

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Program of Peace and Socialism

In this issue:

Twenty-third congress of the CPSU

**Program of struggle for democracy,
against monopoly**

—Gus Hall

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GREETINGS

to all readers of our magazine on May 1,
the day of international solidarity of the
working people of the whole world!

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

**World Marxist
Review
problems of peace
and socialism**

Theoretical and
Information Journal
of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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The banner of unity unfurled at the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU

The Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held from March 29 to April 8, 1966, discussed the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, endorsed the work of the Central Committee and the proposals and conclusions contained in the Report, examined and approved the Directives for the Five-Year Plan for 1966-70, on which A. N. Kosygin reported, introduced partial amendments in the Rules of the Party, and elected its leading committees.

The Twenty-Third Congress examined fundamental questions of the Party's political, economic, ideological and organizational activity, summarized the results of the valiant labor of the people, collectively charted the main trend of internal policy for the next five years, and the foreign policy of the Party and Government.

The Congress was attended by delegations of Marxist-Leninist and national-democratic and Left socialist parties from 86 countries. The foreign delegations made a big contribution to the work of the Congress: representatives of 67 parties addressed it and it received greetings from another 21 parties. The call to promote unity of the socialist community of nations and the Communist movement rang out at the Congress. Both the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the foreign delegations spoke of the need to overcome the differences and to unite all the anti-imperialist forces. The participation of foreign delegations in the work of the Congress was a striking manifestation of revolutionary working class solidarity; it again demonstrated that the ties of brotherhood and friendship between Communists, between all revolutionary forces, are indissoluble.

In their addresses and greetings the visitors spoke of the great contribution made by the CPSU to the fight of the peoples for communism, of the fidelity of the Leninist party to the revolutionary cause and to proletarian internationalism. They expressed their parties' viewpoints on the international significance of the Congress, on the perspectives of the revolutionary world process, on the cardinal problems of the fight for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Delegates and visitors alike emphatically demanded an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the withdrawal of all interventionist troops. The Congress Statement on U.S. aggression in Vietnam stressed that "in escalating the disgraceful war against the people of Vietnam, the aggressor will encounter increasingly greater support for Vietnam from the Soviet Union and its other socialist friends and brothers."

Beginning with the current issue we shall print excerpts from the addresses by the heads of delegations and articles received from some of the delegations.

WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

First Secretary, Polish United Workers' Party

THE TWENTY-THIRD Congress of the CPSU, which is leading the people of the Soviet Union in their historic march to communism, is a noteworthy event not only in the political life of your great country. It is an event of world significance attracting the attention of the international working-class movement, the national-liberation forces and public opinion in all countries.

In our time, a time of historical upheavals and revolutionary changes, a time when the working people in many countries are already building the new socialist system, when the old colonial system has disintegrated and the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa have awakened to an independent life, and when the issue of war and peace has become a life-or-death matter for whole nations, the Soviet Union stands as the bulwark and champion of man's aspirations for emancipation, socialism and peace.

You are holding your Congress at a time of greatly increased international tension. Together with you and all other peace supporters throughout the world, we are concerned about the policy of aggression pursued by the United States which, having assumed the role of world gendarme of capitalism, is stepping up its dirty war against the people of Vietnam, bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and resorting to armed intervention against movements for independence and progress in other parts of the world.

The policy of force, of armed intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, must be ruled out in international relations. Today it is clear to all that the attempt to resolve the issue of Vietnam by means of bombs, napalm and terror is doomed.

Our Party and the people of Poland are at one with their Vietnamese brothers. Together with the other socialist countries, Poland has extended and will continue to extend moral and material aid to embattled Vietnam.

More than ever before the international situation calls for the unity and cohesion of all socialist forces and socialist countries, of all Communist and Workers' parties in the struggle against imperialism on the international arena.

This unity has always been the basic condition for the success of our activity, of our peace effort, the main lever of action and of

influence of the socialist countries, on world developments.

Joint aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and cooperation in its defense, the cooperation of all socialist forces and all Communist and Workers' parties in helping to repel the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, are the central issue around which we should build up this unity today.

Our Party welcomes and approves the resolve expressed in Comrade Brezhnev's report to work for the unity of all anti-imperialist forces—the great world front striving to avert a new world war and to maintain peace and respect for national sovereignty.

In Europe the fight to safeguard peace is handicapped above all by the aggressive policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, by its cold war policy reaffirmed in the Bonn government's recent Note to the governments of other countries, including the socialist countries. Bonn, which seeks a revision of the present western frontier of Poland and is striving under cover of hypocritical shibboleths about German reunification to abolish the German Democratic Republic, a peace-loving German state, is pursuing a policy endangering peace, a policy which no amount of "peacemongering" can disguise.

Our Party fully subscribes to the stand taken in Comrade Brezhnev's report on the German question and on the issue of promoting peaceful relations in Europe.

To maintain peace in Europe means resisting any attempt to put nuclear weapons in the hands of the West German militarists, directly or indirectly. It also means firmly upholding the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic.

The forces of socialism, the national-liberation movement and the peace movement throughout the world are in a position to thwart the aggressive designs of imperialism anywhere. But for this it is essential to have unity of action, to put aside all that divides the great anti-imperialist front of our time and to concentrate on that which unites it.

The socialist countries and the world Communist movement as a whole have in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of the eighty-one parties an ideological platform for this cooperation.

Our Party, like the CPSU and other brother

parties, stands foursquare on the principles of those historic documents.

The working people of the world follow with keen interest the achievements of the Soviet Union in building communism, for which the Directives for the current five-year plan, now on the agenda of this Congress, constitute a new and distinctive stage. The Directives provide for a more rapid rise in the living standard and in economic growth of the Soviet Union, whose economic might is the foundation of the might of the commonwealth of socialist countries.

