as the immediate and overriding goal of the movement. It helped to purge the Party of the remnants of white chauvinism and to turn its face towards the majority of workers and peasants of our country.

Unfortunately, in the period prior to the Seventh Congress, the executive of the International had permitted itself to be drawn into details of South African political developments

about which it was, not surprisingly, ill-informed, and had lent its authority to a sectarian and adventurous clique which proceeded arbitrarily to expel many of the founders of the Party and to do quite a lot of damage. There was the further bad consequence that many of our members neglected to make a detailed study of our own problems and to look abroad rather for inspiration.

The Seventh World Congress was therefore a liberating factor and a turning point for the Marxists of South Africa. It is true that at first there was a tendency to apply mechanically policies which were perfectly valid for European countries but which needed deeper consideration and adaptation to the very specific circumstances of our country. The Party did a fine job in rallying the public against the fascist elements — the very elements, such as Verwoerd and Vorster, who have since gained control of the state apparatus and are taking revenge on the Communists. But what was not so clearly seen was that it was no use telling the masses of the population to rally to the defense of democratic rights which they had never enjoyed. The only way to defeat South African fascism is to destroy the colonialist structure and the rabid racialism which foster it.

It was thus in the building of a broad front of national liberation based on the workers and peasants, the masses of oppressed and exploited people, that the South African Communists truly applied — not in the letter, but in the spirit — the broad line of rallying the people around their vital needs which flowed from the invigorating reports and resolutions of the Seventh Congress.

Since then the Communists have demonstrated in practice their sincere and unselfish devotion to the cause of national liberation. The unity of Communists and non-Communists in the national-liberation struggle is not an abstract slogan in our country. It is an unbreakable bond which has been forged in the fire of battle, in the jails and torture chambers, yes, even on the gallows of the fascist murderers who today rule South Africa.

The South African Communists have not "bought" a superficial "unity" at the cost of losing the independence of the working class or of merging their identity in the broad liberation movement. On the contrary, even the non-Communists in the liberation movement recognize the healthy role of the Communist Party, its right to existence and the positive role it plays. Everyone can see and understand that the stronger the Party grows the more effectively it is able to play its indispensable role as an ally in the united front of national liberation.

We do not think the art of leadership consists in proclaiming oneself to be a leader. We who work with good allies in a great national-liberation movement, have learned to regard them with confidence and love. Though we have the advantage of the incomparable

weapon of Marxist-Leninist understanding we have learned, too, that we can lead only through persuasion, and with profound respect for the integrity, wisdom and practical experience of our non-Communist comrades-in-arms.

RAMON AMAYA AMADOR **Journalist (Honduras)**

Even in those cases where the working class is not in the vanguard of the liberation movement such a vanguard takes shape, as a rule, in the process of the economic and political development of the country concerned. This vanguard is particularly essential in the subsequent stages of revolutionary development. The national-liberation movement by no means ends with the achievement of political independence by some colony, the advent to power of a patriotic group, or the triumph of the armed revolutionary struggle. All this is, of course, a very important stage, but it is not the final one. As we see from the experience of numerous countries that have won their independence in recent years, the struggle continues, but in much more difficult and complex conditions. It is our view that at the stage of the struggle for economic independence and social progress a people's patriotic front will hardly be able to make any rapid headway unless the Communist Party plays a leading role in it. In those countries where no Communist Party was founded at this stage, or was disbanded, the situation became extremely complex and the political independence won was imperilled.

From the very first day of its foundation the Communist Party of Honduras has held that its policy in the national-liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism and its internal agents must be based on a people's democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist front that would include all democratic forces. Our program states that the victory and advent to power of a government of national liberation "must not be the handiwork of some caudillo, party or group that will turn its back on the people," that on the contrary, this victory must be "the fruit of unity and struggle of men and women, parties and classes, of all sections of the population whose interests are threatened or encroached upon by North American imperialism, and who suffer from latifundist oppression." Our Party therefore declares that "it is imperative to establish a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front," i.e., a people's front.

The achievement of working-class unity, consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the establishment on this basis of a patriotic mass front — these are the aims the Party has set itself. It is firmly convinced that the application of these correct tactics will promote the development of the liberation movement in Honduras.

At a time when the reactionary classes in

Central America are fraternizing (voluntarily or otherwise), and their armies and security organs are unifying their plans, are collaborating, are organizing a united military command and forming a special international force to fight the national-liberation movement in the Central American countries, it is only logical to conclude that the time has come for the people, for their advance contingents, to adapt their strategy and tactics to the conditions being created by the qualitatively new reality, to pass from working-class unity and unity of action of the masses within the national liberation front to unity of action of different peoples in order to successfully oppose the small "Holly Alliance" of the enemy.

These cardinal issues have been examined theoretically by the Communist parties of Central America at their joint meetings. It is to be expected that a more profound Marxist-Leninist analysis will be made of them with a view to elaborating a feasible policy acceptable to all parties, a policy that will have the support of the countries concerned. As I see it, this is of the utmost importance at present for the national-liberation movement in the central part of our continent.

ARNALDO MEIRELIS

Member, Central Committee, Brazilian Communist Party

The experience of the Brazilian Communists shows that the steps taken to establish a united front in 1935 and national unity against German fascist aggression, and, in recent times, to establish an anti-feudal patriotic front, greatly contributed towards organizing the working class and strengthening the Party in all areas of its activity. With the carrying out of the united front policy against fascism, the Party was able to defeat the liquidationist views of Browderism, whose exponents denied the need for a Communist party with the establishment of the anti-fascist united front. Experience shows that it is when the united front grows broader, when the struggle for national independence is on the order of the day, that it is more than ever essential for the Party, combining tactical flexibility with a firm and independent class policy, to be active.

Unfortunately the ideological struggle which we waged against dogmatism and sectarianism, against subjectivism and other manifestations of an ideology alien to the proletariat, and against petty-bourgeois impatience, was not a sufficiently firm and profound one. We did not defend consistently enough our tested political line, the correctness of which was proved by a number of major political successes against attacks from the outside and from within the Party itself.

Petty-bourgeois impatience which expressed itself in the desire to skip certain stages of the political process, resulted in an underestimation of the growing threat represented by imperialism and its agents. We began to link the defeat of imperialism with defeat of

the policy of conciliation of our ally — the national bourgeoisie which was in power. Petty-bourgeois impatience invariably leads to a subjective appraisal of reality and we, advancing premature slogans, consequently overestimated the level of the popular forces and the united front, the degree of organization and the strength of the working class.

During the two years preceding the reactionary coup d'état in April 1964, the Communists took a one-sided stand in the united front. They very sharply criticized the national bourgeoisie in power, and its more moderate and wavering elements. But we said nothing about the mistakes of the group of the bourgeoisie which was over-radical and even reckless at times, and whom we nevertheless supported. This, naturally, narrowed and weakened the united front.

Practice has shown that if our ally has not got absolute power, if he has to share it with reactionary groups according to the alignment of forces, the interests of democratic development demand that we help our ally to entrench himself in power and not do anything that might weaken his position.

The radical slogan calling for the establishment of a united front in which we would act together with the national bourgeoisie in the opposition, is of long-range significance. However, when this group of the bourgeoisie is responsible for government and particularly when its representative holds the post of president of the republic, considering the presidential system of government, the united front slogan should correspond to the actual possibilities and be embodied in concrete deeds. Otherwise there is the danger that the exacting stand taken by the advanced forces will tend to weaken the government and decrease its popularity. And should our common enemy begin an offensive against the government of our allies, or should the danger of a coup d'état arise, it will be difficult to mobilize the masses for resistance. The events of the critical April days of 1964 are a case in point.

In practice we diverted the main blow from the main enemy; at times we mistook our ally for the enemy, thus helping to weaken the government. This made things easier for the reactionaries and the agents of U.S. imperialism. Some of the principal forces in the united front took this erroneous stand. The demand to take immediate action against the imperialists and latifundists led to sectarianism among the Communists and other forces in the united front, principally the working class and the peasantry—the backbone of the united front—to the illusion that the bourgeoisie would rapidly advance even if the mass movement had not reached the needed level of development.

RAUL ACOSTA

General Secretary, Central Committee, Peruvian Communist Party

Although we have quite a few successes to

our credit, we have also had reverses because of the incorrect application of the united front policy against the main enemy. This was the case during the election campaign in 1962 when we took a sectarian and Leftist stand in the National Liberation Front. The end result was that not a single one of the presidential candidates received the majority of votes required by the Constitution. On the pretext of preventing an "election swindle" the army put a military junta in power which unleashed brutal repressions.

The military junta was compelled, however, as a result of the struggle waged by the Party and the people to hold new elections a year after the coup d'état.

Since June 1965 Peru has been the scene of guerrilla operations which the Party supports and which the army has been powerless to crush. The peasants are brutally exploited. They live in dire poverty, have no civil rights, are subjected to savage repressions aimed at suppressing their epic struggle for land and bread. The peasants were forced many years ago to resort to violent forms of action in answer to the violence unleashed against them by the various reactionary governments that succeeded each other.

Thus the armed struggle is the highest form of the peasants' struggle, since all possibilities for peaceful changes were ruled out when the agrarian reform law was passed guaranteeing inviolability of the big landed estates, and since the present government continues its mass shootings of the peasants. Hence the guerrilla struggle which has the support of the peasantry and the broad sections of the proletariat and democratic forces.

The Party is of the opinion that a revolutionary situation does not exist in Peru. However, taking into account that the intensification of the main contradiction — the contradiction between the peasantry and the government — and of the contradictions between the ruling classes themselves might bring on a crisis in top circles and consequently a revolutionary situation, it can be said that the country is moving in the direction.

The Party believes that the present movement is a movement of the mustering of forces, which must be accelerated. The Party is doing everything to set up united solidarity actions with political prisoners, with the peasants and guerrillas, for democratic liberties and the return to the country of its oil deposits, actions which will make it possible to establish a broad democratic front of national liberation.

The Peruvian Communist Party exposes to the world the government's policy of mass killings in the peasant areas, the napalm bombing of these areas, the shootings without trial and investigation, the tortures and mass arrests carried out by the police and the army. All this is being done under the direction of U.S. military advisers. A U.S. aircraft carrier with 6,000 marines on board has dropped another outside Talara, a port in the northern

part of the country. In conformity with the "Johnson Doctrine" these marines are on the ready to carry out intervention as in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam.

We call on all Communist and Workers' parties, on all progressive and democratic forces to fight to prevent imperialist intervention, to stop the massacre of the peasants, the napalm bombings, the shootings and tortures, and to secure the repeal of the law which punishes by death all who treasure peace, who are fighting for democracy, the well-being of the people and national liberation.

INKERI LEHTINEN

**Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Finland**

In 1945, after the first post-war elections in which the forces represented by the Democratic Union of the People of Finland received twenty-five per cent of the seats in the Seim, the country's three major parliamentary groups, the People's Democrats, the Social Democrats and the Agrarian Union, signed an agreement on cooperation to eradicate the survivals of fascism in the political life of Finland and to uphold the country's democratic development. This was to have a direct bearing on the adoption of the new policy after the war to establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union, based on mutual trust. Also considerable social gains were won at the time.

Unity of action was most naturally achieved in the trade union movement. With the common consent of the different parties Communists were included in the trade union leadership. The Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions took part in founding the World Federation of Trade Unions. Like the sports movement, and later the cooperative movement, the Central Federation has become a field of action where Social Democrats and Communists are learning the difficult science of united actions, overcoming prejudices in joint struggle for the interests of the working people.

In January 1954 the Central Committee of the Party issued an appeal to the working class to take united action. It proceeded from the fact that the offensive of big capital could be checked only by the combined efforts of the working class, which should be based on united action by Communists and Social Democrats. Communists and Social Democrats therefore had to explore the possibilities of improving their relations, to reject the practice of mutual recriminations which only aggravated relations between workers and, consequently, helped the class enemy. The Communists were not entirely free of shortcomings in this respect, and they were sharply criticized for this by the Central Committee. The aforementioned appeal stressed that "We do not consider unity of action of the workers and their cohesion to be a temporary policy or tactic,

which is of more importance today than tomorrow. This question is always of paramount importance for us. It is a question of our principles and our convictions."

The appeal met with a broad response among the working people. Events began to develop favorably. Thus, when the workers called a general strike for higher wages in March 1956 the working class of Finland acted in unison.

The situation in present-day capitalist Finland is still such that any major social reforms can be won only given joint actions by the working people and their organizations. Many fundamental issues still await their solution, among them the question of ensuring full employment, improving living standards and housing, the introduction of a school reform, lower taxes for the people, etc. All these problems have a direct bearing on the everyday life of the working people. It will be easier to solve them once the various working-class parties and organizations act together.

Besides the Party, considerable influence is exercised in the trade union and sports movements by the Social Democratic Union of Workers and Smallholders which broke away from the Social Democratic Party and with whom we closely cooperate. In our activity we must take into account that there are different trends in the working-class movement and that it is essential that they act together in defending the rights of the working class, the middle sections and intelligentsia.

The leadership of the Social Democratic Party still refuses to agree to unity of action with the Communists although it acts jointly with us on some issues. This is already a step forward. Unfortunately, however, the Social Democratic Party has rejected a bloc with the Communists at the 1966 general election at which it could replace the bourgeois majority with a majority of the Left forces. This would speed the carrying out of much needed social and democratic reforms. This idea is beginning to meet with support in the Social Democratic Party and some of its organizations are coming out in favor of joint actions by the working people.

TSEREVIIN DAVAGSUREN **Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party**

In conditions when militarist Japan was preparing for aggression against our country, the determined stand taken by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in defense of the national independence and national unity of the small states was of invaluable moral support for our people.

The Party explained to its members and to the people that we must spare no effort to advance the national economy and to promote culture if we were to forge ahead and successfully carry out the revolutionary reconstruction of the country. At the same time the Party called on the working people to be prepared

for defense of the revolutionary fatherland against the Japanese aggressors who wanted to do away with our national independence, our people's democratic system and to turn our country into their colony.

The Congress's criticism of the sectarian mistakes committed in the past was timely, for the MPRP was then carrying out important measures to overcome the consequences of the erroneous sectarian policy of the "Left" deviationists in the Party. The "Lefts," completely disregarding realities, wanted already in the early 'thirties to speed up socialist construction. It meant nothing to them that the anti-feudal revolution was far from being completed and that the economic power of the feudal class had still not been completely broken, that the country had no industry and, consequently, no working class to speak of. As we know, it is impossible to tackle the job of socialist construction without first creating the necessary economic, political and spiritual prerequisites. The "Lefts" wanted to skip the transition period and pass on directly to socialism. This unwarranted haste and mechanical copying of the experience of the Soviet Union was a grave mistake, it was political adventurism which could only jeopardize the future of the revolution.

At the same time the Party combated the Right elements who wanted to divert the country from the non-capitalist path, to slow down the process of the deepening of the anti-feudal people's revolution. The Right opportunists tried to depreciate or reduce to naught the role of the Party, to call in question the disinterested nature of the Soviet Union's international aid to our country in the economic, cultural and defense fields, wanted to minimize or completely negate the importance of this aid. In 1936 the Party exposed and defeated the Right opportunists.

The Party had to exert every effort to rectify the mistakes made by the "Lefts" and the Rights, and to overcome their disastrous consequences. In this difficult period the Party was able to rely on the help and support of the CPSU and the Comintern. With their assistance the Party, having overcome the adventurism of the "Lefts" and the intrigues of the Right elements, began to carry out, step by step, the reconstruction of the country, to put into practice its general line oriented on the non-capitalist path of development, first elaborated in 1924.

In the case of our country the non-capitalist way meant liquidation of the economic might of the feudal lords, the gradual development of a national industry through the establishment of state enterprises, the formation of a working class, the development of agriculture by rendering all possible assistance and support to the small private cattle-raisers while at the same time restricting capitalist tendencies, encouragement of the cooperative principle among the population, the gradual establishment of State farms—agricultural and cattle-

raising—and a state transport system; the ousting of foreign merchant and usurious capital that prevailed in the country, and the establishment of a financial system, state and cooperative trade, the wiping out of mass illiteracy (it reached 99 per cent), the promotion of culture and the creation of a people's intelligentsia.

Communists, as the most consistent fighters, are in the van of the revolutionary and democratic forces fighting imperialism. And with every passing year, more and more forces are joining the struggle.

PANAIOTIS MAVROMATIS

**Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Greece**

Our Party, guided by the experience of the anti-fascist struggle in the pre-war years and the decisions of the Seventh Congress, charted a policy of national unity. In September 1941 it proceeded, in agreement with the Socialist Party, the Agrarian Party of Greece and a number of other organizations, to establish the National Liberation Front (EAM). The CPG was the soul of the EAM; it rapidly reorganized its forces and grew into a mass party of nearly half a million members.

The armed intervention of British imperialism in December 1944, supported by the USA, and certain opportunist mistakes made by the Party leadership at the time resulted in the power being wrested from the people and transferred back to the old parties which either collaborated with the occupation forces, or did not participate in the national liberation struggle during the occupation. In 1946-1949 the country was involved in civil war. The Party continued its sectarian line in the immediate years following the defeat of 1949.

On the initiative of Party functionaries and other democratic leaders released from prison a movement was started to rally anew the country's democratic forces. The outcome was the establishment in 1951 of the United Democratic Left Party (EDA). Beginning as a bloc of the Left parties, groups, political leaders and Communists, the EDA gradually became a united political party taking in the Communists, Socialists and the Left Democrats.

The influence of the Party and the Left forces in general began to grow, as was strikingly demonstrated by the 1958 elections when the EDA received 25 per cent of the vote. The police state retaliated by resorting to terror and staging a coup in the guise of the 1961 elections.

But the Greek people continued the fight; tensions mounted erupting in a broad strike movement that swept the entire country.

The police regime of Karamanlis tried to check the growing mass movement by intensifying terror to the point of political assassinations. The people's wrath exploded when in May 1963 the Rights, with the connivance of gendarmes, murdered Dr. Grigoris Lambrakis,

Left MP. The parliamentary elections in November 1963 and February 1964 ended in a smashing defeat for the Rights. A government of the Center Union came to power, headed by Prime Minister G. Papandreou.

The experience of our Party showed that even when the leadership of other democratic parties such as the Center Union, for example, reject unity and are strongly anti-Communist, it is nevertheless possible to carry out joint or parallel democratic actions against neo-fascism and the reaction; our experience showed that as these joint and parallel actions developed the idea of unity gained ground among functionaries and even leaders of other democratic parties (for example, G. Papandreou participated in the nationwide protest movement that Grigoris Lambrakis' funeral became).

Further, the fact that the Rights who seemed omnipotent because of the support of the state apparatus and the neo-fascist organizations affiliated to it, and also because of their dominant position in parliament (they had the majority of seats) were nevertheless ousted from power, was a highly important development. This was achieved not by force of arms but by the consistent struggle waged by the people who combined united front actions with parliamentary forms of struggle, with the Party and Left groups playing the decisive role in all mass actions and demonstrations.

GERARDO UNZUETA

**Member, Presidium, Central Committee,
Mexican Communist Party**

The most important task in the sphere of mass work, stated the Letter of the Mexican delegation to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, was to organize the proletariat in trade unions. The committee of proletarian defense, or the trade union center that will be set up after the joint congress now being prepared, continued the Letter, must become the base of the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the people's movement. The Communist Party must continue to improve its new policy with respect to the leaders of the reformist organizations, i.e., must show a more friendly attitude towards them, cooperate with them sincerely in all actions and in tackling trade union problems, and call a halt to attacks against them in favor of calm discussion.

The policy outlined in this document was a correct one and took into account both sides of the question: the struggle for unity and against the attempts to break this unity, and the struggle against sectarianism and opportunism. Why then did this correct policy not yield results? Why is it that 30 years after it was charted our position in the trade union movement has become weaker while reformism has been able to strengthen its position?

The Communists were the principal force which had set the masses in motion and compelled the reformists to agree to militant actions by the working people. However, the Communist leaders showed immaturity and a lack

of consistency in this struggle. Provoked by the splitting activities of their enemies they withdrew from the National Confederation. This mistake gave grounds for our comrades being held responsible for the split which the reformists had achieved.

Today when reformist and bourgeois influence hold sway in the trade union movement, the reorganization of the trade union movement is the principal task of the Communists in the fight for a united working-class front.

We act jointly with non-Communist trade unionists who are prepared to fight for the specific economic and social demands of the working people.

This is how one of the fundamental questions discussed at the Seventh Congress — the question of a united working-class front—has been tackled in the concrete conditions of Mexico. Our experience has shown that the struggle for such a front can be successful only if the precepts of the historical congress are fully observed, that is, only if an unrelenting struggle is waged against the "Left" and the Right deviations, against sectarianism and reformism. We hold that the united working-class front is a powerful weapon which enables the working class to become the decisive factor in the struggle against imperialism—just as it was in the struggle against fascism—and in the struggle to bring nearer the proletarian revolution and the socialist reconstruction of society.

The Mexican delegation to the Seventh Congress, after analyzing the situation and their mistakes, raised the question of establishing an anti-imperialist people's front. They drew up a draft program which was to be discussed by the organizations and parties in the People's Front. This program was to promote the development of a broad movement which would prevent the overthrow of the Cardenas government by the imperialists or its capitulation to them, to lay the foundations for the gradual transition to the decisive attack on the positions of imperialism. One of the main questions in the program was that of developing the struggle of the peasantry for land. Thus, the Party raised the question of winning over the natural ally of the proletariat, with the latter playing the leading role in the united front, and of creating the main body of the anti-imperialist, democratic alliance. The program took into account the demands of the middle sections of the population and of those circles of the bourgeoisie prepared to oppose imperialism.

However, nothing came of the delegation's correct conception of this front. Why? Unfortunately, the Party leadership proved unequal to the situation prevailing in the country at the time. Furthermore, sectarianism had taken deep root among the group of comrades who had been engaged in the underground struggle and in combat with reaction, with the result that they were still unprepared to make the change charted in their own document.

The Mexican Communist Party today raises the question of the reorganization of the work-

ing-class and people's movement, and the establishment of a worker-peasant alliance as the prerequisites for the transformations which the revolutionary movement is pressing for. An important link in this process is the establishment of a united front—including Communists—of the People's Election Front, National Center of Democratic Students, National Union of Mexican Women and especially of the Independent Peasant Center, the biggest peasant organization in the history of our country, representing the highest stage of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

The Mexican Communist Party is fully aware that a bitter political and ideological struggle has to be waged on two fronts: against sectarianism which isolates us, splinters our forces and makes us incapable of carrying out the revolutionary reconstruction of society, and against opportunism which yields the gains of the revolutionary classes and the leadership of the masses to the bourgeoisie and its agents. We also remember what Lenin and the Seventh Congress had to say about the different ways of revolution, that this depends on whether a revolutionary situation exists and a crisis has matured. We therefore think it is impermissible to decide whether a definite Communist Party should take the path of armed struggle, or carry out the revolution without civil war, irrespective of whether a revolutionary situation has arisen. We think it even more impermissible to decide this question for a whole group of Communist parties of a definite area. We hold that such a doctrinaire attitude is erroneous and dangerous.