We hail the remarkable achievements of the USSR in outer space. It is symbolic that the sons of the world's first country of the victorious socialist revolution were the first to soar into outer space, the first to land a Soviet rocket on the moon, and the first to reach other planets with their rockets.

Our people and the working people and progressives all over the world are proud of your manifold achievements.

The five-year plan Directives which your Congress is about to discuss are of immediate and great importance to our country. The economic progress of the Soviet Union, with which Poland is linked by all-inclusive economic cooperation, is a vital factor for the economic advancement of our country. Our Party sets great store by Polish-Soviet economic cooperation which it regards as a component of the economic cooperation with other socialist countries within the Council of Mutual Economic Aid.

The brisk trade between the countries of our community, coordination and specialization in industry, joint investments and joint technical and scientific measures are vital to the development of each socialist country. Undoubtedly, further dynamic progress of the socialist countries necessitates still closer cooperation, a more judicious division of labor, more extensive economic relations between our countries, and close cooperation and mutual aid in the interest of scientific and technological progress.

Our two parties are closely linked by bonds of fraternal solidarity and cooperation. The deep friendship and alliance welding our peoples are products of the revolutionary tradition of struggle of the working class of both countries. They were sealed in victorious battles against the fascist invader and further strengthened through fraternal cooperation and mutual aid over the past twenty years. Last year we reaffirmed this by renewing the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Aid and Cooperation, which guarantees the inviolability of Poland's Oder and Neisse frontier, confirms the indestructible fraternal friendship and alliance of our two countries and peoples, and is a decisive factor for peace and security in Europe.

Today we are united by a common stand on all the key issues of international politics and by the deep and unshakable community of aims and aspirations stemming from a common ideology, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine by which we are guided in all our work.

WALTER ULBRICHT

First Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of Germany

We feel confident that the Congress of the CPSU and its decisions will contribute in large measure to the development of the Soviet Union and greatly influence the balance of world forces in favor of socialism.

The U.S. imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam fighting courageously for freedom is leaving a definite imprint on the deliberations of this Congress, whose attention is focussed on such problems as the safeguarding of peace, the cultural advancement of mankind, and peaceful cooperation among nations. We see here a vivid indication of the fraternal solidarity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people and of the friendly Communist

and Workers' parties and socialist countries with the people of Vietnam and their gallant struggle.

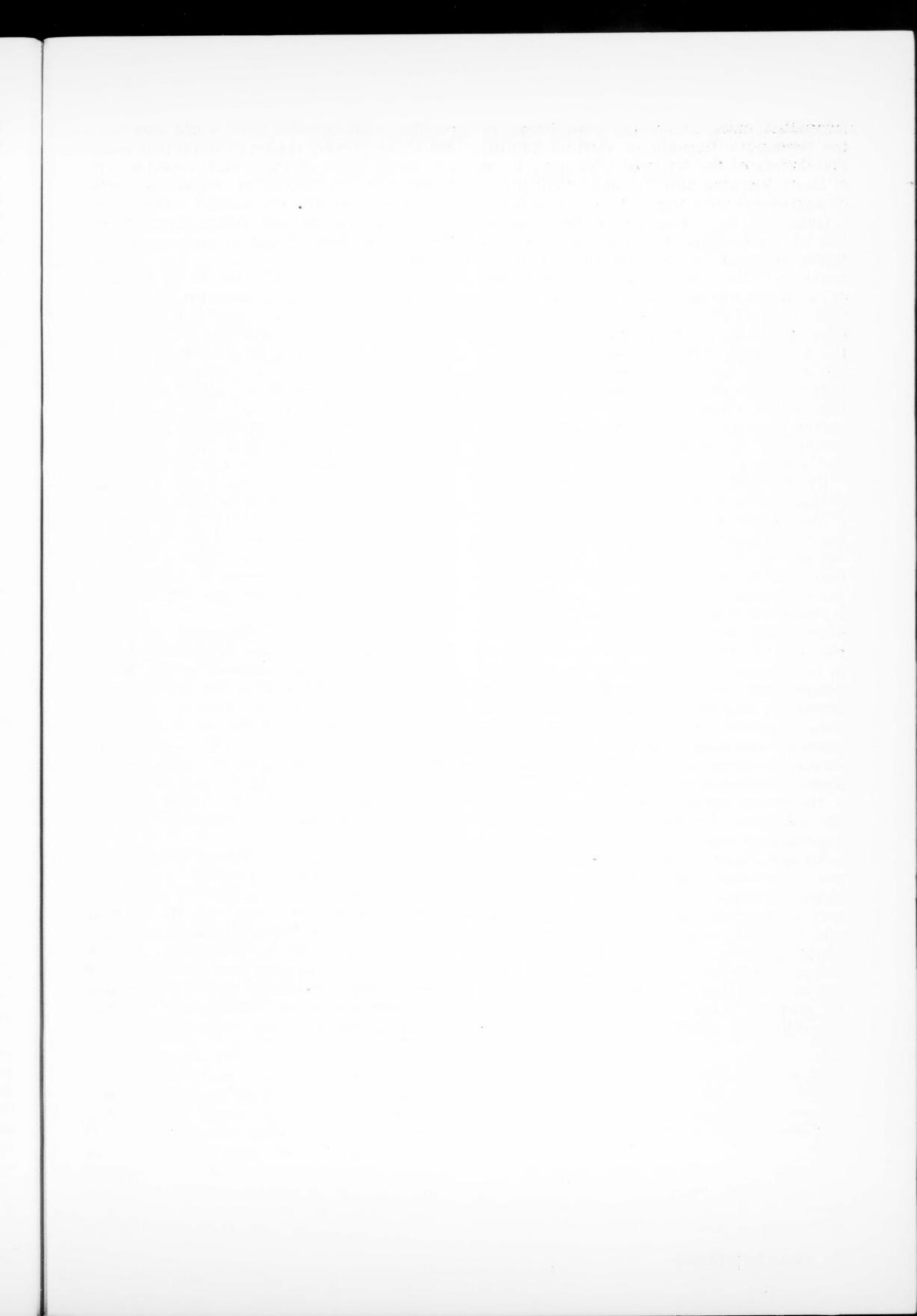
We know that this solidarity goes beyond words. And we are grateful to the Soviet Union, which, inspired by proletarian internationalism, renders so much aid to the fraternal people of Vietnam. We also appreciate the patient effort of the Central Committee of the CPSU in promoting cooperation between the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties, an effort which is so very necessary for repelling aggression and for the victory of our common cause. We fully support this effort.

Since European peace is gravely imperilled

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1968



imperialists must accept the Four Points of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Five Points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, must renounce their policy of aggression with regard to our country.

Ours will be a long and bitter struggle. But we are confident that the support of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries of the socialist camp and the peoples of the world will enable our people to achieve final victory. I take this opportunity to express deep gratitude to the Communist Party, to the government and the great people of the Soviet Union for their tremendous aid to our people. Allow me also to express deep gratitude to the fraternal socialist countries, the brother parties, the working class and the peoples of all countries for their sympathy and support in the just struggle of our people.

Recent years have witnessed important changes in the international situation in favor of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace. Imperialist attempts to halt the world revolutionary movement have been defeated. The socialist world system is increasingly becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. The world Communist movement is growing. It fully retains its important role in the struggle of the working class and the peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the struggle of the people against colonialism and neo-colonialism has assumed a large scale and has dealt heavy blows to colonialism.

The world revolutionary movement is on the offensive, forcing the imperialists and international reaction onto the defensive.

Though faced with mounting difficulties, the imperialists, led by the United States, refuse to retreat. They launch a war in one part of the globe, carry out coups in another and try hard to do injury to the socialist countries, raise obstacles in the way of the national-liberation movement and the international working-class movement. They try to preserve capitalist rule, and pursue a neo-colonialist policy to recapture their lost

positions and establish their world dominion. But we have every reason to affirm that today the world forces of peace and revolution are superior to the forces of imperialism and war. They can foil the sinister conspiracies of the imperialists and defeat them should they be reckless enough to unleash a new world war.

That is why the fight for world peace is the prime task of the Communist and Workers' parties. At the same time it is necessary to press forward the revolution for the emancipation of the working people and all oppressed peoples. These two tasks are closely interlinked and should be carried out simultaneously, which is the only way to stay the criminal hand of the imperialists in this or that area and prevent them from starting a world war. Hence the only correct line today is to unite all the revolutionary forces in order to frustrate the aggressive policies of the imperialists headed by the USA, force them to retreat step by step, and wrest from them one position after another. This is the only way to thwart their schemes and actions aimed at unleashing war, the only way to preserve world peace.

As for us Vietnam Communists, we assure you that we will be loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960. We assure you that we will bend all our energies to consolidate the socialist camp and the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to rally the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The CPSU and the Soviet people have glorious revolutionary traditions and are inspired by the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism. We trust that the Communist Party and the Soviet people, prompted by these traditions and by proletarian internationalism, will complete the building of the material and technological base of communism and contribute to the maintenance of peace and the promotion of the world revolution.

WALDECK ROCHET

General Secretary, French Communist Party

In our country, as everywhere else in the world, the congresses of the party of Lenin are regarded as events of major international significance.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the subsequent experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union are the proof that the working class can build socialism, a society in which exploitation of man by man has been abolished forever, and where everything is done in the name of human happiness. The achievements of the Soviet Union are of inestimable value for the international working-class and democratic movement.

The working people, honest-minded men and women the world over, particularly appreciate the fact that the might of the USSR is placed in the service of peace and the independence of nations. The people of France are grateful to the people and the government of the Soviet Union for their indefatigable efforts to avert a world nuclear war, to ease world tension and halt the arms race, for genuine peaceful coexistence and respect for the independence and sovereignty of all states.

Our people are grateful to the Soviet Union for the powerful support it is rendering the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and particularly to the heroic people of Vietnam in their struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

Recent events, and in particular the response evoked by the part played by the Soviet Union in the Tashkent meeting, showed how greatly the prestige won for your country by its policy of peace and national independence has grown.

Following your example, the Communists in France are fighting for the happiness of their people.

Our country is living through a period of sharp economic and political conflicts; strikes and demonstrations are increasing.

More and more workers and democrats are calling for a change in political orientation, in other words, for abolition of the regime of personal power and the establishment of genuine democracy which would make it possible to pursue a policy of social progress.

In these circumstances the main concern of our Party is to achieve the unity of the

working class and alliance of all democratic and progressive forces in order to put an end once and for all to the domination of the capitalist monopolies.

Our Party is fully conscious of its responsibility for peace and the interests of France. It is fighting for a genuine policy of national independence and peaceful coexistence aimed at ensuring lasting peace and relieving the peoples of the heavy burden of military expenditure.

We have taken a firm stand from the very outset against the U.S. *diktat* imposed on our country and the dangerous consequences with which it is fraught. We support the idea that the simultaneous dissolution of military blocs would be the most effective way to ensure a relaxation of world tension, safeguard the security of all European states and preserve peace.

We believe that it is in the interests of France to pursue a policy of cooperation with the socialist countries and with other countries.

The changed balance of forces on the world arena in favor of socialism and the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions have impelled the French government to take steps toward extricating our country from American tutelage and adopting a more realistic policy of international cooperation.

This is the real reason why General de Gaulle decided on France's withdrawal from the Atlantic Alliance, despite his assurances of loyalty to that organization.