MOHAMED HARMEL **Tunisian Communist**

The main idea advanced by the Seventh Congress was the united front idea and the need to wage a struggle against sectarianism which led to the isolation of revolutionary elements.

The question of uniting all anti-imperialist, all progressive patriotic forces to fight for the complete liberation of their respective countries from imperialist domination and their independent development, is now being raised concretely and in a new way in the liberation movement.

How to approach the idea of a one-party system, which is widespread in most of the countries of Africa where it has taken shape? This question must be approached with due consideration for objective differences, and the right answer will be found only if these differences are examined in the light of the changing international situation. In some countries the one-party system does not correspond to social reality or to their historical development. In others it plays a positive role. In Ghana, Mali and Guinea the united parties that took shape led the struggle for national independence, and today they are also playing a leading role in building up their countries. Here it is a question of mass parties which carry out an essentially progressive policy.

They have directed their countries along the non-capitalist road. Marxism is undoubtedly exerting its influence on them and they draw on the experience of the socialist countries when grappling with their particular problems. In view of the specific class structure of the countries concerned and their historical background, the one-party system is justified. At a certain stage it can carry out, to a certain extent, the functions of a united front of all revolutionary forces, the functions of a vanguard party. The said countries and their parties can and will develop, and their ideology, their world outlook can and will mature thanks to the existence of the socialist world system. It should be noted, however, that the hegemony of the proletariat on a world scale, embodied in the socialist world system which makes it possible for these countries to develop, is not enough to guarantee the transition to the socialist revolution. The role of the progressive forces in these countries must be strengthened.

However, we see that the class struggle continues, that political and ideological clashes still occur between those who want to carry through the revolution and those who want to delay its completion. This can give rise to contradictions, mistakes and negative factors. The task of the advanced revolutionary elements is to bring about the objective and subjective conditions that will enable the revolution to pass on to its higher stage.

The ruling Neo-Destour party, renamed the Socialist Destour Party, became the only party in the country after the Tunisian Communist Party was banned in January 1963. We consider that in the present situation the existence of one party is an obstacle to, and not a means of, consolidating the alliance of all forces.

It is true that the policy of the Neo-Destour Party and the Government has recently shown some positive aspects, that there are certain indications that the Communists and progressive Destour Socialists might draw together. Still, this does not justify the founding of just one party. We want a dialogue with the progressive Destour Socialists. We want to cooperate and unite with them in a united front, but we do not agree with their demand for one party. We are for a united front, but not for a one-party system.

The Government's policy presents a confused picture of forward and backward movements, of positive and negative elements. Compelled by life to abandon economic liberalism and classical capitalism, the course it followed after achieving independence, the Government decided on another course, one based on planning, the establishment of cooperatives and state intervention in economic affairs. This course is now called "Destour socialism." The state has taken over—independently or through mixed enterprises—power resources, transport, the mining, building and other industries recently established. The Central Bank and two semi-government banks supervise credit grants. In some sectors the Trade Administration has imposed import and export curbs on individual

capitalists. In agriculture the plots of the foreign colonialists who possessed the best lands in the country, have been alienated, and producer associations formed with the participation of small and middle farmers of the vicinity.

This policy has engendered contradictions in the social base of the government itself; the reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie are beginning to come out against this policy and to encourage trends in the Neo-Destour party itself hostile to planning, structural reforms and the state's intervention in the economy. During its conflict with some of the big landowners over the question of cooperatives the Government decided to confiscate their olive plantations. These contradictions, properly utilized, could accelerate social and political differentiation and radicalization of Tunisia's policy, could clear the way for non-capitalist development. However, this evolution is being retarded to some extent because of all kinds of illusions, prejudices and other negative features still prevalent in the country.

The Government refuses to break with the exploiter classes and has even returned to them the land it confiscated last year. It refuses to carry out effective structural reforms, and especially an agrarian reform which is essential if the country is to emerge from its state of backwardness and do away with unemployment. The so-called producer associations, although a progressive development in principle, by no means represent an agrarian reform. The Government's policy in respect to the masses still does not recognize their legitimate demands, still does not proclaim any democratic liberties. In its foreign policy the Government continues to orient on the West, despite its officially adopted policy of non-alignment.

The Communists of Tunisia favor an alliance with all progressive national forces, and with the Destour Socialism, within the framework of a united front. They believe, in particular, that their minimum program and the program of the Socialist Destour Party have common features. Hence there is a possibility of drawing near in our viewpoints. The Tunisian Communists have not adopted a sectarian attitude towards the Destour Party; they do not make cooperation with it dependent on its accepting scientific socialism.

ROBERTO SORIA ROMERO

Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of Bolivia

The history of the Bolivian people is a long record of struggle against oppression. Prior to 1950 this struggle usually ended in bitter defeat. There were many reasons for this, the chief one being that the Bolivian people had no organized vanguard at that time.

Beginning with 1952, the political consciousness of the masses began to awaken. In that year the mining and feudal oligarchy was overthrown by an armed popular uprising led by the working class and power was taken over

by the national bourgeoisie. This was essentially a bourgeois-democratic revolution which carried out such structural changes as an agrarian reform, nationalization of the mines, universal suffrage, an educational reform, as well as other measures of a democratic character enabling the masses to organize in trade unions.

It should be noted that all these reforms were effected at the very early stages of the revolution of April 9, 1952 under pressure from the armed working class. Moreover, it should also be remembered that this revolution was betrayed inasmuch as the most reactionary section of the National Revolutionary Movement (the political party of the national bourgeoisie) controlled the government. These circles subsequently sold out to the foreign capitalists. The influence of our Party on the masses, despite its efforts to direct the revolutionary process, was insufficient. Thus imperialism, and specifically American imperialism, again took over economic and political control of our country, forcing the authorities among other things to restore the army which had virtually been abolished by the people, and to make deep inroads into the people's gains. To achieve their ends the successive governments of the National Revolutionary Movement did their best to split the working class and its organizations. Having embarked on the path of betrayal, they did not stop at suppressing workers' demonstrations and organizing armed peasant actions against striking workers, especially miners, thereby undermining the unity of the working class and the peasantry, one of the principal factors of revolution.

The Party has told the people that there are only two ways out: either to reconcile oneself to the counter-revolutionary rule by the military dictatorship backed by the reactionary Right-wing parties, or to unite and once again to adopt the path of the April 9 revolution, a revolution which, given working class leadership, could make Bolivia a free and sovereign state.

From this thesis it follows that our Party is quite correct in advancing the united front policy. It is now concentrating all its efforts on translating this policy into life.

The call for a popular anti-imperialist front is contained in the draft of a program which we believe expresses the aspirations of the Bolivian people in the present conditions and is at the same time an instrument for achieving the unity of all forces capable of putting an end to the aggressive interference by imperialism in the affairs of our country. This is all the more essential since Bolivia has such forces, but they are unfortunately divided into different groups which are waging an unsuccessful struggle, independently of one another, against the common enemy.

The Communist Party of Bolivia knows that to carry out these tasks will mean fighting the numerous enemies of the working class and the people as a whole. With the same resolution and determination with which it is fighting the imperialists it must combat the group which has come out against the Party and

which unfortunately succeeded at first in misleading those who supported its disruptive activities. This group, which attempted to replace the Party by setting up parallel organizations, has now been virtually defeated by life itself.

SAWAYA SAWAYA

**Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee
Communist Party of the Lebanon**

Our Party always remembers that the mass actions carried out under its leadership and with its participation in the years following the Seventh Congress owe their success to the strategic and tactical principles laid down at this Congress. By applying its decisions to the conditions of the Lebanon, our Party was able to organize a movement of solidarity with the peoples who had fallen victim to fascist aggression (the peoples of Ethiopia, for example), to wage an active struggle against the French colonial mandate and to establish the anti-fascist League which held its conference in Beirut in May 1938.

On the basis of the ideas and decisions of the Seventh Congress, our Party proceeded in those years to pursue an active policy of expanding and strengthening ties with the masses of workers and peasants, a policy aimed at promoting the existing labor unions and organizing new ones uniting different sections of the working class. It was at this period that our Party succeeded in building its own legal press which played an important role in exposing fascism, in rallying the masses and the various patriotic groups to fight fascism.

At the end of March 1965 the enlarged Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party adopted a program document setting forth the basic strategic and tactical principles our Party has been guided by in the past two years.

This document analyzes and defines the aims and methods of our Party's struggle at the present time in the light of Marxism-Leninism, the 1960 Statement, the conclusions of the international Communist movement with regard to the new phenomena in the national-liberation movement today, taking into account the specific political, economic and social conditions in our country and the fundamental social changes in a number of Arab countries, as assessed in exchanges of views with representatives of other Arab Communist Parties.

We believe that it is of the utmost importance to continue the process of rapprochement between the Communists and all patriotic progressive and Left forces by rooting out distrust and suspicion and restoring confidence between the various participants in the patriotic progressive movement. In our own Party we are doing everything possible to further this process by pursuing a flexible policy toward actual and potential allies, and by supporting the progressive social changes taking place in a number of countries of the "third world".

Joint mass actions for concrete political, economic and social demands are the decisive factor in consolidating the cooperation and al-

liance between the Communists and other progressive and revolutionary forces in the Lebanon, expanding the popular movement and raising its level. A new situation has emerged in the Lebanon, a situation that is worrying the reaction: the past two years, and the past few months in particular, have seen an unprecedented upsurge of mass struggle. This mounting mass struggle takes the form of popular demonstrations, mass meetings, and big campaigns organized and led by the Communists and their allies.

S. G. SARDESAI

**Member, Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of India**

In India at the present time there can be no question of a general united front with the National Congress against the parties of Right reaction. It is against the capitalists, the landlords and the Congress governments that the day-to-day mass struggles of the people have to be, and are, organized. But this has to be done with a view to bringing about a leftward shift in governmental policies, concentrating fire on Right reaction. The parties of the Right want precisely the opposite. They pressure Congress policies increasingly towards reaction.

The strategical-tactical line of the Program of our Party is based on such an analysis and understanding of the class forces and the situation in India.

Our Program holds that, based on a worker-peasant alliance and backed by powerful mass struggles, it is possible and necessary to bring together all the Left, progressive, democratic and patriotic forces in India, including those within the National Congress. On the basis of such a policy, the differentiation within the camp of the national bourgeoisie will grow, opening out the prospects of a National Democratic Front for achieving National Democracy.

As the National Democratic Front becomes ever more broad-based, its strength and militancy increases in the course of the rising tempo of the mass movement.

The main demands which have been thrown up by these movements arise from the circumstances themselves: increased wages, cost of living allowances, reduction in taxation on the common people; fair prices for agricultural produce; land and wages for the agricultural workers; release of political prisoners; an end to emergency legislation which permits arrest and detention without trial. A number of concessions have been secured as a result of struggle and sacrifice.

We have also linked up these immediate demands with more advanced and basic demands such as the nationalization of banks, the oil industry and foreign trade, state monopoly purchase of foodgrains at a fair price to the peasant and the introduction of rationing in the urban and deficit rural areas; the dismissal of nationally anti-people and Right reactionary Ministers.

The initiative in organizing these struggles is mainly taken by us in cooperation with the

Left Parties, such as the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Republic Party, etc., the trade unions under the guidance of Left Parties, and a number of independents wielding mass influence and interested in organizing mass movements. There are a number of Left Parties, besides, not of an all-India character, but having influence in certain States. Every effort is made to secure the cooperation of the "Marxist" Communist Party, formed by the dissidents who broke away from the Communist Party of India in 1964.

Such cooperation is not easy. The Left Parties generally are keen on organizing mass struggles on popular demands, but many of them suffer from deep-rooted prejudices against the Communist Party or have strong anti-Communist elements in their fold. It is the growing urge for unity and struggle in the working class and vast sections of the people, the consciousness that there is no alternative to united action if the offensive of the employers and the Government against the people is to be resisted, that helps to cement unity in action.

GUNNER OEHRMAN

Communist Party of Sweden

The working class in our time is faced with colossal tasks. It is imperative to avert a third world war, to broaden and deepen democracy in the struggle against monopoly capital, to render effective support to the liberation movement in the colonial world and to ensure the newly-free countries the right to national independence despite all attempts to subject them to imperialist domination by neo-colonialist methods.

Although the main line of policy laid down by the Seventh Congress in important spheres is still valid, this line must be developed further, inasmuch as new problems have arisen demanding solution.

In nearly all countries there is a strong Left movement inside the working class, among the intelligentsia and the middle sections. In some countries new groups and parties standing to the left of the Social Democratic parties have emerged.

Why do these Left elements not join with the Communists? Why are some members leaving the Communist parties to join the Left elements of other trends or even to form their own parties, thereby deepening the political division of the working class? These are important questions.

The main task at the present time is to build up the cooperation of the Left forces with the participation of all genuine patriots, all champions of peace and democracy.

The Communists in many countries must put an end to sectarianism, without, however, falling into the error of revisionism. Naturally we cannot forfeit the ideological and organizational independence of the Communist parties. But the Communist Party that wishes to act in the spirit of the Seventh Congress must function as an integral part of the working class

of its country, it must speak a language comprehensible to the masses, it must share their concerns, be sensitive to their mood, draw the correct conclusion for itself, explain to the masses the reasons for the difficulties and show them how they can be overcome. We must teach the people to recognize their main enemy and direct mass activity into the right channels. For this it is essential to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively, to analyze the objective reality and to have done with wishful thinking.

One of the most important problems still to be solved by the Communist movement is that of the attitude to one's own country, how to act so that the people should see the Party as the true representative of the nation and not as an insular group of internationalists. Healthy patriotism and vigorous internationalism are two aspects of the same thing.

It is necessary to find more effective ways of combating anti-Communism which assumes the most subtle and diverse guises in the various countries. We must employ new forms of proletarian internationalism. The situation in our time is much more complicated than during the period between the two world wars, when defense of the Soviet Union and the Communist International was regarded as the main task of every Party. This was the correct policy at that time. But the question cannot be posed in the same way at the present stage. Healthy proletarian internationalism which is the underlying principle in the activity of every Communist Party does not mean, for example, stubbornly defending everything that emanates from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, or non-critical acceptance of everything the other Communist parties do. Proletarian internationalism will be most effective if the discussion in the Communist movement is conducted more freely and openly than hitherto. Mutual information between the parties on a bigger scale would be a powerful stimulus to the development of proletarian internationalism and to the unity of the Communist movement.

JAKUB DEMIR

**First Secretary, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Turkey**

Prior to the Seventh Congress we did not give much thought to the possibility that the struggle to prevent the imperialists subordinating our country to their influence once again, the struggle against the reactionary forces supporting them and for the implementation of fundamental social reforms, were matters of concern not only to the working classes. Hence the question of supporting the progressive actions of the national bourgeoisie hung fire for a long time. Its initial steps in this direction were given a decidedly sectarian appraisal. Nevertheless the reforms carried out by the national bourgeoisie (true, in its own class interests) were the first moves towards promoting the economic and social development of our country and strengthening our na-

tional independence. To dwell exclusively on the class character of these measures and emphasize their shortcomings only was equivalent to not supporting them. This position retarded the spread of our Party's influence among the masses and limited the scope of the struggle against imperialism and reaction. Moreover, it opened the way for intensified repressions against the Communist Party.

The Seventh Congress ushered in a new stage in our Party's activity. The Party adopted a decision to give active support to all those measures of Ismet Inonu's government which contributed to national independence and the social development of the country and which benefited the country and the people. In the struggle against war our Party, whose ties with the broad masses were anything but strong, did not confine itself to circulating secret Party literature but used every legal opportunity to make its voice audible to the broad masses. A vigorous campaign against fascism and war was conducted by the progressive press at that time with the active participation of patriotic-minded intellectuals. During the Second World War the Ankara government gave a free hand to the agents of fascism and the enemies of peace, at the same time stepping up repressions against all those who spoke up in defense of the Soviet Union.

After the war the Party used every channel, legal and illegal, to expose the true aims of the "Truman Doctrine" and the Marshall Plan. The fact that the danger of which the Communist Party had warned was now apparent to all, heightened our Party's prestige and the initiative of the patriotic intellectuals and the youth. The fight for peace, especially during the war in Korea, assumed an organized, mass character.

When the Menderes government dragged Turkey into NATO, the anti-Communist campaign was intensified, and at the end of 1951 a general offensive against the Communist Party began. Hundreds of Communists and peace champions were arrested and thrown into the torture chambers.

But the Communist Party was not alone. Many political and social forces joined in its struggle. Developments soon showed how mistaken were those who had maintained that the national bourgeoisie in Turkey was completely tied up with foreign capital, that it would never play a positive, progressive role in the social and political life of the country and that hence the national-democratic front slogan was not applicable to our conditions. As far back as 1948, when the Turkish bourgeoisie first threw in its lot with the imperialists, the Communist Party of Turkey circulated a statement to all underground organizations setting forth the opinion of the Party that the road on which the country was embarked was inimical to the interests of the entire nation, including those of the national bourgeoisie, and stressing "the need to unite all the patriotic forces of the country on an anti-imperialist and demo-

cratic platform." The Party was prompted by the conviction that the growing yoke of foreign capital which was freely penetrating into our country would sooner or later cause a reaction among the national bourgeoisie and bring it back into the political struggle.

It is the task of Communists of all countries to unite people of diverse views, religious faiths and aspirations in the struggle against imperialism, the common enemy of mankind and against war, the source of misfortune for all peoples.

M. G. MENDIS

**Member, Political Bureau,
Ceylon Communist Party**

Our Communist Party, formed in 1943, had its share of errors during its short history. But 22 years of ceaseless activity have brought our Party to the stature of a powerful national party in the country. It was the inspirer, initiator and builder of the revolutionary trade union movement in the country. The correct decisions taken by our Party at our Fourth Congress, held in 1950, to forge a united left front and around it to build a broad democratic front, have been tested in practice. The application of this general line in 1956 brought the downfall of the pro-imperialist regime and installed in power a popular regime headed by Mr. Bandaranaike.

The victory of the popular forces in 1956, opened the path for our people to carry out the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks of our national revolution to win complete independence, democracy and social progress.

During this period our Party and other progressive organizations carried on a powerful campaign demanding the abolition of all foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops and an independent foreign policy.

Our Party demanded the establishment of friendly relations with all socialist countries, to develop trade relations and to get multilateral aid from the socialist camp for the industrial development of the country. The progressive forces demanded the nationalization of the key sectors of the economy and a state take-over of all foreign enterprises.

After the assassination of Mr. Bandaranaike, a government was formed headed by Mrs. Banadaranaiké who won the July 1960 General Election with the support of the Communist Party and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

Toward the middle of 1964, Mrs. Bandaranaike openly proclaimed that without the support of the working class and the Left parties it was not possible to take the country forward on the path of complete national independence and social progress. She therefore formed a coalition government with one of the Left parties, namely the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, in spite of strong opposition from powerful sections within her party and the reactionary forces in the country. The reactionary elements decided to muster all their

forces and resources to overthrow the coalition government. They bought over 14 ministers and members to vote against the government. They finally succeeded in defeating the government.

After the defeat in the elections, the three progressive political parties, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of which Mrs. Bandaranaike is President, the Communist Party and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, are united as never before.

There are also negative aspects in this movement. Right-wing sections, who still have a strong influence in Mrs. Banadaranaiké's party, are attempting to keep the Sri Lanka Freedom Party away from the left parties, and to develop this party as a "bourgeois democratic alternative" to the reactionary united national party. The pressure of the popular masses and the growing unity of the rank and file members of the three parties can prevent such a division in the ranks of the progressive forces.

* * *

In his concluding remarks, G. P. Frantsov, Chief Editor of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, speaking on behalf of the Editorial Board of the journal, thanked the Central Committees of the fraternal parties who had sent delegations, and all the comrades who had taken part in the gathering held on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the journal.

In our opinion, he said, this gathering has shown that joint discussion by the Communist parties of important aspects of the theory and history of the world Communist movement is extremely useful. Experience shows that such discussion serves the great cause of consolidating the unity of the world Communist movement, of strengthening the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

In our view this meeting has likewise demonstrated that all its participants evince a desire for joint discussion of topical issues, for an exchange of the multiform experience of the Marxist-Leninist parties. This is something that should be encouraged and continued.

If a man may venture to repeat an idea that has been expressed in so many different languages in this hall, one might say that the Seventh Congress of the Comintern is one of those historical events whose significance does not fade with the passage of time. On the contrary, they stand out in even bolder relief, and as time goes on our understanding of such events tends to deepen. The creative, militant spirit of that Congress is an inspiration to us all.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern was guided by Lenin's idea expressed in these words: "A popular movement is one that enjoys the support and sympathy of the vast majority of the population." The Seventh Congress of the Comintern posed the question of how the Communists on a world scale and within the limits of each country could win the support of the vast majority of the popula-

tion. It showed that in order to do this the Communists must be able to defend the vital interests of that majority, its basic common interests.

Satisfaction of these interests is incompatible with the domination of monopoly capital, with its aggressive foreign policy directed toward unleashing another world war. For these interests run counter to the very substance of the policy of monopoly capital which gives free rein to reaction all along the line.

Today, thirty years after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, we who are gathered here, loyal to the traditions of this Congress, the traditions of the world Communist movement, are calling for unity in the face of the war danger, against imperialist aggression, for united action to curb the warmongers, for solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam battling against U.S. imperialism.

The world Communist movement has advanced a long way along the path charted by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. The Communist parties in the socialist countries represent a truly popular movement of builders of the new society. The Communists fighting in the ranks of the national-liberation movement are winning increasing support for their slogans and their objectives precisely among the majority of the population. The Communists in the capitalist countries are working to unite the masses in a mighty anti-monopoly movement directed against the exploiting minority.

The three main currents of the world revolutionary movement today have fundamental interests in common. The spokesmen of these basic interests are the Communists. The unity of their practical actions is dictated by the vital interests of the national-liberation movement, the struggle of the working class against capital, by the interests of the working people building socialism.

The world Communist movement is the expression of the objectively existing unity of the world revolutionary process, and this multiplies its strength. The striving to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement is not merely a subjective desire. It is an objective requirement of the world revolutionary process. This is the purport of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of the 1960 Meeting of the representatives of the fraternal parties.