While vigorously opposing the regime of one-man rule, we support all measures, whatever the motives behind them, aimed at safeguarding peace and national independence which is what we have always advocated.

Together with all our people, we also welcomed the announcement that the President of the French Republic will visit your country in June.

Good economic, cultural and political relations between France and the Soviet Union accord with the interests of both our peoples, the interests of security in Europe and the cause of world peace.

At the same time, we are combating other important aspects of Gaullist foreign policy, specifically the establishment of a nuclear striking force which, without safeguarding

WALDECK BOCHT

Walden-See, 1. April 1904

Die Natur ist so schön, so friedlich, so still. Die Bäume stehen so stolz, die Blumen so zart. Die Vögel singen so lustig, die Fische so still. Die Sonne scheint so hell, der Mond so hell. Die Sterne blinken so hell, die Nacht so hell. Die Luft ist so frisch, der Wind so hell. Die Erde ist so grün, der Himmel so hell. Die Welt ist so schön, so friedlich, so still. Die Natur ist so schön, so friedlich, so still. Die Bäume stehen so stolz, die Blumen so zart. Die Vögel singen so lustig, die Fische so still. Die Sonne scheint so hell, der Mond so hell. Die Sterne blinken so hell, die Nacht so hell. Die Luft ist so frisch, der Wind so hell. Die Erde ist so grün, der Himmel so hell. Die Welt ist so schön, so friedlich, so still.

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al work of the Party, to deepen the socialist and internationalist outlook of the working people if we want it to become an effective motive force of social development.

In shaping our policies, we take account of Czechoslovak conditions while at the same time bearing in mind the possibilities and requirements of mutually advantageous and useful cooperation between the socialist countries, the objective need to extend the international socialist division of labor and

scientific and technological cooperation. This process will undoubtedly benefit the entire socialist commonwealth.

I would like to stress here that in all we are doing we have the understanding and the support of the CPSU and the Soviet people, and we appreciate this.

We see political, economic and allied cooperation with the Soviet Union as the fundamental factor in the progress of our socialist society.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

General Secretary, Rumanian Communist Party

The people of Rumania heartily rejoice in the outstanding achievements of the peoples of your country in developing industry, in establishing a material and technical base for agriculture, and in raising the material and spiritual standards of the people—in every sphere of social activity. The deepgoing changes that have taken place in the economy, and the rapid expansion of the productive forces have transformed the Soviet Union into a socialist country possessing enormous economic power, into a major industrial world power.

The outstanding success in space exploration, in utilizing nuclear energy, in rocketry and other areas of decisive importance for civilization has advanced the Soviet Union to a foremost place in world science and technology.

These gains are the fruit of the devoted creative effort of the people, of the vast organizing and political work done by your tried and tested Communist Party. They are a big contribution to the economic, political and military power of the socialist world system, and help in large measure to increase the influence of socialism and other forces of progress in the world.

By deciding on the Directives for the new five-year plan and specifying the tasks of developing the country, the Congress of the CPSU opens up inspiring vistas for continued economic growth, for science and culture, for social life as a whole, for your steady advance to communism, for the good of the people of the Soviet Union, for socialism and peace.

The people of Rumania, who have completed an important stage in building socialist society, recently summed up the considerable

results achieved in industrialization, in reorganizing agriculture along socialist lines and in raising the standard of living. Today they are working to fulfil the program for the all-round development of the country drawn up by the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party. Our Party, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of Rumania, and drawing on its experience, is steadily improving its guidance of the economy, scientific research, education, and other areas of activity.

While continuing the industrialization, the base on which the national economy rests and on which the standard of living improves, our Party is devoting special attention to agriculture, to its technical re-equipment, to better guidance of this branch in keeping with the increased demands facing us at the closing stage of the building of socialism. With a view to ensuring that the peasants take a greater part in managing agriculture and to extending cooperative democracy and socialist democracy generally, district and regional unions of agricultural production cooperatives were set up by decision of the Central Committee of our Party, and recently a congress of peasant cooperators established the National Union of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives.

Not long ago we held our Party Congress. The results achieved so far, and the people's devoted effort in putting Congress decisions into effect show that the tasks set are realistic and are in keeping with the country's vital needs. They are an earnest of the fulfilment of the new five-year plan, of socialist Rumania's further progress.

Solid relations of friendship and alliance, comradely cooperation in economy, techno-

logy, science and culture are developing between the peoples of Rumania and the Soviet Union. Fraternal relations between the RCP and the CPSU, exchange of the experience gained in building the new social system, and mutual consultations and visits by delegations are the order of the day. The visit which a Rumanian Party and Government delegation paid your country not long ago, talks with Party leaders and statesmen of the Soviet Union, and meetings with the public made for closer friendship between our parties, countries and peoples in the interests of socialism and peace.

While regarding friendship and fraternal alliance with all socialist countries as the pivot of its foreign policy, the Socialist Republic of Rumania promotes cooperation with other countries irrespective of social system.

International cooperation and peace call for adherence to the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, the sacred right of every nation to shape its own destiny and to take the political, economic and social road of its choice. True to these principles, our country condemns the actions of the aggressive imperialists who meddle in the internal affairs of other countries, resort to pressure and conspiracy, encroach on the independence and the gains of peoples and endanger peace. The Party and the Government of our country demand an end to the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and respect for the Geneva agreements. They support the just struggle of the people of Vietnam for the freedom and independence of their country.

Comrade Brezhnev's report, noting the increased aggressiveness of imperialism head-

ed by the U.S. imperialists and the danger this spells for peace, stressed the resolve of the CPSU to work for the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement on the basis of equality, the independence of each party, non-interference in internal affairs, Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

In all continents there are mighty forces fighting for democracy, social progress and world peace, against imperialist plans of aggression. Unity of the socialist countries, the world Communist and working-class movement and other anti-imperialist forces is an essential condition for the success of this fight.

Experience shows that to achieve and promote this unity, it is of decisive importance for parties and leaderships always to apply the basic standards of relations between brother parties, to discuss matters of common interest sincerely, in a spirit of comradeship and mutual respect.

Our Party considers that the difficulties in the Communist movement are not insurmountable, and that it is not too late to prevent—through persevering and patient efforts by all the parties conscious of their responsibility—aggravation of the differences and split, and to preserve the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement. Convinced that the common interests and aims uniting the Communist parties under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism outweigh and are stronger than any difference of opinion, the Rumanian Communist Party will continue to work for the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement.

JANOS KADAR

First Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

The Soviet people, blazing the trail for mankind and overcoming unparalleled difficulties, are advancing steadily towards their goal, the Communist society. The vast achievements of the Soviet Union have, justifiably, won the admiration of all progressives. Landmarks on this historic path were the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And the present Twenty-third Congress, which we wish every success, will undoubt-

edly mark the beginning of a new and inspiring upsurge.

The Congress is meeting in a complex international situation. Historically speaking, the days of imperialism are numbered, while the might of the socialist world system, the liberation struggle of the peoples, the influence of the Communist parties and progressive movements everywhere are on the upgrade. At the same time, tension is mounting in the world as the imperialists, conscious

of their approaching doom, intensify their aggressive actions. This applies primarily to U.S. imperialism which is continuing its aggression against the people of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Hence it is necessary to display vigilance, to unite the anti-imperialist forces, and render effective aid to Vietnam and the other peoples subjected to attack.

Proceeding from this, the People's Republic of Hungary is constantly strengthening its unity and cooperation primarily with the Soviet Union, and with the other socialist countries on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements. We stand for a greater effectiveness of the two international bodies which play an important role in safeguarding socialism and peace—the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council of Mutual Economic Aid.

We condemn the American aggression against the people of Vietnam and insist that it be terminated; we extend a helping hand to our embattled Vietnamese brothers and to other nations fighting against the imperialists. We believe that the imperialists will come to grief, that world war can be averted, because the combined strength of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the peoples fighting for freedom and the progressive movements, are invincible.

As regards the state relations between socialist and capitalist countries, while supporting the revolutionary forces fighting against imperialism, we uphold and steadfastly pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence based on respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and observance of the principles of mutual benefit.

The fact that the striving for unity on the part of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement is being hampered by disrupters complicates the international situation, retards the advance of socialism and plays into the hands of imperialism. The Socialist Workers' Party in Hungary, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is combating pseudo-Left adventurism, nationalism, anti-Sovietism, revisionism and all other pernicious trends, and we are convinced that the idea of unity will triumph.

There is complete accord between our Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the matter of principles and policy, and we welcome the opportunity to reaffirm this at the Twenty-Third Congress, and, on behalf of the Hungarian Communists, to greet the representatives of the world Communist movement gathered in this hall. We will continue to wage our struggle, strong in the

knowledge that life has confirmed the correctness of the general strategic line of the international Communist movement elaborated by the Moscow meetings of the fraternal parties in 1957 and 1960, and that this line will continue to serve as an effective weapon for the revolutionary forces throughout the world.

We are convinced that if on this basis we continue our fight for international unity, our efforts will be crowned with success and by acting in this way we shall best serve the cause of socialism, national independence and peace.

The Soviet Union rendered the people of Hungary international aid by liberating them from the Hitler fascists and extricating them from the war imposed on Hungary by Hitler; it helped to put down the counter-revolutionary insurrection and is now helping us in our peaceful constructive labors. The help rendered us by the Soviet people has not been in vain. True, we have our problems, and many of them, but the important thing is that the people's government in Hungary is firmly established, we are forging ahead economically and culturally, are working to complete the building of socialist society.

The domestic policy of our Republic is aimed at upholding and consolidating people's rule and extending socialist democracy. We aim to unite all the forces that are ready to accept socialism as the cause and the objective of the nation.

Today the Soviet Union and Hungary are linked by bonds of friendship, cooperation, sound allied relations based on identity of ideas and aims. These bonds do not depend on the weather, they are not of a seasonal nature, they are solid, eternal and conditioned by history. Our parties, our countries, and our peoples will continue to march together along the road of Marx, Engels, Lenin, the road of socialism and communism, to final victory.

The eyes of the world, both friends and enemies, are today focused on Moscow, on the Kremlin, where this congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is taking place. All who are fighting for a just cause, all the oppressed and those subjected to aggression, all who are concerned for the cause of peace, look to this Congress with hope and anticipation. And this is understandable. Understandable too is the hatred with which the enemies of Communism regard the Soviet Union. On the other hand, there are, strangely enough, others who, while calling themselves "true" Marxist-Leninists, are trying to stir up anti-Soviet feeling. Hungari-

an Communists believe that a principled, comradely attitude to the Soviet Union has always been and remains the touchstone of internationalism. There never was and never will be such a thing as anti-Soviet communism.

That is what our delegation means when

it declares that the Hungarian Communists are in full and unconditional solidarity with their Soviet comrades. We have heard the report of the Central Committee delivered by Comrade Brezhnev. Our delegation agrees with the general political line set forth in that report and the tasks posed in it.

LUIGI LONGO

General Secretary, Italian Communist Party

The working people are following your Congress with keen interest. They know that its decisions will be a major contribution to the struggle for peace and the further advance of socialism in your country and throughout the world.

They know that the savage United States aggression against Vietnam spells suffering for the people of that country, that it confronts humanity with the danger of the war spreading, with the danger of a world conflict. But they know, too, that the USA cannot break the resistance of the heroic people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and that the fighting men of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front are not alone. The people of Vietnam have received and will continue to receive valuable political, economic and military aid from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They are supported by the fraternal solidarity of all peoples.