Needless to say, it requires the efforts and the will of all the contingents of fighters for Communism for this unity to materialize.

The will to unity, realization of the historically objective necessity of unity, are of vast importance. The idea of *proletarian internationalism* is born of the consciousness of the need for unity. This idea found vivid expression in the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, in the documents of the world Communist movement. The comrades who have addressed this gathering have pointed to the international significance of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. All this shows how important a role the idea of proletarian internationalism plays in the life of the Communist parties.

Of course, in every country the vital interests of the working class and all the other sections of the working people — the vast majority of the population of the given country — are the same. This identity of interests is an objective reality to which the Communist parties give expression in their activities. Embodied in the activity of the Communist parties, it is a great potential source of social energy.

The interests of the working class, of all sections of the working people of any country, are closely linked with those of the workers in other countries. This is a law of our time. Any weakening of the ties of one or another Communist contingent with the socialist camp, with the national-liberation movement, or the struggle of labor versus capital will immediately be taken advantage of by imperialism to strengthen its own positions. Awareness of the common interests of all the working people of a given country implies *proletarian internationalism*, for today the national and international interests of the workers are closely intertwined.

Indeed, the cardinal tasks of the Communist parties in the different countries, tasks dictated by the dynamics of the modern world, are closely bound up with progress on an international scale. The independence of the parties, their relations based on equality, underscore still more the need to cement international ties.

However, the tasks may vary, the principal objectives remain the same: united action against imperialism, in defense of peace. All the Communist contingents, advancing along their different paths, have one compass which enables them to march forward without faltering or turning back. This compass is Marxist-Leninist theory and its main element, proletarian internationalism. This is the compass that guides the Communist parties, in which the overall trend and the unity of the entire liberation process find expression.

Problems of political leadership and the new economic system

ZDENEK MLYNAR

THE IMPLICATIONS of the new system of planning and management adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia last January* and gradually to be put into effect in the course of next year extend far beyond the purely economic sphere. On closer examination the general socio-political significance of the new system and its objective connection with the mode of political regulation of social life under socialism are clearly evident.

One of the aspects which commands attention is the question of political leadership in the broad sense, the *intrinsic* dynamics of socialism and its social relationships. From the standpoint of both theory and practice it is important in Czechoslovak conditions to see socialism in proper perspective as a comparatively long historical epoch. The evolution of socialism towards its higher, communist phase involves tapping all the inner motive forces of society, rationally and effectively consolidating a dynamic social system resistant to stagnation and conservatism. This idea finds expression in the approach to the *political system* of socialism as an instrument used by the conscious forces of society to influence the inner dynamics of the socialist social relations.

I.

The revolutionary reconstruction of the basic class and property relations was completed in Czechoslovakia by the late fifties. The victory of socialism was recorded in the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic adopted in 1960. We approach the basic task of socialist policy at the present stage in the light of the deeper insight into the perspectives of socialist development afforded by the line laid down by the Twentieth Congress and later by the Program of the CPSU — a line of purposeful building of a *qualitatively new* material and tech-

nological basis while ensuring the genuine emancipation of man and giving free rein to his activity and initiative.

Thus understood, socialist relations cannot be reduced to basic juridical relations of property; they must be regarded as an expression of the *real and many-sided* status of people who, liberated from the shackles of capitalist relations, freely labor in production, in the sphere of science and other areas, enjoying greater opportunities (and with greater incentives) to display initiative in the interests of society than are afforded by any non-socialist formation. Therefore, although the direct aim of political leadership at the present stage is primarily promotion of the scientific and technological revolution as the groundwork for building the material and technological basis of communism, the technico-economic process as such is not the subject of politics. Political organizations and institutions alone cannot effect a scientific and technological revolution in the development of the productive forces. But they should create the most favorable social conditions for the socialist working community to carry out this task.

Questions which at first glance might seem to be purely economic, such as the profitability of enterprises or the correct determination of state plan indicators, are actually only the economic form of more profound problems. The important thing is that the socialist quality of the relations between people in diverse areas of social labor should find not one-sided and formal but full, all-around expression.

Our experience shows that under certain conditions even socialist relations (class and property relationships) after they have triumphed may, in some cases, remain merely the formal framework for people's life and work, and thus to a certain extent cease to be a stimulus in the various spheres of social life. For instance, a manual worker, technician or engineer working at a socialist enterprise

*See article by O. Sik in our March issue, No. 3, 1965.

where wages tend to be levelled (which means that the quality of work and the skill of the worker are not the decisive criteria in the distribution of social wealth) is not fully influenced by the positive, dynamic aspects of the socialist relationships even though he is working in an overall context of socialist ownership. The general framework of socialist relations may also include some non-socialist phenomena in the political, organizational, ideological and other spheres.

The new system of economic management being introduced in Czechoslovakia is designed to solve precisely this basic problem — the problem of ensuring that the inner dynamics of the socialist social relations should exert a greater influence on social groups and working collectives, and also on each member of society. From this standpoint the new system has a bearing on one of the fundamental problems of leadership of society under socialism — the problem of the interrelation between the *interests of society and the specific, particular interests of its members*.

The method of planning and management by directives from above stemmed from the concept that in the conditions of socialist commodity production, production and consumption can be coordinated on a national scale by handing down from the center as many detailed indicators as possible specifying quality and volume of output and consumption. As a result erroneous opinions gained currency as regards the correlation of the requirements of society and the particular interests of the various social groups, strata, working collectives and individuals. This led to a subconscious equation of individual, specific interests (which the central bodies could not anticipate and hence did not recognize) with anti-social behavior. The new system of economic management stems from a different understanding of the relationship between the interests of society as a whole and specific group interests (the interests of the enterprises, etc.).

We assume that the correctly defined interests of society as a whole are at the same time an expression of specific group interests and must be realized through and in harmony with these specific interests. The function of leadership is to coordinate these interests. Consequently, possible contradictions between specific group interests and the general predefined aim of society can be regarded as a signal to leading bodies to search for the best ways of harmonizing these interests, and not as an a priori manifestation of anti-social pressures. The machinery of economic management should be built in such a way as to allow such contradictions *to manifest themselves* as a signal for conscious intervention. The contradictions between the interests of society as a whole and specific group interests could then be solved in accordance with the requirements of society through the agency of economic factors harmonizing both these interests, and not through compulsory administrative directives.

On a more general level, however, this approach to economic contradictions is only a specific instance of the broader problem of how, at this stage in the development of socialism, political leadership should react to conflicts emerging from different interests of a socialist nature. On the basis of theoretical analyses and the practical experience gained to date in implementing the new system of economic management, the following general conclusion may be drawn for the sphere of political and state administration as a whole; the system of socialist democracy must be consciously developed in such a way as to help the socialist community of working people to find its objective common interests in the *process of solving the non-antagonistic contradictions that may arise*. Otherwise it is impossible to establish whether any particular task advanced by the state in the name of the interests of society as a whole really reflects the objective requirements of society. In other words, the deepening of democracy is neither a transient slogan nor an end in itself; it is an *indispensable element* of the conscious guidance of society in socialist conditions. It is a means of verifying the correctness of the aims and the methods of their realization, a form in which society ascertains its own interests and needs. It is one of the basic political means for promoting the crystallization and development of socialism as a dynamic yet stable system of social relationships. It facilitates the full harnessing of the dynamic forces inherent in non-antagonistic contradictions arising from the socialist relationships between all members of society (and in particular from the social division of labor and from other relationships).

This approach to the problem of conflict of interests, in our opinion, can be traced not only to the search for a solution to economic problems, and, in particular, problems of economic management. The same conclusions suggest themselves when we examine how the development of political leadership and socialist statehood is affected by the very process of the abolition of class antagonisms and by the gradual growth of harmony between the fundamental interests of all classes and strata of socialist society. In these circumstances the deepening of democracy cannot be regarded merely as a quantitative development of the forms of popular participation in management and leadership generally. It should be regarded as a process relating to the very content of political leadership of the affairs of society, a process extending democracy as a method of solving *all inherent* conflicts of interest in a community of working people whose unity from the standpoint of class relations is steadily cemented.

The question as to how the unity of the interests of the people is to be achieved is also posed in a new way. During the first phase of socialist development it is imperative for political leadership to achieve the unity of the working class and the non-proletarian sections

of the people on all key questions of the class struggle. This to a certain extent *relegates to the background* the differences between those specific interests of different sections of the working people which have little bearing on the basic contradiction between their vital interests and the class interests of the capitalists. Therefore, democratic activity and its organizational forms are developed with a view to solving these basic class contradictions. In other words, it is a matter of the general political activity of the people aimed at resolving the basic issue of capitalism versus socialism.

During the second phase of socialist development, however, when the "capitalism or socialism" alternative has been resolved, political leadership is faced with the need to unite the masses on the basis of the much more complex *concrete social interests* in the most diverse spheres of endeavor, on the one hand, and the particular interests associated with these spheres (economic and social, the division of labor, social and individual consumption, the political and ideological areas, relations between generations, etc.), on the other. Moreover, the objective dialectics of the process results in the fact that the significance of the differences between the interests of the various sections and groups of working people tends to *come to the forefront*. Contradictions frequently arise between the short-term interests (understood in the narrow sense, purely from the standpoint of the given stage) of separate groups or collectives and their own essential, long-term interests. It is imperative to ascertain these contradictions so as to achieve basic unity in society's striving for progress.

The democratic solution of this kind of conflict is one of the cardinal problems of political leadership. Hence the democratic participation of the masses in directing the life of society and their activity in self-administration have a bearing on the most diverse and specialized problems of social life. It is no longer only or mostly a matter of opportunities for participation in solving the general political problems of the old type, i.e., connected with the class struggle. What is in question is democratic forms of leadership and self-administration in the various specialized areas of social activity. Hence also the need to combine democratic practices with professional skill and specialization in the work of leadership.

As we see it, all these questions are aspects of the overall evolution of socialist statehood through the affirmation of the new features we call the features of the state of the entire people, to use the terminology of the Program of the CPSU. The interests of society as a whole, which the state is called upon to guarantee, coincide with the historically conditioned communist interests of the working class, which is destined to remain the leading force in socialist society until the achievement of the classless society of the higher phase of communism.

Among the main impulses which the new system of economic management in Czechoslo-

vakia is giving to political leadership generally, note should be taken of *the overcoming of subjectivism* in the leadership of socialist society. One aspect of this problem undoubtedly is the understanding of leadership as a form of resolving contradictions between various group interests. At the same time the new system lays the emphasis on *scientific leadership*. This cannot of course be identified only with the professional skill of managerial personnel. It should be understood as the qualitative aspect of the very substance of the political decisions directing the life of society. The previous methods of planning and management, based on administrative orders, tended to support subjectivism in political leadership, since, owing to underestimation of the part played by objective economic factors, economic imbalances, the growth of disproportions and inefficient utilization and development of the productive forces could go unnoticed for comparatively long periods of time. This covered up the undesirable consequences of the managerial and planning methods used, creating the impression that all was going well. Consequently, it seemed as if all problems could be solved by the intervention of political authority in the life of society, through directives handed down from above. The new system, on the contrary, underscores the scientific nature of leadership, laying emphasis, among other things, on the objectivity of economic criteria, and revealing the unprofitability, one-sidedness and adverse results caused by management based on inadequate analysis of the reality.

Much importance is attached to the selection of the optimal solutions from a *number of possible alternatives*. In tackling the complex matter of overcoming contradictions between people's interests in the socialist society, political leadership should proceed from the fact that in the basic context of socialist relations several objectively possible alternatives can always be found for resolving any concrete contradiction. Scientifically substantiated political leadership presupposes the ability to anticipate the consequences of these variants; the body exercising political leadership chooses that variant which appears to be the most rational and effective from the standpoint of the socialist objectives. Here the two lines—the deepening of democracy and political leadership on a scientific basis—converge.

II.

Political leadership is effected through a system of state, Party and public organizations. The sum total of these institutions and bodies constitutes the historically conditioned political organization of the given society. The functioning of this political organization is determined by socialist policy, which likewise exerts a decisive influence on the structure and relationships of the various bodies and institutions.

Precisely because of this, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party

discussed in January 1965, besides the principles underlying the new system of planning and management, also associated aspects of Party work and to some extent the activity of the main public organizations, in particular the trade unions. The Central Committee underscored the fact that under the new system of management the role of the trade unions in promoting workers' initiative and control at the enterprises would grow. Without the active support of the trade unions it would be impossible to implement the basic principles of the new system. Some of the problems which have already been resolved in this connection are, however, to a great extent only the beginning of more extensive theoretical and practical work on the part of the Party rather than a final conception of long-term trends in the political organization of society. Hence we can deal here with only a few of the problems now being solved. It would be contrary to the democratic approach and hardly a contribution to strengthening the scientific basis of political leadership to attempt to solve these problems without discussion, without democratic examination of the possible alternatives and without serious theoretical consideration of the perspectives for the future. A longer period of time will be needed to carry this work to completion. No doubt the Thirteenth Congress of the Party, to be held in 1966, will chart the basic lines for the solution of these tasks.

The object in going into these questions is to find more effective ways of carrying out the creative organizational functions of socialist government and the entire political system, in particular the economic organizational functions of the state. It is a matter of improving the functions of the socialist state, and not, as some bourgeois critics erroneously assert, of weakening these functions.

One of the basic questions brought to the fore by the development of society in general and by the new system of economic management in particular is how correctly to *distinguish* between the sphere of political leadership proper and the sphere of functional technical management of the diverse areas of endeavor (particularly production). These two spheres of guidance often intertwine to a considerable extent, sometimes with negative consequences. During the period of administration through directives handed down from above, a number of questions of day-to-day technical management (including questions of a specialized technological nature) were decided by governmental bodies using political methods and drawing on the prerogatives of state authority. At the same time, however, the responsibility for the adequacy and consequences of the decisions was socio-political or moral and not economic (in the legal, property aspect) in character.

This had two basic negative consequences. First, the bodies charged with day-to-day technical management in effect did not bear full responsibility for their activity and its results. Second, the political leading bodies frequently paid insufficient attention to socio-political

problems. Instead they were occupied with countless other matters which they were not qualified to deal with. Both of these facts could not but make themselves felt in poor management and inefficiency.

All this gave rise in the political and state organization of Czechoslovakia to certain problems which have influenced the entire system of National Committees as democratic local authorities elected by and responsible to the people, and which now have to be tackled with all seriousness. In 1960 the sphere of activity of the National Committees was considerably expanded as part of the action taken to eradicate the consequences of the personality cult. In some areas of administration (enterprises of local importance, the medical services, schools, etc.) executive powers were vested in elected sub-committees of the National Committees. The basic consideration was that the role of the National Committees would grow with the increase in the number of production enterprises or service establishments subordinated to them.

Actually, however, this way of heightening the role of the democratic governmental bodies had contradictory results. There is no doubt that the factors which had previously led to a decline in the part played by the National Committees in directing life in the localities were to a great extent overcome. But at the same time new problems arose. The local authorities are often swamped with organizational and technical matters. At times they are guided by the one-sided interests of local enterprises, which may damage the interests of citizens generally. There have been cases when some departments or sub-committees of the National Committees have allowed socio-political questions to be relegated to the background (for instance, the creation of favorable conditions for the work of local enterprises while protecting the interests of society as a whole in situations where the particular interests of an enterprise run counter to the public interests). Not infrequently they concentrate mainly on questions which should be settled by the managements of enterprises. Democratic principles of management are at times applied formally since the elected bodies (the sub-committees of the National Committees) are not in a position, independently and with full knowledge of the problems involved, to deal with current problems of management in one or another specialized branch. Their powers notwithstanding, they are in effect dependent in many respects on the professional managerial personnel of the enterprises. On this basis decentralization of authority likewise began to present some problems. A tendency once again appeared to remove some branches from the jurisdiction of the National Committees and to subordinate them to centralized bodies.

The Party resolutely opposed such tendencies. The problem has to be solved on a conceptual basis, avoiding premature and piecemeal "reorganizations." The principles of the new system of management show that the first thing to be done is to overcome the directive

method of administration at the National Committee level as well. Here too it is most important that planned management accord with principles which make it possible consciously to use objective economic factors. The further development of the National Committees should above all ensure them greater independence and responsibility in carrying out their social tasks. A correct *definition of the spheres and scope* of functions of state bodies, on the one hand, and the day-to-day technical management bodies in the various fields of social labor, both productive and non-productive, on the other hand, is an important (though not the only) prerequisite for a practical solution of this question.

We have cited as an example the local authorities, but this does not mean that similar problems do not exist throughout the system of state and political leadership, including the central bodies. In November 1965 our Central Committee tackled a number of urgent matters concerning central administration. It pointed to the need for central bodies to pay attention above all to working out a thoroughly substantiated perspective for the economy as a whole and for its separate branches. The central bodies should see to it that the objective economic laws of socialist commodity production are taken as the criterion of managerial performance. With a view to the gradual introduction of the new system of management, the Central Committee laid down concrete guidelines for the government and its bodies, as well as for a certain reorganization of some ministries and other central bodies.

A correct definition of the tasks of political leadership is of exceptional importance also from the standpoint of the performance by the Party of its leading role in the present conditions. This problem came to the fore primarily with the recurrence of instances of Party bodies taking over or duplicating the functions of state and economic organizations. The Central Committee showed that the reasons for this lay in the hitherto existing system and methods of management which at times inhibited the activity of the economic bodies. Sometimes (especially if some planned assignment was not fulfilled) "the Party itself undertook to do the work of economic organizations, and Party bodies assumed the responsibilities of state and economic functionaries," as J. Heydrich, Secretary of the Central Committee, told a plenary meeting of the Central Committee held on January 27-29, 1965. The Central Committee censured such practices as in effect diverting the Party from the proper fulfilment of its leading role.

The complex of problems outlined above clearly shows that political activity essentially aimed at building the material and technological basis for the realization of the communist perspective does not coincide with the activities of the engineer, scientist or technician engaged directly in the organization of production. The purpose of political work is to create favorable social conditions for the crea-

tive activity of all working people, conditions ensuring that the organizers of production, engineers and scientists, should direct their efforts and initiative to the solution of society's basic production task. Politics, of course, should not be allowed to become divorced from economics. Political work should be aimed at the achievement of definite objectives in the economy and other spheres of endeavor; it should not be reduced only to propaganda. In shaping socialist policy more attention should, needless to say, be devoted to correct *technological* policy, i.e., to the promotion of up-to-date techniques and effective measures to remove all barriers in their way.

A correct definition of the sphere of competence and functions of bodies of political leadership is a necessary prerequisite for deciding in which areas of leadership of society it is essential to apply principles such as the election of leading bodies and the right of recall, collective deliberation and decision-making, and broad discussion of the decisions taken. And, on the other hand, in what areas the objective conditions necessitate individual managerial responsibility, appointment of office-holders, and preference for expert opinion in deciding specialized questions instead of submitting them to public discussions in which diverse interests are involved.

The second basic issue at the present time is to *develop political institutions in such a way as to give free scope to the initiative of the masses*. It should be borne in mind that popular initiative in the new conditions is not merely a matter of political activity in general. For all practical purposes the initiative and abilities of people are manifest in specialized initiatives and specialized abilities, both decisively conditioned by the division of labor. The worker is called upon to display initiative and to apply his ability on the factory floor, the doctor in the hospital, the scientist in the research laboratory, the cooperative farmer or agronomist on the farm fields. This is not to say that there are not interests common to all, that one sphere in the division of labor does not impinge on another. The main purpose of the socialist policy is to ensure the proper satisfaction of the common requirements of society as a whole. But it is necessary concretely to define which *in reality* are the common social requirements and which merely specific interests in *different spheres* of endeavor in production, in science, in the service industries, in the sphere of consumption, in promoting education, the health services, etc.

It will therefore become increasingly necessary in the various fields of endeavor to choose effective and not formal democratic procedures which would give free play to people's initiative and talents while uniting them in the process of planned social labor. This, in turn, brings to the fore the need for a *closer link* between democratic principles and the activities of people as members of *working communities*. This link, of course, should be ensured

by adequate development of organizational forms in which the socialist working collective can truly function, together with territorial associations, as basic nuclei of democratic public self-government.

This problem has come to the fore not only as a result of social change generally, but more concretely as a result of the new system of economic management. This system will primarily help to make the masses *more interested* in taking an active part in the management of socialist enterprises, in particular because the material benefits accruing to working communities and individual workers will depend on the efficiency of management. The same effect will be achieved by the elimination of excessive centralization in deciding concrete questions concerning the running of enterprises, for this will enable the working community to make effective decisions in the course of its own activities, without the danger of these decisions being changed or annulled by a higher body. In this way the right of the working community to take decisions can be coupled with its responsibility for the results. And conversely, if we place on the working community a real (and especially a material) responsibility, we must also provide it an equally real opportunity to exercise its rights and exert an influence on management.

Clearly, to resolve problems of this order it is necessary also to evolve the required organizational forms, to develop the various institutions accordingly. This is, of course, a complex matter requiring all-round examination. In Czechoslovakia it has so far been tackled in connection with the role played by trade unions, and is still dealt with along these lines at the factory level, in particular, through *production committees* functioning as specialized bodies of factory trade union organizations. The activities of these committees are aimed at solving management problems from the standpoint of the interests and initiative of the working collective. However, the practical functioning of the new system of management of the economy in general, as well as the need to bring the activities of people in both the production and non-production spheres more comprehensively under the positive, dynamic sway of socialist relationships, will present bigger demands on the role played by the working communities in the overall system of leadership of society. Needless to say, the forms the activity of these communities take should be brought into accord with the requirements through concrete assessment of both present needs and past experience.

From the standpoint of the development of the state machine proper, the question of promoting the activity and initiative of the masses is connected with the role of the *representative bodies* (in Czechoslovakia, the National Assembly, the Slovak National Council, and the regional, district and local National Committees).

As we see it, the representative bodies are

the basic point at which the political line of the state is shaped. At this level the policy of the Party is transformed into state policy obligatory under the law for all other bodies and citizens. Under a political system aimed at giving full scope to the inner dynamics of socialist relationships, the representative bodies represent a key area, a forum where the interests of society as a whole are defined in the process of a confrontation of *different, and sometimes contradictory, interests* and approaches. In this sense the representative bodies are, so to say, an area where diverse interests collide, and in the course of the collision the contradictions are resolved and proper expression is found for the real needs of society.

It is in this sense that we call for heightening the role of representative bodies in political leadership. Moreover, enhancing the role of these bodies is meaningful to the extent that this heightens *the role of the masses*, i.e., the electorate they represent.

There are also a number of associated problems, including the organizational development of the representative bodies, which should be given the most serious consideration and gradually resolved. Representative bodies are in all cases called upon to provide *comprehensive* political leadership over a certain *territory*. At the same time, however, finding the political solutions for specific problems of economic policy, of the various areas of the social division of labor ranging from production to health protection, science, culture, education and so on, is becoming an increasingly important aspect of their work. It is imperative for them effectively to strengthen their democratic links with the working people in the various spheres of endeavor, to promote and emphasize control and the responsibility of the elected deputies to the working communities to whose activity they give political guidance in the subcommittees or commissions of elected bodies. But at the same time overall governmental political leadership must not be allowed to be influenced by tendencies to place local or group interests above the needs of society as a whole.

These problems are now the subject of lively discussion in Czechoslovakia. Various alternatives are being weighed one against the other. In particular, questions relating to the electoral system, strengthening the link between representative bodies and the voters (both in residential areas and in working communities), abolition of the elements of formalism in applying the democratic principles of responsibility to the electorate, public control and the right of recall, and raising the qualifications of professional administrators require thorough study.

The growing importance of taking into account the different interests and requirements of the various sections, groups and collectives in order to ensure correct political leadership underscores the independent role which *various social organizations* can play in the overall

system of political leadership in a developed socialist society. Their functions and perspectives cannot be reduced merely to those of a "transmission belt" *from the state (and the Party) to the masses*. The action must be reciprocal; there must also be a flow of influence *from the people generally to the state (and to the Party)*. With the evolution of the political system this special task of social organizations will clearly come more and more to the fore—the task of educating the various groups of the people, each of which has its *specific interests and requirements*, to understand the need to *harmonize* the interests of society and individual interests. It would be a mistake to associate the development of these organizations merely with the mechanical transfer to them of more and more functions now performed by state bodies. In many cases this might work not only against the satisfaction of the needs of society as a whole (for social organizations cannot but represent specific interests) but also against their voluntary nature as organizations based on mass activity and mass political work (since an element of authority based on power would thus be introduced into their activities, whereas such authority should be limited in scope in the interests of the organization itself).

Public self-government should not be identified with non-governmental organizations alone, nor should the socialist state of the entire people be seen as something alien or even hostile to it. When the state essentially becomes a state of the entire people, the way would be cleared for self-government by the masses becoming synonymous with the *inner evolution of the state itself*. The function of the basic nuclei of government can increasingly be fulfilled by democratically constituted bodies of the various communities of working people, both territorial and production communities, while the higher state bodies should maintain democratic contact with these basic components of self-government. This is in full conformity with the Leninist principle of socialist democracy, according to which the state evolves into a *mass organization* of the working people. This principle has been recorded in Czechoslovakia's socialist constitution.

Needless to say, with the development of a political system in which the interests and requirements of society are ascertained in the process of resolving the contradictions between specific interests, a system under which such conflicts take the shape, among other things, of diverse forms of pressure on the leadership of society as a whole, the importance of a conscious policy according priority to the interests of society as a whole and coordinating efforts in this sphere is bound to grow. Our experience leaves no doubt that this necessitates the strengthening of the *leading role of the Party* in the system of political leadership as a whole. In connection with the new system of economic management the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party outlined at its

January meeting the principles by which we should be guided in elaborating and resolving this question. The basic orientation was set forth in Comrade Hendrych's report to the Central Committee. "In our opinion," he said, "leadership by the Party implies that the Communists influence the economic activity of the working people and the leadership provided by governmental, economic and other social and scientific organizations and institutions in such a way as would help make use of social labor according to plan and make way for the initiative and talents of the people. But at the same time the Party has in view the coordinated activity of all links in accordance with the objective processes under way in society and in material production. . . Nor should we forget that although the socialist state and the Communist Party have the same aims, although there is and must be the closest cooperation between the Party leadership, the state and the economic bodies, we should, in shaping these relations, pay particular attention to reducing to the minimum that duplication of functions which would erase the distinction between the Party and the state. Although leadership by the Party, state administration and economic management in some respects tend to approximate to one another, they are not identical. Any simplification of their relationship would distort it, even at the basic production level."

III.

In conclusion, let us examine some important questions relating to the *functions of law* in the leadership of society under socialism, and, in particular, in the conditions of the new system of economic management in Czechoslovakia.

Our experience shows that there can be a great deal of confusion in interpreting the thesis that "socialist law is an important instrument of planned management." When economic management is effected through directives handed down from above, this thesis may be taken to imply that ordinances and instructions issued by various state bodies and regulating both production and consumption in detail are an effective lever of planning and management, representing "guidance through law" inasmuch as directives take the *form* of a legal norm (or at least obligatory state ordinances). In other words, with planning by directive, state regulation becomes a matter of *legally binding* economic directives. Thus understood, law becomes a corollary of purely subjectivistic intervention in the economy, a ballast impeding genuine economic management.

Owing to the prevalence of this concept, law in the sphere of economic management, for instance, became an excuse for running things only by orders from above and, consequently, for subjectivism. As an example one might cite the economic contracts between socialist enterprises (buyers and suppliers) which were the

rule in Czechoslovakia prior to 1958. Actually these agreements were merely a "decorative element" in relations based on directives between various links of the economic apparatus. The real content of these relations was determined in detail by administrative methods of planning. The tasks thus set were merely reiterated in the agreements.

With the introduction of the new system of economic management it is now becoming clear that the proper meaning of regulation of the socialist economy by law consists in creating the conditions for resolving economic contradictions, conditions in which both sides are in a position *independently* to solve each given conflict with the "rules of the game" being observed. The solution of one or another economic contradiction can be effectively regulated within the framework of the law either through conscious use of economic factors or by observing norms of a non-compulsory organizational or technical nature, i.e., norms that do not have the force of law. However, either side—for instance, an enterprise whose rights are infringed by such norms—can always seek the protection of the law.

This approach to the function of law in the guidance of socialist society highlights a number of concrete problems which theoretical and practical jurisprudence are gradually solving. The new principles of economic management should not be allowed to be nullified by the right enjoyed by some bodies to lay down standards binding in law. *The powers and the responsibility* of the various links of the chain of state administration and economic management (including responsibility before the law for the consequences of intervention in the economy) should be defined (from the legal standpoint) more precisely than hitherto.

The qualitative aspect of legal standards, especially those relating to economic management, presents another important practical problem. So far too many vague and often contradictory detailed orders and instructions

have been issued. This has greatly shaken the stability of juridical relations in the economic sphere. An approach to law as an obligatory framework for ensuring the socialist solution of contradictions calls for practical measures to prevent this state of affairs from recurring in the future. It is imperative to ensure the stability of the basic legal relationships in the socialist economy while giving free rein to the inner dynamics of economic relationships.

An important problem connected with legal regulation is that of the relations between public institutions (enterprises, state agencies, etc.) and the individual members of the socialist community. Formerly public interest was often automatically and a priori identified with the interests of the enterprise or institution while sufficient legal protection was not accorded the interests of individuals. Consequently, it is now imperative to solve a number of concrete problems concerning many spheres, from labor relations to the diverse individual rights of our citizens. The point of departure here too should be a correct understanding of the relation between the public interest and the specific interests of the individual in socialist society.

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With the introduction of the new system of planning and management, Czechoslovakia has tackled and, in our opinion, is successfully solving a number of problems of a general nature relating, in particular, to the advance of socialist democracy and statehood to a higher phase, the emergence of features of the state of the entire people. We consider concretization of the range of questions discussed above highly important primarily because attempts are still made from the positions of both dogmatism and liberalism to distort the issues involved in the development of socialist statehood.

Czechoslovakia's experience proves the utter inacceptability of either of these vulgarized interpretations of the problems of socialist democracy and statehood.

The unitarian policy of the French Communist Party and the presidential elections

FRANCOIS BILLOUX

TWO MONTHS BEFORE the presidential elections, an event occurred that changed the entire complexion of political life in France. Supported at once by the French Communist Party, the Socialist Party (SFIO), the United Socialist Party (PSU) and the Radical Socialist Party, Francois Mitterrand, Chairman of the Democratic and Socialist Resistance Union, became the candidate of the bloc of democratic parties and organizations, much to the chagrin of the reactionary Gaullists and non-gaullists and despite their maneuvers. The candidacy has the support of the League of Human Rights and is regarded with favor by the General Confederation of Labor.

This development is of the greatest significance above all for the election campaign, which now becomes an important stage in the struggle against the one-man rule, and also for the development of the unity of the working class and of all who are victimized by the big capitalist monopolies, for the struggle for a new democracy.

THE IMPORTANCE OF A SINGLE CANDIDATE FOR THE LEFT

The members of the Communist Party, of the SFIO and other democrats conducted a nationwide campaign in support of the common candidate, for a policy oriented on democracy, economic and social progress, and peaceful coexistence.

For the first time since the establishment of one-man rule in 1958, the workers and peasants, intellectuals, women and the youth, the population of town and country who bear the brunt of monopoly policy, in a word, all French men and women who value the true greatness of their country in freedom, progress, independence and peace, have the opportunity to give joint expression to their aspirations and common interests.

In this struggle directed toward one and the

same objectives and against the same enemy, the working people and other democrats, despite all obstacles, are growing increasingly aware of the need for a common program which would serve as the platform of that broad alliance which alone can ensure victory over the power of the monopolies.

The choice of a single candidate of the Left will in large measure clarify the political situation in France. The news was received with hope and satisfaction by those who are eager for genuine changes and who know how they can be effected. It was a blow to the government and its loyal champions, and also to those who seek at all costs to preserve in one form or another the present social content of the French state. It threw a spoke in the wheel of those politicians who, without abandoning the old practice of forming alliances with one or another Right faction (labelled "liberal" depending on the circumstances) contrive consciously or unconsciously to introduce confusion and dissension — the classical but always poisoned weapons of the people's enemies — into the political scene. All observers, whatever their attitude to the nomination of a single candidate of the Left, have had to admit that it has ushered in a new political situation.

Little by little the simple and compelling fact is being brought home to the French people that the only way to put an end to the one-man rule is for all democrats to unite. And that means working together with the Communists and not without them, and even less so, against them.

CONSTERNATION IN THE RANKS OF REACTION

On September 16 the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party decided to support the candidacy of Francois Mitterrand.

The decision, adopted unanimously by the Central Committee of our Party on September

23 after careful consideration of the question and taking into account the unitarian character of the candidacy, accorded with the wishes of all who favor uniting the forces of the Left. This decision upset the plans of the Gaullists who had banked on the impossibility of any agreement on a single candidate for the Left being reached.

Thus instead of the imaginary "embarrassment" which some reactionary journalists hastened to ascribe to the Communist Party there was genuine consternation in the camp of their own masters.

In order to discredit the candidate of the Left bloc, to scare those republicans who usually do not vote Communist and to rekindle old antagonisms, the bourgeois press resorted to the threadbare device of anti-communism.

On September 24 the official Gaullist newspaper *La Nation* published the news under the headline: "Mitterrand, the Communist Candidate." "The Communist Party," added the *Les Echos*, organ of the employers, "takes not one hostage but 60,000 prisoners — militants of the Socialist Party." *Paris Jour* and *l'Aurore* spoke of the "danger of a new Popular Front." *Figaro*, with touching solicitude for Francois Mitterrand and Guy Mollet, the General Secretary of the SFIO, asked whether "their spoon will be long enough for their dinner with the devil" (the Communists).

Although the issue was deliberately misrepresented the uneasiness was not feigned. The hysteria of the bourgeois press betrayed what is usually masked by anti-Communist fabrications—fear of the people on the road to unity. It is symptomatic that whenever the French bourgeoisie senses danger, they remember the Popular Front, which is a nightmare for them but a symbol of hope for the working people and all democrats.

Claude Fuzier, writing in *Populaire*, the paper of the French Socialist Party, on September 25, remarked that for millions of men and women the government of 1936 was a government "that gave the wage earners what their fathers had been denied by those who still tremble at the prospect of another government of the same type being formed." "The Socialists," he wrote, "on the contrary believe that the experience of 1936 was one of the highest points of the struggle of the working-class movement and one of the finest pages in the history of our country."

The bourgeois commentators know quite well, as do the democrats, that the present situation is not the same as that of the Popular Front period in 1936 which developed on the basis of agreement on united action concluded between the Communists and Socialists in 1934.

The Socialist Party has not responded to the repeated proposals by our Party to it and to other democratic organizations to draft jointly a common program of action. In announcing his candidacy Francois Mitterrand, who is definitely neither a Communist nor a Socialist,

appealed to all the Left forces without exception, i.e., the Communists included, submitting an "optional" minimum program which was endorsed by each democratic party separately.

Thus, with the decision of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, the struggle against the one-man rule entered a new phase. It was not a question either of a "Popular Front situation" or of an "ordinary election compromise," nor was it a simple repetition of the limited agreements concluded in recent years (for example, the agreement on the establishment of a national committee of struggle against the "force de frappe" and for general disarmament, or the election blocs formed in the Seine department and a number of towns and villages during the municipal elections in the Spring of 1965).

The peculiar nature of the present political situation is a reflection of the state of the nation seven years after the monopoly bourgeoisie, following de Gaulle and together with him, took over the state machine.

Just as the decision of our Central Committee "fully accords with Communist policy," as the Socialist Claude Fuzier wrote, and as all serious observers have recognized, so does the situation which this decision helped to bring about fully conform to the character of the movement which has been crystallizing more and more in the course of the past seven years under the impact of the balance of class forces. It is precisely because our Party constantly takes account of these forces and their real correlation that it is able through its policy, propaganda and initiative to influence their evolution.

1958—A HEAVY BLOW AT DEMOCRACY

In order to view the present stage in the proper perspective it is necessary to refer to that profound examination of events which has occupied the central place in the work of our Central Committee, in the documents and decisions of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Congresses and in the entire activity of the French Communist Party ever since 1958. It enables us to see at once the perspectives now opening to the working class and other democrats in our country in the struggle against personal power and the obstacles that have to be overcome, to find the means not only of combating the power and defeating it, but of barring the way to any other power of the same kind, and ensuring the full triumph of the democratic alternative as expressed in the political course indicated by Francois Mitterrand and approved by the democratic forces.

The referendum of September 28, 1958 legalized the return to power of de Gaulle as a result of the forcible take-over of May 13. By a vote of 17,600,000 against 4,600,000 (a ratio of 4 to 1) the French voters approved a Constitution whose preamble invoked the lofty principles of democracy only to affirm in subsequent articles the most reactionary rule

France has seen since the time of Napoleon III (if we exclude the period of German occupation of 1940-1944)—the personal power of General de Gaulle.

Why did the majority of the French population take this course at that time?

The majority of the people were disoriented by anti-Communism which, beginning with 1947, had dispelled the great hopes cherished by the people after Liberation, split the Left forces, allowed republican institutions to be abused and undermined the parliamentary regime. It naturally wounded the national pride of the French people to see the government kowtowing to foreign countries, and above all the United States of America. The people were weary of colonial wars, although they were still strongly influenced by ideas which led them to believe in the "civilizing mission of France" with regard to the overseas territories and to confuse the interests of the colonialist bourgeoisie with the national interest. They were blackmailed by the threat of civil war held over them by the reactionaries. When the news came of the rebellion of generals and colonels in Algeria, the majority of the people turned at once to the man whom the school, the radio, the television, in a word, official history and myth alike, had surrounded with an aureole of glory reflected from the victorious Resistance, the "man of destiny" who depicted himself as a champion of the interests and unity of the nation, "the arbiter standing above classes and above parties," striving to extricate the country from "chaos" and capable of giving the country "a strong and stable" government that would lead it along the road of independence to prosperity and grandeur.

Deceived by the ruling circles of the French bourgeoisie who enjoyed the support of all the Right-wing parties and of foreign imperialism and who took advantage of the blindness of some Left leaders and parties, broad sections of the electorate were unable to grasp the fact our Party alone brought to their attention, namely, that de Gaulle was not only a reactionary and ambitious general whose contempt for the people had been expressed before the war in such works as "On the Edge of the Sword," but that he was, besides, the man of the French monopoly bourgeoisie. His so-called "renewal of institutions" was aimed not only at challenging the gains of the working class and democracy, but at turning the state into an instrument of the economic and political domination of big finance capital while preserving the republican facade as a sop to popular sentiment.

The coup de force of May 1958 was facilitated by the division of the democratic forces. Even those who canvassed for a "no" vote in the first referendum in September 1958 were unable to get together.

Our party did not conceal the fact that the establishment of the Gaullist government was a serious blow for the working class and all democrats, a blow from which they could

recover only at the price of long and difficult struggle against a complicated and refined system of exploitation and oppression that combined the power of monopoly with all the means at the disposal of a government machine unencumbered by parliamentary control.

CONTRADICTIONS IN THE CAMP OF THE MAJORITY

This regime, we said, would not hesitate to intensify the national and social demagoguery that had won it the confidence of millions of French men and women yearning for political change. But it could not pursue the policy of the French monopolies without infringing the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. Its actions would undermine the influence it had gained by means of deception. The numerous contradictions among the majority of those who had voted "yes" in the September 1958 referendum would emerge to the fore as illusions disappeared.

The more politically conscious forces of the working class and the nation rallied around the French Communist Party. It was of these forces that Maurice Thorez spoke when in his concluding speech at the meeting of the Central Committee in Ivry, on October 4, 1958, he said:

"This is an important factor for the future of the working class, for the future of democracy." Moreover, he pointed out, "the masses will not forgive us if we were to err with them. They will be grateful to us for telling them the truth. In particular we must not abandon efforts to win over the Socialist workers or dismiss as hopeless those who voted 'yes.' On the contrary."

It was by these confident, farsighted words that the Party was subsequently guided in its ideological, political and organizational efforts to enlighten the masses and open to them the perspectives of the struggle.

"... The existence and activity of the Communist Party firmly rooted in the masses is more necessary than ever before for the defense of the vital interests of the country and its people," states the resolution adopted at the Meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party in October 1958. "All the efforts of the Communists," it states further, "must be directed toward ensuring the correct solution of the problems that agitate the French people irrespective of how they voted on September 28 . . . Our principal task is to unite the democratic forces in order to steer our country along a genuinely new course."

Long and difficult though the struggle for democratic development may be, the Communists are convinced that in the end the democratic forces will triumph, and that the prime condition for this is unity, to achieve which patient and persistent effort will be required.

Renouncing both sectarianism and opportunism, and neglecting no opportunity afforded by the new Constitution, the French Commu-

nist Party has confidently pursued its objective: to promote the struggle of all sections of the working population in defense of their immediate and specific interests, forging ahead along the only road that can lead to victory over the Gaullist power, the road of rallying, around the working class, all the forces of democracy, progress and peace and uniting them in a powerful popular movement convinced of the need and the possibility of replacing the power of the monopolies with a genuinely democratic system.

THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM PROPOSED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The program adopted by the Fifteenth Congress of our Party in June 1959 and further elaborated by the two following congresses, outlines the political, economic, social and cultural conditions essential for the establishment of this new system.

To be able to withstand the pressure of the reactionary forces and to govern in the interests of the nation and the country, the future democratic government should rely on a solid majority based on the alliance of the democratic parties and organizations subscribing to a joint program, and encourage the participation of the millions of French men and women in the affairs of state. Hence the demand that the elected assemblies be in a position to fulfil their role, and the working people and their organizations to exercise effective control in the economic, social and cultural spheres.

As regards the political organization of society, our program proposed:

- the election, by a nationwide vote, of a National Assembly empowered to promulgate laws and to control their enforcement by the government;

- a stable government responsible to the National Assembly and exercising its powers in fulfilment of a program according with the will of the majority of the people.

In order to ensure the stability of the government that derives its strength from the flourishing of democracy, we proposed the election, on the principle of proportional representation, of a Constituent Assembly to adopt a new democratic Constitution which would clearly define the functions both of the government and the National Assembly and would effectively guarantee the basic rights of man and citizen.

In order to deprive the economic and financial magnates of the right to dispose of the principal resources of the country and to prevent them from violating the will of the nation, our program envisages far-reaching democratic reforms that would ensure the full development of the economy by setting in motion all the material and moral resources of the country, and, last but not least, guarantee a steadily rising living standard and the advancement of education and culture.

This would involve the following measures:

- nationalizing the monopolies owning the principal means of production and exchange,

establishing democratic management of all state institutions and nationalized enterprises through participation of the trade unions in management;

- development of modern branches of industry (electronics, engineering, chemistry, aeronautics) and training large numbers of researchers, engineers and technicians;

- a democratic budget and a democratic tax reform, reduction of military expenditures to release funds essential for productive investments in industry and agriculture as well as in such priority sectors as public education, scientific research, public housing construction with reasonable rentals, public health, transport and communications, genuine assistance to the under-developed districts of the country;

- workers' control of economic life at all levels by extending the functions of the factory committees and free trade union activity at the place of work.

These measures would enable a future people's government to ensure national development in accordance with an economic, social and cultural plan drawn up democratically with the participation of workers' organizations, and to pursue a foreign policy in the interest of the nation and of peace, i.e., a policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR UNITED ACTION

For quite some time the organizations and political spokesmen of the Left have advanced demands of a similar nature, despite the fact that the leaders of the Left parties continue to ignore our repeated proposals to discuss and jointly work out a common program.

This approximation of views, which cannot but be welcomed by all democrats, shows that notwithstanding the artificially fostered prejudices, our ideas expressing the profound aspirations and the true interests of the workers and the people generally, are beginning to strike root among the masses and consequently in the practical policy of the organizations representing them.

This is a reflection of the common interests shared by the workers, peasants, and all non-monopoly sections of the population, and becomes more marked as these sections enter into open conflict with the growing power of the monopolies.

Political developments in France might well serve to illustrate the thesis advanced in 1956 at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, at the Meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960 and at the Fourteenth Congress of the French Communist Party that if life makes the need for contacts and organized cooperation between the Communists and Socialists imperative, it also affords unprecedented opportunities for united action.

The Fourteenth Congress of the Party held in Havre in June 1956 instructed the Central Committee "to take energetic steps in view of the development of the political situation to achieve full unity of action between the Socialist and Communist parties."

This was and remains the main line of policy of the French Communist Party, bearing in mind that, as is noted in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of 1960: "The main blow in present conditions is directed with growing force at the capitalist monopolies which are chiefly responsible for the arms race and which constitute the bulwark of reaction and aggression. It is directed at the whole system of state-monopoly capitalism, which defends monopoly interests." "The working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie," the document states further, "are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favorable conditions for rallying these forces."

One of the rather successful slogans advanced by our Party during the October 1962 referendum and later in the parliamentary election campaign was: "Let us march side by side and strike together at the common enemy." We now hope to go beyond the "side by side" formula.