The working people and all other democrats in Italy also want the Center-Left government to refuse to share any responsibility whatsoever for the actions of the U.S. government, to reject every demand presented by the State Department for aid in the form of men and materiel, actively to help isolate the United States, put an end to the aggression and secure recognition of the right of the people of Vietnam to freedom and independence.

We in Italy are working to unite all who are anxious to see the war in Vietnam ended, all who are anxious to see new international relations, relations based on peaceful coexistence and freedom from war, hunger and imperialism.

So far the government coalition of Christian Democrats and Socialists have merely demonstrated their "understanding" as regards the U.S. aggression and their blind loyalty to the Atlantic Pact.

As for us, we are fighting to rid Italy of all forms of subordination to the USA; we want Italy to resist the nuclear arming of West Germany in any shape or form, to work for the reduction of armaments in Europe, the abolition of the present military alliances, and for a collective security treaty.

We know full well that these goals must necessarily be fought for on the scale of Europe. The working-class movement, the democratic forces in Europe, must, while respecting each other's independence, coordinate their actions and struggles.

We hold, too, that it is necessary to take action in the Common Market bodies in order to revise all decisions impeding trade between the countries of Europe, capitalist and socialist, and to impose a line of development different from that of the monopolies.

We shall work for relations of cooperation and mutual understanding among all the democratic and progressive forces on all issues affecting economic and political life, and the future of Europe.

It is noteworthy that latterly there have been contacts, meetings and conferences on these issues between the Communist parties and other workers' organizations in Western Europe.

We have taken an active part in these meetings and in the future, too, we shall promote concrete militant initiatives and closer cooperation between all the democratic and peace-loving forces.

We are keenly aware of the need for close militant solidarity and unity of all these forces on a European and on a world scale, while observing the complete independence and autonomy of each and taking into account the diversity of the conditions in which they are working.

In this respect the closer cooperation achieved of late between our Party and the

French Communist Party is of very great importance.

Needless to say, no policy of effective European cooperation is feasible without the participation of the socialist countries, which have now entered a new, more advanced, higher phase of development.

Hence the interest with which we listened to the report made by Comrade Brezhnev who outlined the Soviet Union's prospects and aims for the coming five years.

The report shows that despite difficulties and shortcomings of which you yourselves have spoken, the Soviet economy has developed through all these years at a rapid pace, expanding its potentialities in the competition with the principal capitalist countries. The report also shows that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as experience has confirmed, has always boldly and creatively solved the most difficult problems of economic management, discarding that which has not stood the test of time and which has become an obstacle to further progress.

Thanks to the level already achieved by the Soviet economy the new five-year plan envisages bolder tasks and outlines more effective methods of management based on greater independence for the enterprises and on individual initiative. As we see it, all this promises to add to the impact of socialism and to enhance its appeal also to our working people.

In Italy, too, the objective need for socialist changes is making itself felt more and more. The failure of the Center-Left experiment shows that regeneration of Italian society and satisfaction of the vital needs of the people cannot be truly achieved unless an end is put to the process of monopoly expansion, unless deep-going changes are effected in the present economic and social structures. Unwilling to take this course, the Center-Left coalition plunged the country into a severe economic crisis which has resulted in a wave of dismissals, temporary closing of enterprises and unemployment. In reply to this we have witnessed the rise of a broad movement of the working people in defense of their rights.

More than three million working people have been fighting for the past months and weeks for renegotiation of collective bargaining agreements, for a bigger say in drawing them up, for their rights and freedoms. Nearly all these struggles are waged jointly by trade unions of all trends. The unity of the working class is preserved in struggle, in spite of the splitting policy pursued by the leaders of the Center-Left coalition.

In order to save the Center-Left from col-

lapse, the Social Democratic Party and the Nenni Socialist Party have decided to unite on a Social Democratic footing. The project, however, is meeting with serious opposition in the Socialist Party itself and among its supporters.

We believe that the time is ripe for successful struggle against the aims underlying the unification of these two parties, as well as against the dangers with which it is fraught. In the crucible of the day-to-day struggle for the vital needs of the working people, and in defense of democratic freedoms and peace, we see that the difficult process of the drawing together of all the forces of the working-class movement and the more advanced and progressive Catholic forces is making headway.

We are working for new forms of cooperation between these forces with a view, on the one hand, to building the new unity of the democratic forces and the new parliamentary majority and, on the other, to uniting all the genuinely socialist forces into a single party of the working class.

We offer the Catholics cooperation not only in the fight for the vital needs of the working people, and not only in the fight to put an end to the exploitation and violation of human freedom and dignity inherent in capitalist society; we urge them to join with us in a common quest for ways leading to cooperation in building a new society without exploitation and wars.

It is up to each Party to chart its own road to socialism in the spirit of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. Under the leadership of Comrade Togliatti we elaborated a policy enabling us in the specific conditions of our country to build an alliance of the working class, the peasants and the middle strata, and, consequently, to win a substantial majority of the people over to socialism on the basis of struggle for the constant extension and constant deepening of democracy in all spheres.

We attach much importance to our contact with the intelligentsia which is developing in a positive way thanks to our firm stand in defense of the freedom of culture and for the development and regeneration of education and science.

Our Party's strength and its influence among the masses show that we are on the right road. We know that there still are grim and difficult battles ahead. But your entire history, your struggle, your successes, the confidence with which your Congress is examining the new tasks facing you, give us added strength and energy in all our activities.

TODOR ZHIVKOV

First Secretary, Bulgarian Communist Party

The Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU is a big event for the world Communist movement, for the common struggle of the peoples throughout the world for peace and progress. Experience shows that congresses of the CPSU enriched the revolutionary theory and practice of the Marxist-Leninist parties and signified new stages in the struggle for communism.