A NEW PHASE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAPITAL

As the French Communist Party has repeatedly emphasized, the advent to power of Gaullism marked a new stage in the dictatorship of capital in our country, or to be more exact, of state-monopoly capitalism. In the case of French capitalism, however, it is a question of the aggravation of the process of its disintegration in the context of the general crisis of world imperialism.

In spite of the violations of rights and liberties, the police and administrative repressions, the threats and the demagoguery, despite the many different forms in which the contradictions inherent in capitalist society are manifested, state-monopoly capitalism is powerless to overcome these contradictions. On the contrary, it can exist only by aggravating these contradictions, including those engendered at previous stages.

Being the product and expression of the progressive polarization of society, as was foreseen by the founders of scientific socialism, state-monopoly capitalism intensifies the division of the nation into two camps, in which the life of one implies the death of the other. On the one hand, there is the finance oligarchy which disposes of the decisive means of production and exchange and which directs public affairs—a small upper crust with an entourage of placemen and profiteers of all kinds. On the other hand—the vast majority of the urban and rural population: the working class, concentrated more and more at the big production enterprises and constantly supplemented by new recruits (women impelled by the need for "extra money" to work in the factories, peasants, driven off the land, shopkeepers and tradesmen forced to wind up their business, petty bourgeoisie, ruined by the devaluation of their securities, etc.); office employees, whose working and living conditions are approximating more and more to those of the working class; engineers and technicians, who are ob-

liged in growing measure to sell their labor and whose functions, if they do not hold executive posts, are also bringing them closer to the proletariat as science becomes a direct productive force; scientists, writers and art workers who fall foul of the laws of the moneybags; farmers and generally small and middle proprietors squeezed out of their sphere by the technical and administrative measures employed by big capital; and even capitalists who do not belong to the top categories but who have likewise been excluded from participation in deciding matters affecting the national market and affairs of state, now the exclusive domain of the finance capitalists.

Concentration and centralization—such is the law of capitalism which constantly destroys competition in order to reproduce it at a higher level. In the state-monopoly stage of capitalism the tendency is for all capital to become part of monopoly capital. The monopolies seek to make all political, administrative, cultural and other initiatives their exclusive prerogative serving their interests only.

This tendency, reflected in the way in which the 1958 Constitution has been implemented, is manifested in Gaullist domestic and foreign policy.

ANTI-SOCIAL POLICY

Beginning with 1958 a series of ordinances inaugurated the so-called policy of "prosperity" and "social justice." The Pinay Loan, indexed on gold, provided a sliding scale for capital which was not applied to the workers' wages or the peasants' incomes. The growing tax burden became increasingly onerous, but not for the capitalists, who enjoyed further exemptions. Social security benefits were curtailed. Pensions for war veterans were abolished and the franc was devaluated.

After this barrage at the working class, the peasantry and the other non-monopoly sections, the new regime proceeded to capture new vantage positions, in other words to mobilize and employ the entire production potential for the purpose of extracting maximum profit.

This is not always a simple matter for the Gaullist government, which has had to retreat in the face of actions directed against encroachments on the social welfare and rights of the ex-servicemen.

However, in order to increase the rate of surplus value, a whole series of measures have been introduced with the object of exerting pressure on the price of labor power, increasing working hours and the tempo of production in keeping with the rhythm of modern mechanization, and taking advantage of scientific and technological progress to step up exploitation. The requisition of strikers, various encroachments on the rights of the workers and on trade union freedoms, attempts to inhibit the workers and their organizations through various forms of "association of labor and capital," to render meaningless the whole idea of subsistence minimum, to set a wage ceiling on

the pretext of an "income policy" — these are all devices used by the Gaullist government to weaken working class resistance and to leave labor to the mercy of monopoly capital.

Everything is subordinated to profit. Entire branches of industry, the coal industry for example, are sacrificed for this purpose. The gap between the "key" sectors and the "lagging" sectors is widening. In the one case the workers are subjected to a merciless speed-up. In the other, they are laid off or shifted to part-time work. The closing down of plants is forcing entire categories of workers to accept lower paid jobs, although rents and fares are steadily rising. This means a worsening of conditions for the entire population of districts which are industrially underdeveloped as it is.

The agricultural orientation law is aimed at providing the companies controlled by big capitalists with land and a pool of cheap labor big enough to increase pressure on the average price of labor power. On the pretext of reducing the distributive network, the government is stepping up monopoly concentration in trade.

By means of the ruthless exploitation of the workers in the power industry and transport services, by juggling with preferential tariffs and preserving the deficit covered by taxation, the big state services which were nationalized under popular pressure in 1936 and especially immediately after Liberation when the government included Communist ministers, are being systematically used to channel profits into the safes of the finance oligarchy.

CONTRADICTIONARY ASPECTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Representing the interests of one of the contingents of world imperialism, the French monopolies are exploiting and plundering the French population in a new setting, when the balance of forces on the world arena, marked by the development of socialism and the national liberation movement, has led to the disintegration of the colonial system.

This explains the contradictory nature of Gaullist foreign policy which is sometimes negative, sometimes positive, depending on the circumstances.

The Gaullist power is loyal to its class solidarity with world imperialism, and especially with U.S. imperialism; this is manifested each time the common interests of capitalism as such are threatened. This also explains its adherence to Atlantic policy.

The de Gaulle government declines to participate in disarmament talks, it promotes the atomic arms race by setting up its own "strike force" and refusing to sign the Moscow test ban treaty. Its treaty with Adenauer has whetted the militarist and revanchist appetites of West Germany.

Nevertheless, while championing the interests and aspirations of the French monopolies, the Gaullist government clashes with representatives of the U.S., British, West German

and other monopolies, its rivals and competitors in the struggle for markets. These inter-imperialist contradictions compel the French government to adopt a certain independent posture vis-a-vis the United States, and to display a modicum of caution with regard to West Germany, especially since the hopes of winning the latter over to its own side have diminished.

When the de Gaullist government was forced to end the war in Algeria, it did so also in deference to the interests of the monopolies.

This also explains its special stand with regard to the war in Vietnam, its position on Southeast Asia, its hostile attitude to the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, and the improvement of France's relations with the socialist countries.

However, inasmuch as Gaullist foreign policy is dictated by the interests of the French monopolies and not by the real interests of the nation it cannot be a genuine and consistent policy of peace and national independence.

The creation of a "nuclear strike force," for example, not only accords with the strategic interests of French imperialism, which is anxious to contribute its share to consolidating imperialism in the face of the increasingly impressive achievements of the Socialist community and the national liberation movement while remaining as independent as possible of its imperialist partners and strengthening its hand in the competitive struggle with them. This policy at the same time guarantees the monopolies, outside the classical internal market limited by the stabilization plan, a market relatively independent for the time being of the purchasing power of the masses. It enables the big monopoly firms to acquire the production apparatus they need to win foreign markets and to compel the working masses to foot the bill through the state budget.

That is why the de Gaulle government is at such pains to convince the French people that their independence and security depend, politically, on the creation of a "strike force" and economically, on expanding exports.

However, after seven years of Gaullist rule it is becoming obvious to an increasing number of working people and democrats that the government is mainly concerned with prolonging the life of capitalism, that its policy spells the gradual deterioration of the material and social conditions of life for the overwhelming majority of the nation, a state of affairs that is placing the future and indeed the very existence of the nation in jeopardy. Grown wiser by experience, they are better able to understand and appreciate the democratic substance of the theory and practice of our Party which was summed up by the Fifteenth Congress in June 1959 as follows:

"The establishment of socialism, i.e., the reconstruction of society by passing from production relations based on private ownership in the means of production and exchange to relations based on public ownership of the

means of production and exchange can be effected only by millions of people waging the struggle openly, prompted by their own experience and their determination to solve the urgent problems confronting the nation. Contrary to anti-Communist slander, socialism is not established by coups hatched in secret, by conspiracies or intervention from without, by violating the will of the majority of the people.

"The French Communist Party has always shared the following thesis of Lenin: To develop democracy *to its logical conclusion*, to find the *forms* for this development, to test them *by practice*, and so forth—all this is one of the constituent tasks of the struggle for the social revolution. Taken separately, no sort of democracy will bring Socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be "taken separately" it will be "taken together" with other things, it will exert its influence on economics, will stimulate *its* transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. Such are the dialectics of living history.

"Thus, the struggle for socialism is closely linked with the struggle for democracy, with the struggle to furnish concrete answers to the urgent questions which developments are posing in France." (Point 30 of the Thesis of the Fifteenth Congress of the FCP).

AGAINST ONE-MAN RULE

After the struggle they have had to wage in the past seven years for vital demands, a struggle which has at times assumed major proportions, the workers, peasants and other sections of our population have learned that although, if it is powerful enough, such action may impede the implementation of Gaullist policy in one or another sphere, it is not sufficient to abolish that policy altogether.

Among broad sections of the working class (and no longer only among its vanguard) and the working population generally the idea has gained ground that the united action which has proved its effectiveness in thousands of individual actions must become the general rule. The coordination that has enabled the workers of one or another enterprise or branch to resist the onslaught of the capitalists should make it possible to merge all the individual demands into one common demand advanced by a powerful united movement of the working people and all those whose interests are sacrificed by the Gaullist regime.

So long as the political organizations acting on behalf of the working class and democracy were divided, this tendency could not find articulate expression.

Some maintained that a powerful movement was possible only if it were led by "new forces," emerging from "the elite of the new modern industrial society."

But reality makes short shrift of these short-sighted "theories" as the class contradictions continue to grow more acute. In the course of the struggle for democracy the working class

takes its due place as the class expressing the present and future interests of the entire nation.

It is around the working class that the powerful movement essential for the defeat of the monopolies is being organized. This presupposes united working class action on a political as well as an economic plane, which, as far as France is concerned, means united action of the Communist and Socialist parties.

So far this unity has not taken the form of an agreement on the aims and methods of united action discussed and elaborated by both parties. Nevertheless some progress in this direction has been made now that the Communist and Socialist parties, joined by many Republicans, have advanced a single candidate for the presidency of the republic on the basis of the rudiments of a minimum program.

The significance of Mitterrand's democratic "option," representing the general contours of a program, should be seen primarily in the fact that it concerns not domestic policy, on which some measure of approximation of views exists between the Communists and Socialists, but also foreign policy where their differences have been much more pronounced.

On the home policy plane what is particularly important is that Mitterrand has called for a revision of that part of the 1958 Constitution which legalizes the regime of personal power.

As distinct from the position taken by Defferre, with the approval of the Socialist Party at the beginning of the year, the reforms proposed by Mitterrand and supported by all the Left forces unequivocally condemn the plebiscite system and the absence of a government responsible to a representative body. These reforms, oriented on respect for and affirmation of the people's will, offer a striking contrast to the measures employed by the reaction to impose its own policy on the nation.

The candidate of the Left has declared himself in favor of democratic planning, against unjust distribution of the fruits of labor, for priority promotion of public education and respect for secular education.

True, we do not find in Mitterrand's "option" all the proposals contained in our program. For example, he makes no mention of nationalization which the Communists consider indispensable if the state is to be rid of the diktat of the economic and financial magnates, and for which the Socialist Party too has declared at its congresses.

Nevertheless the candidate of the Left has not only indicated the road to be taken but has suggested some of the means of advancing along this road. His statements outline a coherent democratic policy applicable to all spheres of state activity.

"EUROPEAN ISSUES"

Francois Mitterrand has affirmed his support for "Europe," the Common Market and the Atlantic Pact. The substance of these declara-

tions and the form in which they were included in the general political platform merit closer scrutiny.

He has also declared himself in favor of a policy of peaceful coexistence, for the signing of the Moscow test ban treaty, and renunciation of the "strike force." Moreover, he has criticized the treaty of alliance between de Gaulle and Adenauer and urged the recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier and the settlement of the German question through the conclusion of a peace treaty.

From this standpoint the pro-Atlantic and pro-European declarations of the Left candidate, while they differ from our own views, are nevertheless incomparably farther removed from the positions of imperialism, including French imperialism.

This was apparent when Mitterrand denounced the "Europe of the monopolies" as opposed to the "Europe of the peoples" and when he spoke of the need to revise the Atlantic pact.

Our Party has long since defined its attitude to the Atlantic Pact and to other military alliances of the NATO type. The resolution of our Seventeenth Congress points out that we stand for a genuine policy of peaceful coexistence which could release France from her commitments to military blocs and help to abolish these blocs with a view to promoting cooperation among all countries irrespective of their social system.

Wishing, however, to see a genuine system of collective security with the participation of all countries we stress that even within the framework of existing alliances France could already today contribute in large measure to easing world tensions and furthering the cause of peace. It is precisely on these grounds that we have never made France's withdrawal from NATO conditional on our participation in joint actions with the Socialist Party and other democratic parties.

In October 1958 the National University Committee proposed an accord among those who voted "no" (not to be confused with the cartel des "non" formed outside of our Party in October 1962). This proposal contained a clause expressing approval of the Atlantic Pact. Although we were opposed to this clause we nevertheless signed the agreement in order to promote the unity of all the opponents of the one-man rule.

Our position on this question was elucidated at the time by Maurice Thorez in his letter dated October 17, 1958:

"We concede that despite this pact and even within the framework of her alliance, France could act in favor of an international detente. We have repeatedly declared our readiness to support any effort in this direction. We believe it would be useful to make it clear that under all circumstances France should reserve complete freedom of action in matters pertaining to cooperation among states and friendship among nations, as well as the right independently to decide questions directly affecting her position in the world."

Our position on this question has remained unchanged. We believe that a basis could be found for agreement between Communists, Socialists and Republicans for joint effort on behalf of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and international cooperation.

At the same time we are not opposed to any kind of European organization. We stand for a genuine Europe of the peoples founded on growing cooperation among all European countries without discrimination, on respect for national sovereignty and corresponding to the interests of peace and of all peoples, including the peoples of Asia, Africa and the Americas.

We opposed the Common Market when it was first established. We regarded it primarily as a deal between the capitalist monopolies to the detriment of the interests of the working class and, in the final analysis, to the detriment of France and to the advantage of revanchist West Germany, the most powerful member of the community. Events have proved that we were right.

Today there are a good many even among the most ardent supporters of the Common Market who admit that the EEC is dominated by the trusts and cartels.

Without altering our appraisal of the Common Market, we nevertheless take into account the fact that it exists and has the support of the Socialist, the United Socialist and the Radical parties.

At our congresses, specifically the Sixteenth and Seventeenth, we pointed out that the Common Market is not an insurmountable obstacle to agreement between the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party and other democrats who favor European institutions. We believe that it is possible for us to work together inside the European institutions and the Common Market for a policy in the interests not of the trusts and cartels but of the working people of each country and of the national interests.

Thus, France, as a member of the Common Market could take the initiative in promoting trade between all countries without exception, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. Steps could also be taken to counteract the technocratic character of the Common Market bodies by including in these bodies authorized representatives from the parliaments and trade unions of each country.

THE INTERVENTION OF THE POPULAR MASSES

Notwithstanding the differences, then, it is possible to agree on a joint policy oriented on peaceful coexistence and relaxation of tension, cooperation among all countries without discrimination, reduction of armaments and general and controlled disarmament.

The basically democratic orientation affirmed in the policy declaration of the Left candidate has since been clarified and concretized in his subsequent statements. As a rule his utterances do not as yet fully express the aspirations of the masses. But they have helped the

masses better to understand their own interests and to translate this understanding into action.

Guided by the Leninist premise that the principal factor of united front tactics both during and after elections is mass action for unity, the French Communists launched the campaign for a common candidate of the Left not only by election rallies and demonstrations but by linking the campaign with the struggle for economic demands and for peace.

The explanatory and organizational activity of the French Communist Party is all the more essential since the government that has ruled for seven years possesses powerful means for retaining its hold over the more gullible sections of the population.

The election of the president follows a procedure established by and for the one-man rule. Napoleon III prior to Sedan, and Petain prior to 1943 enjoyed prestige which although it was on the wane, was nonetheless real. Thanks primarily to the mass media at the disposal of the monopolies and their state, the prestige of de Gaulle as a personality and a statesman is cleverly boosted.

His widely advertised anti-Americanism, his reservations with regard to Bonn, his statements in favor of "decolonization," his steps toward improving relations with the socialist countries are still judged by some French men and women not as actions dictated by monopoly policy but as evidence that he represents a force serving the interests of the nation.

These same people, endowing the President with their own good will, are prone to lay the blame for their difficulties and hardships on his entourage. The resignation of Debré from the post of Prime Minister served to strengthen this illusion.

If the recent alliance of democratic forces is to extend to the broad masses it must bury its past differences. Only by assimilating their past experience will the masses be able to arrive at a clear understanding of their genuine interests. The powers-that-be govern by appealing mainly to the most elementary sentiments—the best as well as the worst.

For a time this gives them an important advantage, inasmuch as the reinforcement of finance capital temporarily gives de Gaulle, the reaction, and all overt and covert, conscious and unconscious champions of the regime, room for maneuver each time the members of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, small producers and the like, deprived of their former sources of income, are forced into the factories and offices. All these people, whether they wish it or not, are the bearers of an ideology alien to the working class, and sometimes to popular democratic tradition as well.

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The working people, all democrats, have supported a common candidate for the presidency. The first important steps toward a common program incompatible with the interests of the reaction have been made. These developments are not only exerting a political and psychological impact, awakening the latent energies of the popular forces, and uniting the Left; they are also causing discord among the Rights, as is evidenced daily by the instances of support for the common Left candidate and the confusion among the Gaullist reactionaries. This trend is assuming more and more clearcut forms today and its future contours are already taking shape.

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Revolutionary struggle in the Dominican Republic and its lessons

J. I. QUELLO, N. ISA CONDE

ON APRIL 24, 1965, THE PEOPLE of the Dominican Republic rose against the dictatorship installed by the coup of September 1963. The rebels demanded the return to power of a government headed by President Juan Bosch, who had been duly elected in December 1963, and the restoration of the Constitution adopted during his administration. The democratic Constitutionalist movement, in which the armed masses took part, grew by leaps and bounds. Within three days the old tyrannical structure had been toppled and the army, which had been built up and controlled by the United States, defeated. Another facet was added to the new situation in the Latin American liberation movement marked by an upsurge in the struggle for national liberation and socialism with revolutionary Cuba setting the example for the peoples of the Americas. Only by direct armed intervention was U.S. imperialism able to prevent the Dominican democrats and Constitutionalist from achieving their immediate aims, to retain its grip on the Republic and temporarily to check the development of the revolution. The fact that imperialism had to take this action is, however, a sign of its weakness, of its inability to preserve its spheres of influence and to prevent popular uprisings.

These events made our country and its capital, Santo Domingo, one of the key sectors of the international struggle. The Dominican uprising is new proof that October 1917 ushered in an epoch of worldwide revolutionary reconstruction and that nothing can prevent the final victory of the peoples.

1. U.S. Imperialism—Always an Aggressor

U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic was by no means unprecedented. The first landing of U.S. troops on Dominican territory took place as far back as 1898. In 1903 and 1904 gunboats were used to protect the investments

of the American capitalists and the local rulers subservient to them. In 1905 Washington used the threat of a new intervention to impose on the Dominican Republic a treaty which placed its Customs in the hands of U.S. officials. Little by little the U.S. monopolies, ousting the Belgian, British, Dutch and French monopolies, established their undivided domination over the Republic.

In 1915 the United States insisted on the Dominican Republic "accepting" a U.S. financial adviser and a comptroller of the armed forces. In 1916 troops were again landed, and this time they remained until 1924. U.S. military government was established. It "relinquished" the reins of power on the following conditions:

1. That Customs control and supervision over finances, including payments on the foreign debt, remain in U.S. hands;
2. That an "electoral law" approved by the United States be enforced;
3. That a new "national guard" trained by U.S. officers take the place of the old national army.

By 1924 the United States had established complete economic control. It could now withdraw its troops, since the imperialists could count on the new "national guard" fully protecting their interests. The "national guard" was placed under the command of a reliable officer who had "distinguished" himself by persecuting patriots and suppressing struggles waged by the sugar refinery workers—Rafael Leonidas Trujillo.

In 1930 a coup took place which put Trujillo in power.

The Trujillo regime was a military tyranny of the classical type, subservient to the oligarchy (the semi-feudal latifundists and the big bourgeoisie who had betrayed the nation) and U.S. imperialism. Its distinguishing feature was that Trujillo used his political power to enrich

(through state monopolies) his own economic group while coming into conflict with equally reactionary groups of the traditional oligarchy. The national economy largely fell under the absolute control of the Trujillo group which retained close ties with its sponsors, the U.S. monopolies.

This group basically set out not to promote capitalist development as such or to head the so-called national bourgeoisie, as some people hold, but to prevent the free, independent growth of national capitalism in order to build up a single giant monopoly closely linked with imperialism. This monopoly owned all the big industrial enterprises and the best land, which it seized by force of arms. Consequently, during the military occupation and the Trujillo regime a peculiar type of capitalism developed in both industry and agriculture, under which the natural trends of growth and expansion were distorted by the monopoly on which it rested. This deformed capitalist structure experienced its own specific types of crises and periods of recession and recovery.

2. Thirty-One Years of Pro-Imperialist Dictatorship

Throughout the thirty-one years of the "Trujillo era" the Dominican people carried on an unflagging clandestine struggle against the most ruthless dictatorship in Latin America. Thousands of Dominicans were arrested, tortured or killed.

Only during a very brief period was it possible to wage an open struggle against the regime. In 1945 a movement for higher wages and better living conditions spread through the U.S. monopoly-owned sugar refineries. This movement, and also the atmosphere of anti-fascist unity during the Second World War, enabled the Communist Party, founded secretly in 1942 and originally called the Popular Socialist Party, to function legally in 1946-48. But with the beginning of the cold war these legal possibilities were reduced to nil. Many members of our Party were thrown in prison, and many others fell in the struggle or were forced to emigrate. The only organized political opposition in the country was suppressed.

The years of economic upswing from 1950 to 1956 were the most stable period for the Trujillo regime. But during this period too the completely unorganized Dominican democrats who came out against the regime were viciously persecuted.

The specific features of the economic base of the regime, its policy aimed at retarding the march of history, and its naked despotism led, however, to growing conflicts between the ruling camarilla and all other classes, strata and groups of Dominican society.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of Trujillo's advent to power, into the celebration of which millions of dollars were poured, was followed by a crisis that deprived the regime of its principal domestic bulwark, the support of the

pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, and prompted new influential groups to join the fight against the dictatorship. At the same time a broad democratic movement was sweeping the entire Caribbean area. This movement overthrew the regimes of Magloire in Haiti, Rojas Pinilla in Colombia, Perez Jimenez in Venezuela and Batista in Cuba, and enabled the Dominicans in exile to intensify their activities and to cement their unity. Cuba set our people an example of how to fight dictators. A large number of Dominican exiles fitted out an armed expedition which landed in the Republic on June 14, 1959. Its heroism notwithstanding, the force was destroyed, but the blood shed was not in vain. The Revolutionary June 14 Movement was organized in secret. Resistance to the regime grew in all parts of the country, finding legal expression in the Dominican Popular Movement led by a group of revolutionaries who returned in 1960.

In the meantime the Cuban revolution, rapidly passing through its national-liberation stage, entered the phase of socialist reconstruction. The dawn of socialism in Latin America gave a new powerful impulse and set the example to all peoples oppressed by imperialism, our people included.

Imperialism was now compelled to maneuver in the Dominican Republic in order to check the maturing of a second revolution in the Antilles. It was precisely this that was the object of the conspiracy engineered by the U.S. Embassy which led to Trujillo's downfall. The dictator was assassinated by a group of his close associates on May 30, 1961. At this period U.S. imperialism was engaged in working out forms of domination better suited to meet the requirements of the epoch of rapid growth of the national-liberation movement and to counteract the example Cuba had set for all the oppressed peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The methods used then were those devised by Kennedy and his entourage and abandoned after his assassination. (Today too these methods are taken out of the moth-balls from time to time and used in combination with Johnson's hard-riding Texan methods.)

However, the assassination of Trujillo, far from stopping the maturing of the crisis, accelerated developments. All sections of the population, all classes whose interests prompted them to resist Trujillo, now openly carried on the fight. New conflicts took place and new crises developed in the overall context of the deep-going general structural crisis from which the Dominican Republic cannot extricate itself so long as it remains in the capitalist orbit.

3. Assassination of Trujillo—Catalyst of National Crisis

After Trujillo's death leadership of the national-democratic movement was temporarily taken over by the National Civic Union (NCU). Ostensibly pursuing patriotic objectives, this organization was controlled by bourgeois ele-

ments with close links with the U.S. Embassy. At the same time a number of prominent leaders of Juan Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party (DRP) returned from exile. The Revolutionary June 14 Movement (then known as the June 14 Political Group) emerged from illegality. These organizations were the main political forces in the country at the time. The Popular Socialist Party (now the Communist Party) began reorganizing itself after the secret return from exile of some of its leaders. The Dominican Popular Movement (DPM), which at first functioned legally, was soon outlawed.

The mass struggles of August-November 1961 forced the remaining members of the Trujillo family to leave the country, and the eleven-day general strike of November-December 1961 shook the rule of Joaquin Balaguer, Trujillo's principal puppet during the last years of his regime. Early in 1962 U.S. imperialism, operating through the NCU, and with State Department officials openly taking a hand in the matter, installed in power the so-called State Council consisting of spokesmen of the traditional oligarchy.

During his brief administration Balaguer was compelled to confiscate the property of Trujillo's family and his accomplices who controlled 60 per cent of all investments in trade and industry. The oligarchy did not venture to lay hands on this property, though it launched a campaign against "unprofitable state companies" and to boost the virtues of private property.

Imperialism, whose policy was then shaped by the proponents of the view that the Dominican Republic should be made a "show window" of the Alliance for Progress, wanted early elections, counting on a NCU victory. Bosch's party, believing that the oligarchy could be voted out of the saddle, likewise supported the idea.

The Left forces, headed by the Revolutionary June 14 Movement which enjoyed wide popular support and adhered to clear-cut patriotic and democratic positions, refused to recognize the State Council as the legitimate government and called for its overthrow and the establishment of a national unity government based on the program advanced by the participants in the heroic 1959 expedition. All classes, economic groups and the country's three main political forces (DRP, NCU and the Revolutionary June 14 Movement) were to be represented in this government. The Left forces called for a boycott of the elections. Our Party, which in June 1962 hesitantly urged the convocation of a democratic constituent assembly, later consistently supported the stand of the other Left groups.

The elections were held on December 20, 1962, with a great popular turnout at the polls. Although the people generally did not support the Left boycott of the elections, they voiced their democratic aspirations by voting for Juan Bosch, the most progressive candidate standing for election. Bosch put forward a program con-

demning latifundism and calling for the preservation and promotion of the state sector (though without further nationalization), as well as a return to secular education. The underlying idea of his campaign was the struggle of the poor against the rich.

Bosch polled 400,000 votes more than his chief opponent (out of a total electorate of one million).

The outcome of the elections made it impossible for imperialism and the oligarchy to lay their hands by legal means on the property left by the Trujillo family.

4. Progressive Bourgeois-Democratic Government in Office

In April 1963, during the Bosch administration, a democratic Constitution was adopted. It set forth the following basic principles:

—Labor is the foundation of national wealth.

—The latifundia, being unprofitable enterprises, are undesirable.

—Dominican land is to be sold only to Dominicans.

—Private ownership is the basis of economic development.

—It is the duty of the state to protect national wealth and not sell it to private individuals.

—The state should guarantee education on a scientific footing for all and exercise control over education.

—The workers must be guaranteed a share in the profits of enterprises.

—Private industrial and trade monopolies are prohibited.

—Democratic freedoms must be fully observed.

—The people are the basis of national sovereignty. Those who would turn national sovereignty into an object of barter with foreigners should be severely condemned.

President Bosch annulled the agreement signed by Balaguer with Esso Standard Oil on the construction of an oil refinery. His government pursued an independent foreign policy founded on respect for the right of nations to self-determination. It gradually moved towards the Mexican position and away from that of the pro-imperialist reformist government of Venezuela. A few days before the coup d'état, following a meeting between Bosch and Lopez Mateos, a statement was published defending the right of the peoples to choose their own governments without foreign interference.

The law fixing the maximum price of sugar brought Bosch into sharp conflict with the South Puerto Rico Sugar Co., a U.S. monopoly.

All this explains why the oligarchy and the reactionary military closely linked with the Pentagon began feverish preparations for the overthrow of the Bosch administration.

At that time two trends became apparent in the policy of the U.S. rulers. Ambassador John Martin, appointed by Kennedy, actively supported the Bosch government and advocated

extending long-term loans and economic aid to it. On the other hand, General O'Meara, commander of the U.S. armed forces in the Caribbean, representing the Pentagon, openly engaged in conspiratorial activity against the constitutional regime (without official invitation he made several visits to the airforce base in San Isidoro—the stronghold of the conspirators).

Our Party was the first to expose the preparations for the coup several weeks before it took place, and called upon the people to take a united stand against the putschists. The other Left forces (the Revolutionary June 14 Movement and the DPM) also called for action against the coup, although some people in these organizations believed that the coup should be allowed to take place since this would make it easier to start guerrilla actions. Many people who failed to understand that popular unity against the putschists would in any event help to unite the people against the dictatorship which a successful coup might instal, accused our Party of "Boschism."

In an address to the Dominican youth, Bosch also exposed the preparation of a coup and laid the blame for it on the military, the Catholic hierarchy and the U.S. sugar monopoly. He called for action to safeguard state property, against the sale of Dominican land to foreigners and against shameful concessions to foreign oil monopolies (as in the case of building the oil refinery). However, apart from this impassioned appeal, Bosch did nothing to prevent the coup in the three months during which it was obviously maturing. His party—DRP—did not urge the masses to bar the way to the coup, hoping to prevent it through negotiations with the U.S. Embassy and the top military rather than through actions of the masses whose support it enjoyed.

5. Struggle against the Coup

On September 25, 1963, the reactionary military, expressing the interests of the oligarchy and the U.S. investor-monopolies, seized power with the support of the Pentagon and the CIA*. Bosch was banished, Parliament dissolved, and the 1963 Constitution abolished.

After the coup even the democrats had different, often conflicting, views concerning the methods of struggle against the putschist government—the so-called triumvirate.

The most influential group among the Left—the Revolutionary June 14 Movement—advocated guerrilla war at all costs. In so doing, they ignored the concrete conditions necessary for its development and victory at the given moment. In practice this slogan led to weak-

ening the struggle of the masses. This was connected, in particular, with the problem of the so-called "counter-coup." It was feared that a military "counter-coup" which would reinstall Bosch in office would abolish the conditions created as a result of the reactionary putsch. conditions which some Left leaders believed to be conducive to guerrilla struggle. For some time the leaders of the Revolutionary June 14 Movement directed all their efforts towards preparing military actions and did nothing to draw the masses into the democratic struggle.

This erroneous trend manifested itself even more among the leaders and rank and file of the Dominican People's Movement, who maintained that any mobilization of the masses and any political strike could be used for a "counter-coup." Even before the uprising which was being prepared by the June 14 Movement, they tried to form their own guerrilla unit. But these guerrillas were soon taken prisoner in the Cevicos Mountains.

Activity of this kind tended to isolate these parties from the masses, although many admired their heroism.

Early in November an attempt to organize a general strike ended in failure because it was not supported strongly enough by all the forces opposed to the triumvirate. At the end of November the June 14 Movement formed five guerrilla units in the mountains, but hardly a month had passed before they were defeated. Many fighters fell in the battles fought by the last guerrilla detachment, among them Manuel A. Tavarez Justo, leader of the Revolutionary June 14 Movement and a popular national figure. For a time, though not for long, the struggle slackened. Our Party, which stood for the all-round development of the mass struggle, published a critical appraisal of these events. At the same time the Party did all it could to support the revolutionaries who risked and sacrificed their lives in the heroic struggle.

As regards the Bosch party (DRP), it was under the influence of various tactical concepts of struggle against the coup. The most conservative of its leaders, for instance, cherished illusions with regard to the course of action the U.S. Embassy and State Department would take.

Their tactical differences notwithstanding, all these forces, including the Christian Socialists (who at first were extremely passive and hesitant in their opposition to the coup), became more united in the struggle for the reinstatement of the constitutional regime. A broad front for the restoration of democratic institutions gradually come into being, although still without a common tactical line and a clear-cut organizational structure.

The changes in the policies of the different parties were due to the changes in the political attitude of the classes and social groups of Dominican society. In its early days the coup was actively resisted only by the students and also the national bourgeoisie which had previously opposed Bosch's program in the elec-

*In respect to the coup, the difference between the two tactics of U.S. imperialism in Latin America was revealed again. Kennedy and his group, who wanted to turn the Dominican Republic into a "show-window" of the Alliance for Progress, sharply denounced it (the USA recognized the new regime only after the assassination of Kennedy on November 22). On the other hand, the Pentagon, Thomas Mann and the U.S. military attachés actively supported the dictatorial regime.

tions but later, during his presidency, came to realize that he was defending its interests against both the parasitic oligarchy and the U.S. monopoly investors, as well as against the working class. But the support extended by the national bourgeoisie to Bosch diminished as the aims of the struggle, under the impact of developments, went beyond the range of its interests.

The most important changes took place in the political struggle of the working class. It should be noted that throughout the 30 years of the Trujillo dictatorship the Dominican proletariat was unorganized (except in 1945-47). And the labor movement had barely been organized, when, in 1961-63, it split into three main trade union centres. This was due not only to the pressure brought to bear by the U.S. Embassy and the activity of the agents of the clergy; it was above all the result of the general low level of class consciousness of the proletariat. The working class thus began the struggle against the dictatorship with its trade unions and parties divided, and lacking a party effectively representing its class interests. (That the working class did not fully support Bosch at the critical moment was also due to the temporary increase in unemployment caused by some of the economic measures of his government and to repressions against the strike movement.) But as this struggle mounted, the militancy and consciousness of the working class grew.

On May 2, 1964, a strike of public transport workers in the capital, supported by the dockers' union, rapidly acquired features of an armed uprising. Barricades were erected in the working class neighborhoods and the police proved powerless against the people. Only after four days of heroic resistance was the strike crushed by the joint actions of the army and the police.

In the course of the struggle against the coup changes took place in the leadership of the movement, with the working class coming to the fore, especially after the uprising of May 2. The strike movement gained scope, drawing in all the active opposition forces. On the other hand, the national bourgeoisie, fearing the growing mass movement, increasingly adapted its positions to those of the oligarchy and imperialism, and, in particular, supported the attempts of the oligarchy to find a way out of the crisis through elections.

It should be admitted that for some time our Party, too, was under the influence of these views. By advancing, during the rule of the triumvirate, an erroneous thesis calling for an "impartial and serious government which would hold elections," our Party departed from the Marxist concept of the state and supported an idea which did not have the backing of the masses. This was a grave tactical mistake.

6. EVE OF THE EXPLOSION

A stubborn internal struggle in our Party led to the defeat of the Right opportunist concept

and to repudiation of the "impartial and serious government" thesis.

On March 16, 1965, the Central Committee of our Party published a Manifesto rejecting the "way out of the crisis through election" and calling for the "return of Juan Bosch and the restoration of the 1963 Constitution on the basis of mass actions." The Manifesto helped provide a revolutionary orientation to the mass movement, which subsequently developed into an armed uprising.

"Bosch should be returned to power through popular action," stressed the Manifesto, "and not through compromise with the enemies of the people. The return of Bosch on the basis of mass actions signifies not only the restoration of the national dignity and sovereignty of the people. It will signify above all an extremely important step towards uniting the forces which will lead the Dominican people to complete liberation."

"At present the struggle for the fulfilment of this task must be headed by the Dominican working class—the only class capable of leading the people as a whole and heading the struggle for their supreme objectives."

"Therefore, the Popular Socialist Party calls on the working class and the people as a whole to launch a struggle for the return of President Bosch to the post of head of the legitimate government of the Republic on the basis of the democratic gains recorded in the 1963 Constitution."

"Fight in the streets, squares, factories and in the countryside for the return of President Bosch as head of the constitutional government!" concluded the Manifesto.

This document had the widest circulation of any ever put out by our Party. The entire Party understood the significance of the slogan proclaimed in the Manifesto, supported it and acted in accordance with it before and during the uprising. The Dominican People's Movement and the Revolutionary June 14 Movement came out against our position, maintaining that our slogan imparted a personal character to the struggle of the people, allowing the personality of Bosch to overshadow, as it were, the entire democratic movement. However, a little more than a month later the living dialectics of history demonstrated the rallying and mobilizing force of this popular slogan. In the first days of the armed uprising the demand for the return of Bosch symbolized all the aspirations of the people. Subsequently, the masses extended their support to Caamano, insofar as he showed himself to be an ardent champion of the general democratic aims of the people. Moreover, the entire struggle acquired an anti-interventionist (essentially anti-imperialist) character in the course of the resistance to the U.S. troops.

The period of the despotic rule of the triumvirate saw events move inexorably towards an armed uprising of the people. At the end of April 1965, a revolutionary situation developed in the country. The masses no longer wanted to live in the old way, while the rulers had

exhausted all possibilities of maneuvering to preserve their power by the old methods.

The growing political character of the strike, the rapid disintegration of the army and the universal indignation at the actions of the despotic regime paved the way to the realization of the slogan put forward by our Party and supported by the whole people. We saw all this and were able to advance the slogan that could unite the whole people. But we failed to see that an armed uprising was inevitable. Consequently, our Party found itself unprepared for the uprising and was unable to head it, although as far as possible it took a firm and resolute part in it.

Besides, our Party adopted a sectarian attitude to the armed forces, lumping them all together as a group of "gorillas" in the service of reaction. We did not take into account the class composition of the army, whose ranks reflect the contradictions and struggles taking place in society, although as a whole it defends the interests of the reactionary state. Lenin pointed out that "the history of the Russian revolution, like the history of the Paris Commune of 1871, teaches us the incontrovertible lesson that militarism can never and under no circumstances be defeated and destroyed, except by a victorious struggle of one section of the national army against the other section." Our sectarian attitude to the army, on the contrary, prevented us from correctly assessing the changes taking place in it and isolated us from the entire process of preparation of the coup in the barracks. As a result constitutionalist officers and soldiers established contact primarily with the vacillating and moderate circles of the democratic movement, which were planning armed action merely as a counter-coup.

Although Bosch himself undoubtedly linked a military conspiracy with the struggle of the masses, the DRP leaders in Santo Domingo did not understand this and for months engaged solely in preparing a military conspiracy, doing nothing to rally the people.

In the process of preparing a counter-coup three main groups of conspirators emerged in the armed forces. One supported the slogan of the masses for the return of Bosch and the restoration of the Constitution; another insisted on overthrowing the regime installed by the coup, forming a junta of young officers and holding free elections; the third was only interested in thoroughly purging the armed forces of smugglers, hired assassins and similar elements, regardless of what government carried out the purge. But under the impact of events, as the conspiracy developed and later in the course of the armed struggle, a large part of the officers realized the need to be in the van of the armed movement which was destined to carry the constitutionalist democratic struggle to completion.

Originally, the movement was conceived only as a coup d'état with democratic aims which would greatly enhance the role of the army as an arbiter in relation to the rest of the national institutions. In other words, even though this

coup would have had a progressive significance, it would have led to the strengthening of an organism which, in the specific conditions of Latin America, would in the long run present a permanent threat to all other state institutions (despite the fact that in the beginning it might have consolidated them for a time).

Developments, however, took a different course.

7. THE ARMED UPRISING BEGINS

Alarmed by the arrest of one of their members, the military conspirators took action earlier than originally planned. On April 24 two infantry barracks mutinied. When the news reached the capital, the entire population poured into the streets in jubilation. The members of our Party and other parties (chiefly the Left) who had opposed the triumvirate also came out. The popular struggle had begun.

From the very outset, however, it was clear that the people would not have as easy a victory as some optimists had predicted. Donald Read Cabral, the chairman of the triumvirate, announcing the mutiny on television, said he had appointed General Wessin commander of the armed forces and member of the triumvirate, and that the rebels had been given until dawn the next day to surrender.

Through the night of April 24, however, the mass movement in the capital continued to mount; the rebel army units now had the backing of the people and entered the city in support of the popular demands. Thus, the patriotic actions of the democratic-minded army-men merged with the action of the working people. What had started out as a military coup became a popular uprising, a revolution of a profoundly democratic nature.

On the morning of April 25 the city was occupied by the rebel units supported by powerful mass demonstrations. It was during the capture of the National Palace that Colonel Caamano, little known until then, distinguished himself by persuading the palace guard not to offer resistance and arresting their officers with their assistance. Shortly after midday Jose Molina Urena, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, was proclaimed acting President pending the return of Bosch.

Continued reports of troops in the province coming over to the side of the rebels were broadcast over the national radio and TV. At the same time, the commander of the air base in San Isidro, under U.S. pressure, refused to adhere to the decision of the people and the rest of the army. A committee of air force officers attempted to persuade the rebel leaders to form a military junta. When this proposal was rejected, the "gorillas" subjected the National Palace and adjacent residential districts to machine gun and artillery fire from air and sea. (A tape recording of the negotiations during which the air attache of the U.S. Embassy issued the order to open fire has been preserved.)

The bombardment of residential districts of

the city continued throughout the following two days (April 26 and 27). U.S. Ambassador Bennet invited Molina Urena and members of his cabinet to the embassy and advised them to ask the U.S. government for "military protection." Molina Urena and the officers accompanying him emphatically rejected the proposal. Caamano strongly objected to this open interference by the U.S. ambassador and the use of threats and provocation. Later on, however, the group which had been invited to the embassy divided. Molina Urena, several officers and almost the entire leadership of the DPR found asylum in the embassies of Latin American countries; Caamano, Montes Arache and a number of other officers went back to the center of the town to organize resistance.

The leaders of the uprising left the National Palace, taking with them the contents of the palace arsenal. Repairs were started on the radio and television station which had been badly damaged by shelling. The masses proceeded to set up a military organization to offer armed resistance.

The constitutionalist military command, consisting of the officers, headed by Caamano, who had decided to offer resistance, published a statement pledging to carry on the struggle until the return of President Bosch and the restoration of the 1963 Constitution. The document, put out in the form of a leaflet, also contained advice of a military nature to the civilian population. Among other things it pointed out that the city could not be captured by air attack. This could only be done by infantry. But the resistance of the people had prevented it from entering and would continue to do so. This leaflet, which gave the masses a general orientation, finally established Caamano as the leader of the struggle. That role was assigned to him not by decision of a political party or on orders from some embassy. It was determined primarily by his actions at the head of the popular resistance. Leaders are not made by impromptu decisions, they are born and gain stature in the course of the mass struggle. Only those political, military and trade union leaders retained their positions who, in the crucible of the battle, proved worthy to hold such positions. The rest were left behind on the rubbish heap of history.

In the course of the fighting in the capital the police barracks were captured along with a considerable quantity of weapons. In the hinterland provinces army units in many places joined the movement under pressure from the masses. There, however, weapons were not distributed to the civilian population on the pretext that the armed forces would protect them from the reactionaries.

The decisive engagement with the "gorillas" on the streets of Santo Domingo was fought on April 28. On that day, twenty-three of Wessin's tanks managed to cross the Duarte bridge, but were later destroyed or captured by the people. The Ozama fortress, the last stronghold of reaction in the capital, was taken at the same time along with a substantial quantity of arms. The people, supported by army

units, thus obtained the wherewithal to continue the struggle. Control over the use of the weapons was established and sentry posts set up. So-called "comandos" were organized for the defense of the city. These were military-political bodies organized at the height of the struggle by political parties, trade unions and other popular organizations in the various districts, streets and separate buildings, and acting within their particular zone as organs of executive power. This was a new and original form of people's power. Headed by those who displayed the most organizational ability and courage in the fighting, the "comandos" represented a wide cross-section of the population, including soldiers and civilians, workers and students, intellectuals and unemployed.

With the destruction of Wessin's tanks and the capture of the Ozama fortress, the military machine of repression set up by the USA in 1942 and subsequently modernized by Trujillo was for all practical purposes abolished. The chief obstacle to the development of the revolution was thus removed and the people directed their efforts toward wiping out the last seat of putschist resistance, the San Isidro military base, where Wessin and the millionaire cutthroats in league with him were hiding to escape retribution for the bombardment of the civilian population. It was at this juncture that the U.S. marines landed.

8. ARMED U.S. INTERVENTION

The repressive machine of Dominican reaction having been smashed by the masses, U.S. imperialists hastened to replace it with their troops in an attempt to check the development of the revolution which threatened to advance beyond the democratic-constitutional demands. "A people which fights so resolutely for democracy cannot be content with simple democracy," said Juan Bosch at the time, speaking in Puerto Rico. The more far-reaching objectives of the movement emerged, needless to say, not by the will of the notorious "group of 56 or 57 Communists." They stemmed from the dialectics of the struggle of the armed masses who within the space of a few days had destroyed the hypertrophied military machine. At the same time, the development of the democratic-constitutional revolution depended (and still depends) on united mass action for immediate objectives and the gradual winning of these objectives.