For the past twenty-two years the People's Republic of Bulgaria has been advancing along the trail blazed half a century ago by the Russian Bolsheviks, by the October Revolution. We are proud that the experience of our country, too, demonstrates the tremendous advantages of the socialist system over capitalism, that it adds to the power of attraction of socialism.

During the years of people's rule our country has increased its wealth fourfold. The standard of living is rising. Education, science and the arts are developing apace. Bulgaria has become a closely-knit socialist nation. In the current five years our Party has planned a further rapid growth of industry and agriculture, and further improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people.

For much of our success in building socialism we are indebted to fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union. For the past twenty years we have benefited from Soviet economic, scientific and technological aid. Our cooperation has been fruitful and many-sided, particularly in recent years, having been oriented on bringing the economies of our countries closer together.

Broader contacts are being established between branches and enterprises in the sphere of material production; specialization and cooperation are being promoted on an ever larger scale. By joint efforts the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union have raised their cooperation in the economic, political and ideological spheres to a higher level.

Relations between our countries are fully based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, equality, sincere friendship and mutual aid; they are a model of the relations which should always exist between socialist states. These cordial relations, established between our countries and peoples for all time, make Bulgarian-Soviet friendship stronger than granite and impart a life-giving force to it.

Our Party wholeheartedly endorses the assessment of the international situation by your Congress. The changes in the world in recent years bear out the conclusion reached jointly by us at the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960, namely, that the peace-loving, progressive anti-imperialist forces of the world are strong enough, provided they act in unison, to safeguard peace and to ensure the success of the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and democratic and social renovation. The process of national and social revolutions is gaining momentum against imperialism. No frantic anti-communist propaganda, demagoguery or intimidation, barbaric bombing or mass shootings can extinguish the flame of the struggle for freedom and for a just social system. So long as even one oppressed people remains, the objective laws of society and history will condition the growth and inevitability of national and social revolutions.

The experience of the past twenty years shows that the socialist world system is the decisive factor in this struggle. Indeed it is man's good fortune that there exists the great Soviet Union whose political prestige, economic might and invincible army, having the most up-to-date equipment, strike fear into the imperialists' heart. You Soviet people bear the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of mankind from national and social oppression, for safeguarding the peoples from the danger of nuclear catastrophe. We are fully aware of the sacrifice this entails for you. Your unfailing adherence to duty is added proof of the proletarian internationalism that permeates the entire policy of the Soviet Union.

Our people share the feelings of alarm felt by the Soviet people and all progressive mankind at the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. Our country has extended and will continue to extend the greatest possible aid to the fraternal Vietnamese people in their fight against the invader. We have not the slightest doubt that fiasco awaits the invader, that the people of Vietnam will become masters of their liberated country.

Loyal to the revolutionary traditions of our Party, we Bulgarian Communists and our people will actively participate in the work to preserve world peace and ensure social progress, to further cooperation and mutual aid between socialist countries. We shall

continue to support the fight of the peoples for national independence, to establish relations between states with differing social systems on the basis of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence.

In this struggle we shall always—in foul weather and in fair—remain with you, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Communists, with the Soviet people.

The imperative demand of the time is consolidation of the ranks of Communists and all progressives, establishment and stimula-

tion of a united anti-imperialist front, strict adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We hail the tireless and sincere efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the world Communist and working-class movement. We, on our part, shall do all in our power to ensure the maximum unity and militancy of Communists all over the world in readiness to fulfil their historical mission of emancipation.

ARMANDO HART

**Political Bureau Member and Secretary
Communist Party of Cuba**

Mankind will be eternally grateful to the Soviet workers and peasants who under the leadership of the Communist Party have accomplished such exploits. Your victories have opened new vistas, they have intensified the struggle against the system of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

The tide of revolution on the three continents presently under the yoke of colonial, neo-colonial and imperialist exploitation is rising rapidly.

At the recent Tri-Continental Conference in Havana the revolutionary parties and organizations from countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America displayed full understanding of the situation by proclaiming a revolutionary policy and strategy.

The Conference reflected the new situation in the revolutionary movement, a situation that differs in kind from that of the first postwar years. The ideas, tactics and methods shaped in conditions of twenty years ago are outdated. The Communist and Workers' parties should analyze the experience of the Conference as an indication of what is happening in the world today.

The Tri-Continental Conference, the most representative international assembly of anti-imperialist forces in the history of the revolutionary movement, achieved the broadest militant unity of the peoples ever recorded. This factor merits study. The decisions of the Conference are of the utmost importance for the revolutionary movement. The "right of peoples to make revolutions," to counter "imperialist violence with revolutionary violence," "to support armed uprising as a method of struggle" as well as "the right

and the duty of progressive governments to render aid to other peoples in their struggle for liberation" were recorded with the approval of all the delegations.

The Conference appraised the role of the national-liberation movement, the struggle of the working class and progressives in the capitalist countries and the role of the socialist camp. The Conference marked the triumph of a single criterion of revolution for the whole world.

The liberation movement will act as a stimulus to the revolutionary movement of the working class and all progressives in the capitalist countries, while the class struggles of the proletariat in the capitalist countries will, in turn, further the struggle for national liberation.

The search for a common strategy for all these forces in the fight against imperialism through united action on the most urgent issues is the imperative need of our time.