The political consciousness of our people had risen to the point where they succeeded in launching an armed uprising against their *internal* enemies. They knew who these enemies were and they dealt them defeat after defeat. However, at the moment when the U.S. troops landed, our people were not prepared to offer organized resistance to their main, *external* enemy. The opinion of the fighters differed as regards the object of the U.S. intervention. Many actually believed that the Americans had landed for the purpose of protecting the people from Wessin's air attacks, or to ensure the return of Bosch. It was thanks to this initial

confusion that the USA was able to begin landing troops without immediately encountering the armed resistance of our people.

Only the more politically advanced among the participants in the struggle saw at once the real object of the U.S. intervention. The Communist Party explained the situation to the masses and predicted that events would very soon reveal the true purpose of the U.S. action. That is precisely what happened. Within a few days the interventionists, who had begun by using the "gingerbread" method, handing out corn flour, Coca-Cola and ice cream, took recourse to armed force. Vigorous action on the part of the population of the capital, however, eventually halted their offensive.

At that point, however, the constitutionalist leadership was taken unawares by the proposal for a "cease-fire" and the signing of an "act of reconciliation." In these negotiations the U.S. troops and the remainder of the Dominican reactionary forces, the OAS delegates and the Papal Nuncio represented a bloc of world reaction poised in opposition to the progressive forces of the modern world. One might say that lack of anti-imperialist consciousness which caused the temporary wavering of the masses at the time of the U.S. troop landing was to a great extent reflected in the position of the military-political leadership when it agreed to the cease fire and the establishment of a "safety zone" and a U.S. cordon. The cease-fire and the terms on which it was enforced at this juncture (the precise moment when the revolution was on the ascent, and when a major offensive had been launched against the San Isidro base) only facilitated the penetration of U.S. troops and the rearming of Wessin's forces. At the same time it isolated the revolutionary movement inside the city, with the territory occupied by the constitutionalists, moreover, cut in half by the "international safety zone." The armed uprising now passed from the offensive to the defensive.

This was a serious setback for the movement. Before long, however, when events revealed the real object of the imperialist intervention, the vacillation in the leadership ended.

Around the beginning of May, when the capital, occupied by the constitutionalist forces, was surrounded by U.S. troops, when the entire Dominican people supported the struggle in Santo Domingo and the movement of international solidarity was steadily mounting, negotiations began. (It was at this time that Caamano was elected constitutional President.)

Realizing that the military and political situation at this time did not augur well for their success at the negotiation table, the imperialists decided to change that situation. Around the middle of May, in violation of the cease-fire, they permitted and helped Wessin's forces, newly armed by them, to attack the northern part of the capital. For over a week a bloody and unequal battle was fought in this quarter. The resistance of the defenders of the northern zone was no less heroic than that of the fighters

in the southern part of the town operating later against direct attack by the U.S. forces. But here the situation was complicated by the lack of weapons, terrain affording little cover, and the absence of trenches, anti-tank barriers and well-fortified barricades. Besides, insufficient use was made of guerrilla tactics in courtyards and back alleys. Added to this was the lack of coordination and centralized command, which made itself increasingly felt as the ring of U.S. troops tightened around this sector, isolating it more and more from the neighboring sector where the main leaders were and which was better supplied with arms and reserves. On May 22-23 organized resistance in the northern zone ended. Part of its defenders succeeded in joining up with the main forces of the constitutionalists, but hundreds fell in battle or were shot down in cold blood on the streets by the military.

At the end of May the negotiations were resumed. Representatives of the OAS, the United States' "ministry of the colonies," participated in the talks not as mediators but as spokesmen for imperialism, the oligarchy and the military putschists. (It is not for nothing that the constitutionalists repeatedly appealed to the United Nations to mediate between the OAS and those it represented, on the one hand, and the national-democratic movement on the other.)

At first the constitutionalists went to the talks without any definite plan, and this gave the imperialists and their skilled diplomats certain advantages. However, a plan was finally worked out on the basis of Caamano's "five points" providing for the restoration of the 1963 Constitution, reconvening the National Congress, the participation of democratic leaders in the future government, retention by the constitutionalists of commanding posts in the army and the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops.

Early in June an agreement was concluded on this basis. Understanding was reached on the establishment of a constitutional government headed by Antonio Guzman (a landowner and member of Bosch's party who had held the post of minister of agriculture in his government and had the reputation of being a democrat). Moreover, until then Guzman had been regarded with favor by U.S. officials and by Johnson himself. But the United States government went back on the agreement following the intervention of Thomas Mann and his backers.

The imperialists resorted to diverse maneuvers to wrest further concessions from the constitutionalists. On June 15 and 16, in an effort to secure better bargaining positions, they launched a major offensive in which U.S. troops took part openly for the first time. The people, however, put up a heroic resistance, showing that they were prepared to die fighting rather than permit the "peaceful" occupation of Free Santo Domingo by foreign troops. The imperialists had not expected the consti-

tutionalists to hold out for more than 24 hours, but the fighting continued for 48 hours without abating. After the enemy attack had been halted at the cost of considerable losses for the constitutionalists (nearly 30 per cent of whose territory was captured) a cease-fire was arranged with the help of the United Nations. The U.S. forces lost heavily in the engagement. The valiant resistance offered by the masses in these two days gave fresh impetus (though not immediately) to the international solidarity movement which had begun to wane.

It was thanks to the heroism of the fighting men and also to the lessons of the actions fought in the northern sector of the city that the constitutionalists were able to repulse the enemy in the June 15 and 16 fighting. They had strengthened their defenses, dug trenches, converted ordinary jeeps armed with heavy machine guns (some taken from tanks damaged in the fighting) and protected with sheet steel into makeshift "armored carriers," employed more mobile fire power and made extensive use of anti-tank ditches, mines and other obstacles. Guerrilla tactics too were employed with greater effect. At the same time propaganda conducted among the masses and in the "comandos" strengthened the conviction that the invaders could be driven out provided the people united their forces and waged a resolute struggle.

9. NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IMPERIALISTS

The imperialists called off their offensive because of the armed resistance of the Dominican masses and the growing indignation of people all over the world. Immediately after the fighting of June 15 and 16, however, taking advantage of the new balance of military strength, they advanced proposals which ruled out the possibility of a government being established on the basis of the 1963 constitution and thereby rejected in effect the basic demands of the Dominican people.

After the events of June 15 and 16 it became clear to the U.S. State Department that to score a military victory and to break the resistance of the revolutionaries the constitutionalist sector of Santo Domingo would have had to be reduced to rubble and its defenders and the population generally exterminated. In view of this the offensive, undertaken in the hope of being able to occupy Santo Domingo within the space of a few hours and thereby to face the world with a *fait accompli*, was conceded to be a failure.

The imperialists realized that the total destruction of the constitutionalist sector would only have increased the hatred of the Dominicans for the invaders and their local allies, and lead to the establishment of a military dictatorship and still heavier fighting in the immediate future. The political crisis would have remained as acute as ever with no prospect of stable government. Moreover, a massacre of the constitutionalists would have given new im-

petus to the protest movement in Latin America, in the United States itself, and throughout the world, aggravating the difficulties in which imperialism found itself as a result of the intervention. These considerations strengthened the positions of those sections of the imperialists and their Latin American servitors who advocated negotiations as a tactical move best able to perpetuate their rule in our country and throughout Latin America.

These groups realized that only by means of a compromise with the constitutionalists was it possible to achieve relatively stable government.

On their part the constitutionalists were compelled to negotiate a political settlement inasmuch as it was impossible, so long as they were completely surrounded, to win a military victory over the army of intervention such as that won in April over the San Isidro generals. As the negotiations got under way it also became clear that only complete victory of the revolution (which was made impossible by the U.S. intervention) could have restored the 1963 Constitution with all its implications. To have insisted on this demand as the only acceptable solution to the national crisis would have been tantamount, under the circumstances, to refusal to negotiate and plunging headlong into a frontal military collision with the enemy in a situation favorable to the latter.

In view of this, the constitutionalist government put forward in its talks with the Organization of the American States a counter-proposal which roughly incorporated the project advanced by the U.S. proconsuls and provided for the establishment of a provisional government and elections in nine months' time. At the same time, however, the constitutionalist proposal, reflecting the aspirations of the people who wanted to see democratic freedoms restored and the army of intervention withdrawn at the earliest possible date, called for a revision of many of the stipulations of the original OAS draft. It was underscored that the guarantee of the realization of the popular demands was vigilance and militancy on the part of the people, and certainly not the commitments that might be undertaken by the representatives of an imperialist power notorious for its readiness to go back on its word.

Our Party was fully aware that although negotiations as a way out of the crisis were an expedient forced upon us which did not meet the democratic aspirations of the people, they nevertheless made it possible for the revolutionary forces to fall back in an organized way and escape the imperialist military encirclement with the least losses and under conditions favorable for a subsequent regrouping of forces and renewal of the revolutionary struggle in more propitious circumstances.

In other words, the enemy was able to force the rebels to go over from the offensive to positional defense. Consequently, our political demands too could not remain unchanged. From a popular armed offensive, the highest

form of revolutionary struggle, the movement had to go over to negotiations and political concessions. A compromise became imperative since we could not defeat the enemy on the battlefield. The balance of forces may at times necessitate exceedingly unpleasant compromises, but this is not a reason for despair if the object of the compromise is not surrender but better political and military preparation of the masses for new battles.

"It would be a crime from the standpoint of the defense of the country to engage an immeasurably stronger and better prepared enemy in battle knowing that you do not have an army," Lenin said. "From the standpoint of the defense of the country we are obliged to sign the most onerous, the most oppressive, the most harsh and ignominious peace — not to 'capitulate' to imperialism but to learn and to prepare to fight him in a serious, proper way." It was by this counsel that our Party was guided in giving its support to the constitutionalist government at that grave and trying moment when it was necessary to abandon at the negotiation table demands for which thousands of Dominican patriots had laid down their lives.

At the same time two erroneous approaches crystallized in regard to negotiations and the practical tasks of the movement.

The Right-wing, conservative elements in the movement exaggerated from the outset the military strength of imperialism and underestimated both our ability to resist and the heroism of the Dominican people and other peoples who stood by us against the common enemy. For these elements any resistance to imperialism spelled meaningless sacrifice and defeat; they sowed pessimism and defeatism in the ranks of the fighters. "We must find a way out as soon as possible, we can no longer resist, we must accept what the Yankees propose!"—this was the cry of those with little faith in the masses and the revolution.

On the other hand, the ultra-revolutionaries, those "without a blot on their escutcheon," who would not "enter into any compromise with imperialism or the bourgeoisie," took a diametrically opposite stand, demonstrating their utter lack of understanding of Marxist method. They minimized the military potential of imperialism and argued that no concession should be made to it, for this allegedly meant betraying the revolution. They tried to persuade the masses that the Constitution of 1963 could be restored and the immediate withdrawal of the interventionist troops brought about through negotiation.

The Right-wing opportunists considered imperialism omnipotent and hence pressed for abject submission to its dictates. For the ultra-Left, imperialism was weak and hence it did not have to be taken seriously; these people, reiterating the catchword "we shall remain firm," thought the negotiations could be dragged out endlessly.

The conservative position was shared by the

Right-wing of the DRP and groups of the national bourgeoisie who "privately" took part in the struggle. The leadership of the Revolutionary Social Christian Party published declarations in support of the "untainted" position (i.e., the position that the Constitution afforded the only basis for negotiations) while some of its members spread defeatism in the masses. Eventually, however, this party supported the proposal of the constitutional government.

The Dominican Popular Movement adhered throughout to an ultra-Left stand, rejecting negotiations out of hand. It charged the government and those who supported its proposals with "betrayal" and "conciliation."

The Revolutionary June 14 Movement, although it did not agree with the position of the constitutionalist government, nevertheless did not wish to sow dissension in the masses. It published an ambiguous proposal suggesting that the role of mediator be transferred from the OAS to the United Nations (thereby recognizing the OAS as mediator at the time), yet qualifying both organizations as "instruments of North American neocolonialism." While maintaining that the negotiations should be conducted on the basis of the 1963 Constitution, the June 14 Movement refrained from levelling charges of betrayal and conciliation at those who supported the proposals of the government. Its position was synthesized in the formula: "support for the government but no negotiations." The duality of the Movement's attitude was a reflection of the erroneous understanding of struggle for the purity of political line which prevailed in this organization worthy of the esteem of the Dominican people, an organization with an irreproachable revolutionary record but not always with the correct political orientation.

The negotiations lasted for more than two months, during which period there was no diminution of vigilance or resolve to fight the perfidious enemy who sought to terrorize the civilian population by keeping residential quarters under mortar fire night after night.

More was done during these months for the defense of Free Santo Domingo than on the eve of the actions of June 15-16. New fortifications were built and systematic political work conducted in the "comandos" to forestall the dissension threatened by the spread of Right-wing defeatist attitudes. Mass demonstrations were organized which showed that the people stood firmly behind their sons and daughters who had taken up arms in defense of national sovereignty and democracy. At the initiative and under the leadership of the Revolutionary June 14 Movement, (which came to carry the greatest weight in the armed forces), a military school (April 24 Academy) was established both for the fighting men and unarmed reservists. Until then training for armed action had been given on the go, which cost the movement many unwarranted losses.

All this prepared the masses for the decisive

and inevitable battles to come against the powerful enemy, battles for aims the achievement of which had been checked temporarily by the intervention. These measures strengthened the hand of the constitutionalists at the negotiating table, showing as they did their resolve to repel, at a moment's notice and at whatever cost, any armed offensive the enemy might undertake.

In the course of the prolonged discussion of proposals and counter-proposals, which the enemy deliberately dragged out in the hope of weakening the constitutionalist position, imperialism had to make concessions. Stipulations providing for the restoration of all civil liberties and prohibiting the sale or resale of state property were included in the Institutional Act by which the provisional government was to be guided. At the final phase of the negotiations, when the so-called Dominican Act of Reconciliation was deliberated, an attempt was made to open the doors to immediate political persecution and to empower to this end the "inter-American Peace Force" to confiscate all weapons in the hands of civilians. This move was foiled by the threat of a breakdown in the negotiations. The solution of this delicate problem was finally entrusted to constitutionalist officers, which made it possible to effect an organized retreat. Similarly, agreement was reached to reinstate all constitutionalist officers, including those who had been discharged from the army because of their democratic views before the uprising of April 24.

Our Party maintained that it was extremely important during the negotiations to compel the imperialists to set the exact date for the withdrawal of their troops so as to provide the movement with a basic demand around which the struggle could be continued. However, this aim was not achieved because, firstly, the negotiations followed a pattern laid down by the enemy, with priority given to the search for a candidate for president and examination of the basic issues and concretization of the fundamental commitments left until later. Secondly, the composition of the negotiators on behalf of the movement did not adequately reflect the real sentiment of the armed masses (spokesmen of the Right occupied a disproportionately big place among them). Thirdly, the differences caused by the defeatist attitudes of some and the splitting activities of others afforded imperialism an opportunity to advance more and more demands, whereas the representatives of the movement knew that time was not on their side. There was open disagreement among the negotiators for the movement as to the time limit for the withdrawal of U.S. troops; some wanted to leave the matter to Garcia Godoy, while others insisted on the immediate signing of a document on this question. In the end the more conservative and conciliatory group got the upper hand. But at the same time the movement as a whole reserved the right to carry on the

struggle for its original aims and for the withdrawal of the interventionist troops.

The provisional government was thus created as a result of U.S. intervention, a government completely without the support of the people and the national political forces (with the exception of cases where one or another positive or negative move on its part has the corresponding backing of either progressive or reactionary groups). The Garcia Godoy administration has no army apart from the interventionist troops. This is a new element in the Dominican situation.

10. THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE PERSPECTIVES

After the establishment of the provisional government consolidation of the gains of the April uprising began throughout the country. When the participants in the movement returned from the constitutionalist zone to their own districts campaigns were organized against those government employees who had been involved in the 1963 coup and the subsequent repressions. The workers of the state-owned Azucarera Haina company (the republic's main sugar producer with assets running to \$100 million), by means of a general strike and subsequently by direct mass action, threw out the managers appointed by the triumvirate. The same happened at all other state-owned companies. At the same time workers and office employees dismissed for patriotic activities were reinstated in their jobs.

A few days before the withdrawal of the constitutionalist armed detachments, the political forces supporting the movement began discussing the formation of a united front of struggle for the common aims which still remain to be achieved. There still are differences on this question, and especially as regards the organizational structure of the united front. The Revolutionary Social Christian Party is against any united front with the Communists "on principle" and, though favoring united action, is opposed to organizational unity. The Right wing of the DRP steers clear of any joint statements with the Communists, although it in practice accepted cooperation and united action with them. The more progressive sector of this party is not opposed to unity of all constitutionalist groups. The three Left parties are already working to build a nationwide united front. The differences of a secondary nature among them as regards a common program are being overcome in the course of practical actions.

We believe that the durable popular unity achieved in the recent struggle will make it possible, on the basis of the continued practical development of this struggle, to overcome the existing disagreements. The entire people is ready to fight for the withdrawal of the occupation forces and for the 1963 Constitution. The establishment on this basis of a united front which will give battle to the invaders

and defeat them is today the paramount organizational task of the popular movement.

The chief obstacle to the development of the Dominican revolution is the presence of imperialist troops. Their expulsion by popular action would pave the way to immediate revolutionary changes in the economic structure of the country.

The basic form of struggle essential for defeating the enemy and establishing revolutionary government is armed struggle — not only against the reactionary segment of the army but also against the powerful imperialist aggressor.

The Communist Party is working towards the realization of this momentous immediate task — the expulsion of the U.S troops from our country. At the same time we proclaim as our ultimate aim the building of socialism and communism, the only social system which will abolish exploitation.

The contemporary Dominican scene is marked by a powerful upsurge of mass struggle. The forces of intervention are trying to intimidate the democrats, and clashes take place between troops and demonstrators. Popular feeling is running high. The people remain united in the fight for the original aims of the movement and against the intervention. It may be said that this unity and the heightened political consciousness of the masses are the most important result of the five months of armed struggle.

The oligarchy and its politicians, defeated and lacking mass support, are resorting to ter-

ror and are whetting the dictatorial appetites of some generals. It is not excluded that a naked military tyranny may be installed. Hence it is imperative to combine the struggle to carry further the gains won and to secure the withdrawal of foreign troops with the struggle against putschist schemes.

The terror unleashed by the Right underscores the urgency of organizing self-defense groups. This task has already been tackled. It was begun even before the barricades of the constitutionalist zone were taken down and before its fighting forces returned to their respective districts throughout the country.

For the first time a powerful fight for the land is developing in the countryside. The peasants are demanding division of the latifundia which once belonged to Trujillo and later passed over to the army officers and landlords behind the coup. The arrest of hundreds of peasants in the La Vega area and the emergence of new contradictions among diverse groups of the military with regard to this problem paves the way to the growth of a strong guerrilla movement fighting for the peasants' demands. In the long run this movement is destined to become part of the mustering of the entire people for a new countrywide uprising.

All the maneuvers and aggressive actions of imperialism are encountering the resistance of a people united and ready for battle under the watchword: "Yankees, get out of the Dominican Republic!"

The revolutionary line of the Chilean Communists

THE THIRTEENTH Congress of the Communist Party of Chile, which opened on October 10 in the Hall of Honor of the Chilean Parliament, was a milestone in the life of the Party and a significant and festive event for the masses at large. The best actors, musicians and dancers, both Communists and supporters of the Party, made the opening a popular event by giving a gala performance in the main concert hall of the Chilean capital.

The Congress ended with an overflow rally in the Caupolican Theatre seating over 8,000. A folk art program preceded the speakers.

The festive atmosphere which surrounded the Congress was evidence of the keen interest shown by the people in the activity of the Communist Party.

The popularity of our Party is due to the fact that its political line expresses and upholds the vital interests of the people, to its serious, democratic approach to the complex, burning problems facing the country. All this was once again brought home to the people generally by the Congress, which was preceded by a broad democratic discussion of the theses submitted to the lower organizations of the Party by its Central Committee three months in advance, a month earlier than the minimum stipulated in the Party Rules. The theses were debated at over 4,000 branch meetings, more than 170 meetings of district Party organizations and 30 federation (provincial) conventions. Each member had an opportunity to express his opinions and share his experience in carrying out the line of the Party. On the basis of this fraternal exchange of views general criteria were worked out as the prerequisite of the unity which guarantees correct implementation of Party policy.

The discussion demonstrated once again that our Party stands solidly behind its Central Committee.

The Congress lasted one week. It heard delegates representing the workers of the saltpetre mines (where Recabarren first began building the Party) copper, iron ore and coal miners, oil workers, the lumberworkers of the South, fishermen, dockers and seamen. Speeches were

made by representatives of agricultural laborers and poor peasants—men of labor from the regions adjoining the Strait of Magellan, our Mapuche brothers, delegates of working women and housewives, of settlers, the youth, students, intellectuals and professionals; 72.4 per cent of the delegates were spokesmen of the urban and rural workers, 4.8 per cent of the peasants, 7.8 per cent of handicraftsmen and small producers, 7.4 per cent of intellectuals and professionals, 7 per cent small shopkeepers, and 0.6 per cent students.

The Congress was attended by 35 delegations of fraternal parties, among them the delegations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (headed by Comrade Kirilenko, member of the CPSU Presidium), Communist Party of Cuba, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Bulgarian Communist Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Rumanian Communist Party and Yugoslav League of Communists. From the capitalist countries we had delegations of the Communist parties of Australia, Italy, Spain, Canada, the USA and France, as well as all the parties of the Latin American countries with the exception of Guatemala. The presence of so many representative delegations from fraternal parties was of enormous political significance for us; it was a demonstration of the solidarity and growing unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

The Congress met a year after the advent to power of the Christian Democratic government—a period of time long enough to judge of its performance. As a matter of fact, the Central Committee was guided by this consideration in convening it at this particular time. The Congress showed that the Party's assessment of the new government when it came into office had been fully corroborated by developments. Thus, a correct attitude towards the Christian Democratic government was defined and a tactical line laid down consistent with the strategic aims of the Party program which remains valid for the foreseeable future.

Congress noted the growing aggressiveness

of U.S. imperialism on our continent and the world over, witness the military coup in Brazil, the armed aggression in Santo Domingo, the recent resolution of the U.S. House of Representatives, the continued training of anti-guerrilla units, the attempts to form a continental repressive army, the dirty war designed to stifle the striving of the heroic people of Vietnam for freedom, and other developments.

The Big Stick policy reveals the desperation that has gripped the system doomed by history. At the same time this policy is aimed at ensuring the imperialist plunder of the basic wealth of other countries and, in the case of Chile, primarily of its copper deposits. To this end imperialism does not hesitate to use anti-patriotic military elements who by installing military dictatorships try to arrest the upsurge of the popular movement and to stamp out democratic freedoms.

Imperialism and its policy of aggression are today the biggest danger to the peoples fighting for freedom. Our program points out that North American imperialism and the landlord and finance oligarchy associated with it are the main enemies of the Chilean nation. The Congress therefore called for building a broad patriotic, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-oligarchy front to uphold national sovereignty, civil rights, and the right of nations to self-determination.

The danger of imperialist intervention and pro-imperialist coups is hanging over our country and other Latin American countries. The sole guarantee against this danger is a strong democratic and national-liberation movement and the militancy of the masses.

During the preparations for the Congress and at the Congress itself the results of the activity of the government were summed up and found to be negligible. Those workers who cherished the hope that with the Christian Democrats in power they would be ensured "fair" wages, that unemployment would disappear and that the conditions of the working people generally would substantially improve, are being cruelly disillusioned.

The policy of the government is highly contradictory. In international relations it is against U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, and it defends the principles of non-interference and of self-determination of peoples. It has also given expression to the sentiment of the majority of the Chilean people by establishing diplomatic and trade relations with the USSR and other socialist countries.

On the other hand, however, it gave its endorsement to the agreement with the U.S. copper interests exploiting Chilean deposits under which U.S. imperialism retains control of the country's principal wealth.

Comrade Corvalan, General Secretary of the Party, gave in his report to the Congress the following definition of Christian Democratic policy: "The aim of Christian Democracy is to save capitalism in Chile and bar the way to

the people's revolution and to socialism. Its specific feature is that it is trying to achieve this, not by following the old pattern of reaction, but by using new methods and a new language and attaching particular importance to work among the masses renovating the archaic structure of the country to some extent and bringing about some improvement in the conditions of certain sections of the people."

The central task of the Thirteenth Congress was to elaborate a tactical line conforming to the Party's overall strategy and capable of winning over the masses of our people, all patriots, to support genuinely revolutionary change.

Most of those who voted for Eduardo Frei did so in the belief that he would join in working for the changes the people demanded. Because of this, although the Popular Action Front (FRAP) did not win the elections of 1964 and 1965, its program for revolutionary reconstruction penetrated deep into the masses, resulting in a new correlation of forces favoring the struggle for changes. Consequently, the popular struggle is rising to a new, higher plane. To bring about the necessary changes it is essential that a government of the people, with the working class in alliance with the peasantry and all progressives as its basis, should come to power in Chile. In the final analysis, our country has no other alternative if it is to rid itself of its present backwardness and imperialist domination, take to the path of progress and forge ahead towards socialism.

There are avowedly pro-imperialist and reactionary groups in the Christian Democratic government and party. However, the Christian Democratic rank and file, supporters and electoral following, do not agree with the Right-wing tendencies. And since the Right is gaining the upper hand in the government and since it is not honoring the promises it gave to the people, discontent is mounting among those who voted for it. Moreover, there are growing contradictions within the Christian Democratic party itself as it drifts farther and farther from its election program and the tendency to revert to the old policies gains ground.

The Christian Democratic Party is heterogeneous in class composition. It includes representatives of the latifundists and the oligarchy who have left the Right-wing parties (although not in order to promote any change but to protect their own interests). Also represented in it are various groups of the national bourgeoisie which are seeking to consolidate their positions and whose interests partly conflict and partly coincide with the interests of imperialism. The rank and file consists of the small bourgeoisie, clerical workers, settlers, peasants and workers professing the Christian faith whose class interests—the interests of the exploited classes—are clearly at variance with the positions of the leadership.

In view of this new balance of political forces, the Congress stressed that the demarcation line in our political struggle should be

drawn, not between the government and the opposition, but between the progressive democratic forces both in the government and in opposition to it, on the one hand, and the reactionary pro-imperialist forces which are to be found both in the government and in the opposition, on the other.

We hold that the people should unite to fight for their demands, rejecting all measures of the present government which are not consistent with their interests and supporting those which benefit the working people.

What is needed is a concrete approach to each step of the government, always bearing in mind the interests of the masses. Ours is a party in opposition to the government. But our opposition is constructive. It is dynamic and active, not blind. By taking our place at the head of the masses, in the van of the struggle to resolve their problems, we can unite them and wrest them from the influence of bourgeois ideology.

Christian Democracy and its government issued us a challenge in an attempt to win over the masses and steer them into class collaboration. To achieve this end they have mustered their activists and dipped heavily into economic resources. They are appropriating slogans we put forward long ago and are demagogically copying even our language. Christian Democracy is exerting every effort to win over the working class and the peasantry. But above all—and this is admitted by its own ideologists—it is working to find a way to the semi-proletarian and poorest sections of the population, which are mostly unorganized and politically less developed. The Christian Democrats claim that the urban hovel dwellers, poor peasants, small handicraftsmen, shoemakers, tailors, washerwomen, unskilled laborers and casual workers can themselves do nothing to put an end to their inhuman conditions, that only an external force can guide them and deliver them from their plight. The Christian Democrats argue that only they can be this force. Pursuing a policy of paternalism—mainly by dispensing handouts from the food and clothes surpluses shipped in by U.S. imperialism and by meeting minor demands—they hope to provide a palliative that would keep these sections of the population in hand. By setting up community centers, neighborhood committees, cooperatives and other organizations, the Christian Democrats hope to create the semblance of participation in administrative bodies. All this goes into what the Christian Democrats call “popular advancement.”

We are working among these masses, helping them to see that their demands can be realized only through militant organized action. It is here that the confrontation with the ideological positions of Christian Democracy takes place.

The class limitations of the present government prevent it from effecting the basic changes the country needs. The working people,

however, are not willing to wait for handouts from the government. Important victories have been won through militant actions by many trade unions comprising Communists, Socialists, Radicals and non-party people, and these should be an example to us all. There are many pressing issues which can be resolved by the struggle of the people, such as higher wages and salaries, ending dismissals, halting the growth of the cost of living, etc. Our duty, the duty of the Communists, is to head this struggle, to wrest the masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie and win them over to the positions of the proletariat.

For this it is essential to act with resolution and on as broad a scale as possible in all mass organizations, pursuing the traditional policy of the Party in keeping with the new conditions. Not to be with the masses would mean drifting to sectarian positions and allowing the Christian Democrats to achieve their objectives.

It should always be borne in mind that there are two dangers to avoid: the Left danger, a blind, sectarian approach to every action by the government, and the Right danger failure to discern which would mean stooping to class collaboration. Combating both of these dangers is an indispensable condition for the correct, creative, revolutionary implementation of the policy formulated by the Thirteenth Congress.

Experience has fully proved that when the working class is divided, when the unity of the people is allowed to weaken, imperialism and the oligarchy take advantage of this to strike at the working people and to pursue their reactionary policies.

Basic for building a broad anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy movement is the unity of the working class and the masses generally, the cornerstone of which is the unity of Socialists and Communists. On this score Comrade Corvalan said the following in his report: “We approach this policy of united action from the fundamental premise that unity must be pivoted on the working class, mutual understanding between Socialists and Communists, the cohesion and consolidation of FRAP. We regard it as a means of rallying forces around the proletariat and the Communist and Socialist parties.”

The Congress extended a fraternal welcome to a delegation from the Socialist Party, which conveyed warm greetings and a message expressing the views of this party on the present political situation. Its presence showed that there is in the Socialist Party a desire for unity with the Communist Party. The same spirit with regard to the Socialist Party prevails in our Party. The two parties take the same approach to many internal and international problems. This identity of views has been forged in a long process of joint struggle, in presidential and parliamentary election campaigns and in the day-to-day struggle for the demands of our people.

The message conveyed by the Socialist comrades also dealt frankly with questions on which there are differences—of a tactical rather than

strategic nature. Tactically, the Socialist Party advocates the building of a "working people's front"—a policy which virtually rules out joint actions with broad progressive circles discontented with the oppression of our country by imperialism and the oligarchy.

Our policy calls for a broader approach to the segments of society which should be enlisted in the popular struggle. In working out our tactics, we Communists acted upon Lenin's counsel, applying it to our specific conditions: "The more powerful enemy can be conquered only by exerting the utmost effort, and by *necessarily*, thoroughly, carefully, judiciously and skilfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional."

But these differences notwithstanding, there is much more that unites us with our allies, and by mutual consent the points of difference will be broadly discussed and not allowed to become an obstacle to the day-to-day joint struggle waged by the Communists and Socialists among the masses.

The reactionaries at home and abroad were

already rubbing their hands in anticipation of a rift in Socialist-Communist unity. But their hopes were in vain. For this unity is an instrument of victory in the hands of the people and they will not relinquish it, for they know full well how effective it is.

The Thirteenth National Congress adopted a political line, deeply revolutionary in spirit, shaped in the broad democratic discussion conducted throughout the Party from top to bottom. This is a line founded on the experience of the struggle of the masses and expressing the vital aspirations of our people. We have laid down this line in keeping with the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, creatively applying them to our country's realities. It stems from life itself, and hence the future belongs to it.

The Thirteenth National Congress adopted a conviction that its ultimate goals—the building of socialism and communism—will triumph all over the world. The successful building of communism in the USSR, the growing might of the socialist camp, the strengthening of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the offensive of the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America make it abundantly clear that the determining factor of our time is socialism, towards which all peoples, headed and guided by the working class and its vanguard parties, are advancing.

Jose Gonzales

The people cannot be brought to their knees

Fifth anniversary of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front

FOR MORE THAN 25 years the people of Vietnam have been waging a valiant struggle against imperialist aggression. In July 1954 they triumphed over the French colonialists, following which, thanks to the efforts of the peace-loving nations and governments, peace was restored on the basis of the Geneva agreements.

But the place of the French colonialists in South Vietnam was taken by the U.S. imperialists, who spared neither money nor effort to prevent the implementation of these agreements and to consolidate the puppet regime of Ngo Dinh Diem based on naked terror.

The U.S. government extended lavish economic aid to its stooge, shipped in arms and munitions, sent in more and more military advisers, helped to build up a puppet army and in effect undertook to maintain it. South Vietnam was incorporated in the plans of SEATO, set up by the U.S. military in September 1954. All this was in violation of the Geneva agreements on Vietnam.

Ngo Dinh Diem's puppet army, directed by U.S. advisers, replied with savage repressions and punitive operations to the growing mass movement for strict observance of the Geneva agreements, democratic freedoms and peaceful unification of the country. In conformity with a plan drawn up by the Pentagon, the rural population was herded into concentration camps euphemistically called "strategic villages." Tens of thousands of patriots in the South were killed during the punitive actions.

For the first five years following the Geneva agreements the South Vietnamese patriots employed peaceful forms of struggle to achieve their aims. But the rampant reaction and reign of terror compelled them to take to arms in defense of their lives, the gains of the August revolution and their country's independence. The democratic forces were confronted with the urgent need to establish a united body to direct the popular struggle against the Saigon

rulers and U.S. imperialism, now directly engaged in aggression. The South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, which enjoyed the support of broad sections of the people and all progressive organizations, from the outset, thus came into being. It includes three parties, the National Revolutionary, Radical Socialist and Democratic, the Working People's and Peasants Associations for the Liberation of South Vietnam, and other social, national and religious organizations, nearly 30 in all.

As at the time of its foundation, now too the basic aim of the National Liberation Front is to overthrow the pro-American puppet regime, to expel the U.S. invaders, and to establish an independent democratic state pursuing a policy of peace and neutrality.

"The South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, which voices the aspirations of the 14 million inhabitants of the country, is firmly resolved to carry the fight to the end," Nguyen Hiu Tho, Chairman of the Presidium of the Front, declared. "It is prepared to make any sacrifice in the struggle to achieve its four aims: independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. We shall not lay down arms until these aims are reached." The Front holds that the problem of the unification of the country can be resolved only by the people of both of its parts, without foreign interference.

The National Liberation Front is now the sole legitimate representative of the embattled South Vietnamese people. It controls four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam. Governmental power in the liberated areas is in the hands of local Front committees, which guide both economic and cultural life and carry out democratic reforms. By summer 1965 peasants with little or no land had received a total of more than two million hectares confiscated from traitors and collaborationists. More than 20,000 mutual aid groups with a membership of nearly 500,000 peasants have been set up in the villages. Much attention is

paid to the education of children and teaching the illiterates to read and write. School curricula have been unified and the publication of text-books begun. The organizations of the Front publish 40 newspapers and 17 journals as well as other publications. The Front has official representatives in a number of countries and enjoys the support of many international organizations.

The puppet rulers of South Vietnam, on the contrary, are in complete political isolation. This is evident if only from the fact that in the two years following the downfall of Ngo Dinh Diem Saigon has seen ten governments come and go. Not one of them was able to survive more than two months, and some lasted only a few days. The present ruler, Nguyen Kao Ky, feels so insecure that he has begun to invoke the ghost of Hitler, declaring that four Fuehrers, if not more, are needed to stabilize things in South Vietnam. None of the Saigon governments has represented anyone in the country; they have been maintained by and have served only the invaders. Clearly, then, they cannot lay claim to the slightest measure of legitimacy. Nothing could be more groundless than the U.S. imperialists' claim that they are in South Vietnam to help the "lawful" government.

As a matter of fact, Washington has long ceased to place any confidence in the Saigon stooges and their army. This explains why it has taken over the whole burden of the war. During the past month alone the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam increased by 30,000, to 161,000. Moreover the methods of warfare are the most savage. The U.S. forces are taking a direct part in "mopping up" operations, burning peaceful villages, slaughtering the population, and destroying crops and cattle. B-52 strategic bombers are used against densely populated areas. The most inhuman means of war-

fare, such as gas and other toxic agents, are used, and preparations are under way for germ warfare. For this purpose a U.S. bacteriological and chemical warfare research center has been transferred from Japan to South Vietnam.

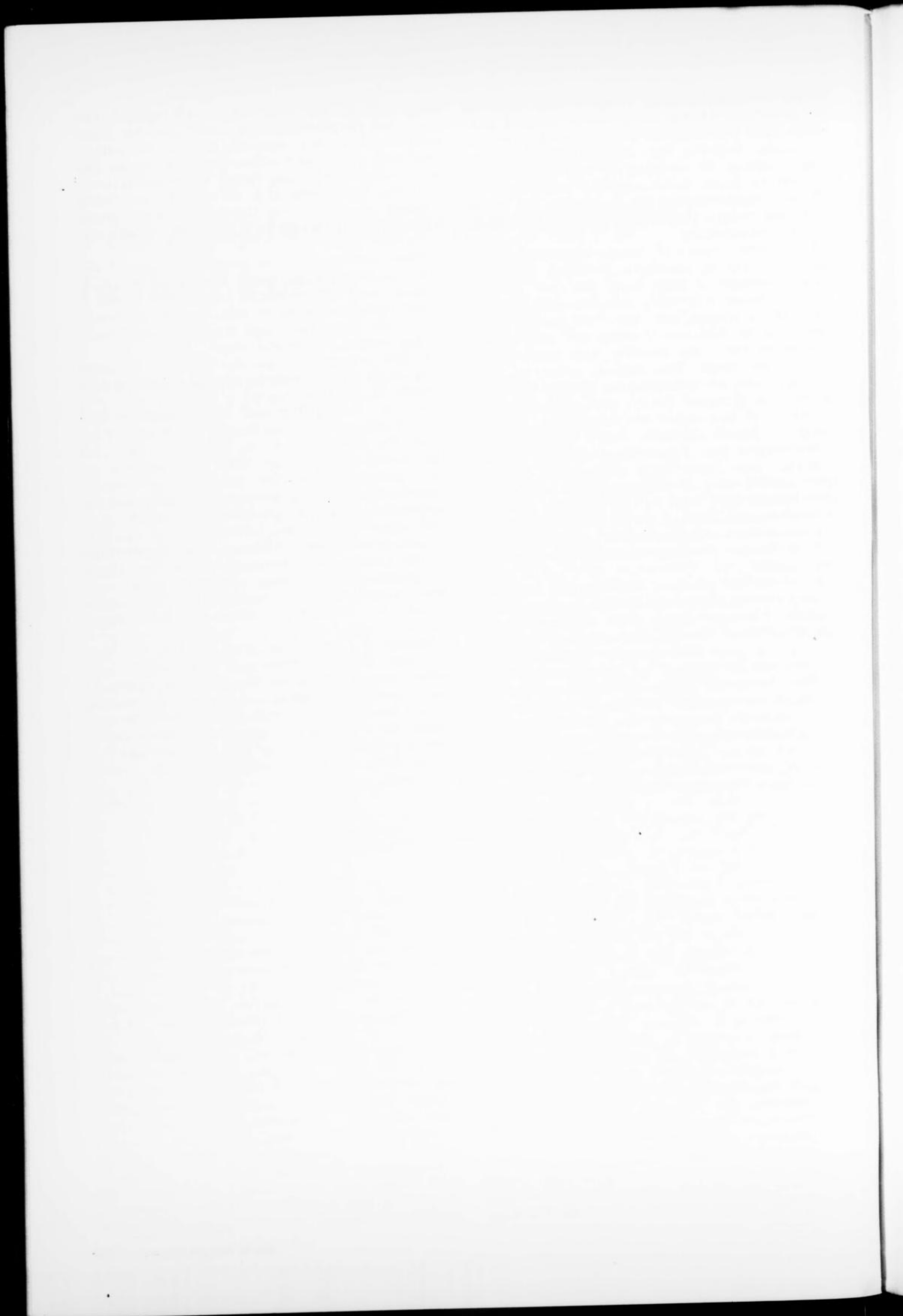
At the same time U.S. air attacks are being stepped up against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam even though it is an independent and sovereign state.

These outrages are a gross violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indochina, the U.N. Charter and international law. They create a grave threat to peace in this area of the world and evoke the protest and indignation of peace-loving people the world over.

People everywhere can see that the National Liberation Front, which in its Memorandum of March 22, 1965, advanced a realistic and just basis for ending the war in Vietnam, is the only representative authority in South Vietnam. The proposals of the National Front and the government of the DRV are founded on the principles of the Geneva agreements: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and the territorial integrity of Vietnam. These principles presuppose the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam, the dismantling of the foreign military bases established there, cessation of the bombing of the DRV territory, and recognition of the right of the Vietnamese people to order their internal affairs themselves.

Despite its huge military build-up in Vietnam, the U.S. government is increasingly compelled to reckon with the growing might of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the DRV, with the resolute support given the Vietnamese people by the socialist camp, and with world public opinion which is demanding an immediate end to the aggressive war.

L. SUMAR



WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

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The heroic epic of Santo Domingo

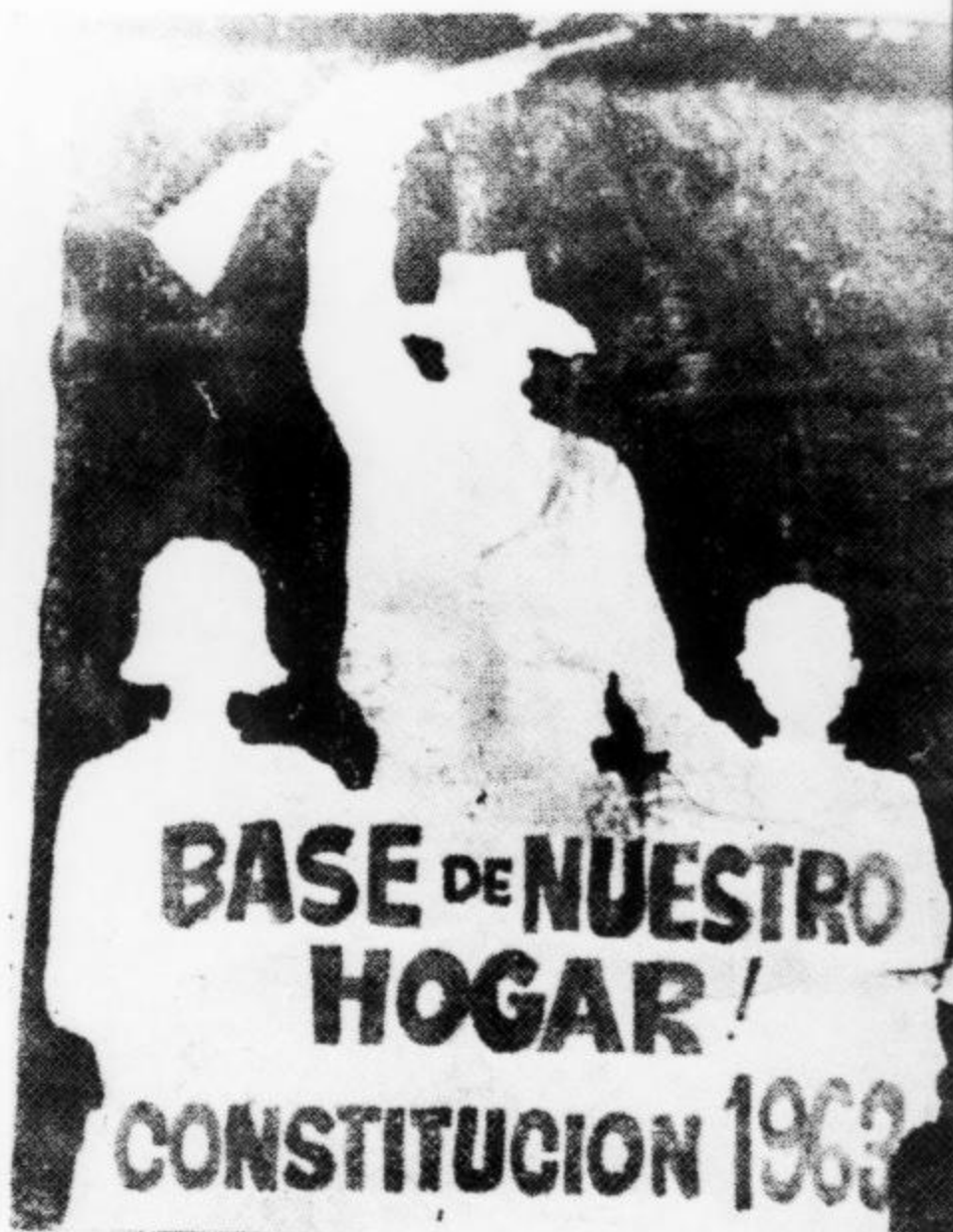
PHOTOS TO ARTICLE "REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND ITS LESSONS."



Parade of armed fighting men held on Aug. 16, 1965, to mark the anniversary of the restoration of national independence.



The armed people chalked their signature "pueblo" on the front of this tank captured from the reactionary military.



A poster calling for the restoration of the 1963 Constitution.



He defended the freedom and independence of his country.

"PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"



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