No one can doubt that from the standpoint of the coordination of effort against imperialism at key points, Southeast Asia is the arena of a battle of decisive significance for the socialist world as well as for the entire struggle against imperialism as a whole. In the not too distant future we are likely to be faced with a similar situation in other parts of the globe. The events in Southeast Asia are, therefore, not only a problem for that particular area, they concern the revolutionary movement in Latin America, and the cause of revolution throughout the world. As the conditions have shaped in Southeast Asia, the task of the day is to give the most effec-

tive support to the patriotic struggle of the National Liberation Front and the heroic resistance of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Government of the Soviet Union is rendering substantial material and political aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, as the leaders of that country have confirmed. This help is a valuable contribution to the struggle of the people of Vietnam and an example of proletarian internationalism. No one can deny that contribution. What has to be done now is to consider how we can defeat imperialism in Vietnam. An analysis of the present concrete situation and adoption of all necessary measures to solve this problem could be a big contribution, perhaps the biggest contribution at the moment, to Marxism-Leninism.

In view of the situation that has arisen in connection with the war in Vietnam what should be done, tactically speaking, is to create a military force capable of stopping the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, i.e., of crippling the American aircraft bombing Vietnam territory. To defeat imperialism in Vietnam the essential thing is, using all possible means and taking the necessary risks, to put an end to the criminal bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The essential thing is to help in the most vigorous way to turn the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam into a "graveyard for American aircraft." Imperialism must be "rapped on the knuckles" in Vietnam. One should be prepared, if need be, to fight in Vietnam in order to defend the territorial integrity and the very existence of this fraternal country. The struggle in Vietnam poses an important question of principle for the entire Communist movement, and particularly for the socialist countries.

To this end one might propose coordinating practical efforts on the spot; it would be expedient for the socialist countries and the international Communist movement to support such measures openly, firmly and unanimously.

This is the basis on which the unity of the international Communist movement could be built. Those who do not appreciate the need for coordinated efforts in this direction will find themselves completely isolated.

Such measures would not only help the people of Vietnam, they would stimulate a broad public movement which would win worldwide support. Such measures, given an open explanation of the need for them and launching mass action in support of them,

would be an invaluable contribution to the revolutionary movement throughout the world and would lead to the moral and political weakening of imperialism.

To stop the bombing and the criminal actions of the imperialists in Vietnam by every possible means is the right and the duty of progressive and socialist governments. All mankind fully appreciates that right as legitimate defense against aggression. It would be hard even for some capitalist governments to deny that this is a case of defending a victim of aggression. The right to attack another country cannot be justified on any grounds. These measures would add to the prestige of the socialist camp in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, would lend impetus to the struggle of the working class and all progressives in Europe against the policy of aggression and war pursued by the monopolies and imperialism; they would also influence the American people, as we can see from the growing movement in the United States against the war in Vietnam; they would, moreover, bring the warmongers into patent conflict with their own people.

That is why Fidel Castro, in his speech on March 13, 1965, called for united action against imperialism in Vietnam and urged all the forces of the socialist camp to cease their theoretical disputes and extend help to the people battling for freedom against imperialist aggression.

"... We have only one position," he said in that speech, "we are in favor of rendering Vietnam all possible aid! We are in favor of this aid being given in the shape of arms and men. We are in favor of taking the necessary risks for the sake of Vietnam."

Of course, this is not all we can or should do. We are speaking only of what is most urgent and vitally necessary for coordinating international effort at the given moment.

Besides united action on the most urgent problems, it is essential also to develop the revolution in all areas of the globe and in the most diverse conditions.

In the conditions of the socialist countries, to accelerate the development of the revolution means working might and main to lay the material and technological foundations of the new society, to mould the new man, free of ideological hangovers of the class society.

In the conditions of the capitalist countries, accelerating the revolution means waging a struggle against the warmongers and their system of exploitation, exposing the enemies of the peoples and rallying the masses to fight against the exploiters.

In the conditions of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America not yet liberated, accelerating the revolution signifies energetic struggle against their reactionary classes, the allies of U.S. imperialism, and against imperialism itself. Waging a vigorous struggle in the conditions of the greater part of Asia, Africa and Latin America signifies responding to the aggression and violence of the exploiters and imperialists with bold, resolute and armed action on the part of the revolutionary vanguard and the popular masses. Compromises and passivity when confronted with the violence of the oppressors who want to perpetuate their system of exploitation and who frequently resort to violence to this end, will never be a revolutionary policy.

Imperialism has announced that it will not countenance any revolution in Latin America. The people of our continent have accepted the challenge and are preparing for action. The coming years will be decisive. There are signs all over the Latin American continent that the revolutionary movement is on the upgrade. Our country has become an example for Latin America, and our people will never refuse to serve as an example.

The armed attacks of American imperialism on other nations, its interference in the internal affairs of other states have not hindered Cuba's victorious advance along the road to socialism and communism; have not prevented Cuba from becoming a revolutionary example for Latin America, or the banner of socialism

from flying almost within sight of the U.S. shores.

This became possible thanks to the unity and resolute struggle of the people, thanks to the courage and resolution of its vanguard, thanks to the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole. We wish to express our special gratitude to the Soviet Union for the help it is rendering us in the defense of our country. The experience of the Cuban revolution shows more than anything else the balance of forces in the world today and how important for the liberation struggle of any people is the support and assistance rendered by its class brothers throughout the world.

The example of Cuba makes it abundantly clear that in the present conditions of Latin America really revolutionary action quickly leads to socialism. The example of Cuba shows that the fight for national liberation on our continent is inseparably linked with the fight for socialism. The example of Cuba shows that the issue of the conquest of power by the working class and the victory of the socialist revolution on the Latin American continent depends in large measure on subjective factors, on the resolve of the vanguard, on being prepared for victory or death.

The path opened by the October Revolution, the path of socialism, is the path our people have taken and which it will follow until the victorious banner of the revolutionary proletariat is hoisted in all lands.

TSOI YEN GHEN

Vice-Chairman Korean Party of Labor

Under the leadership of the great Lenin, the working class of Russia overthrew the rule of the capitalists and landlords and established the world's first state of workers and peasants.

The October Revolution ushered in the era of proletarian revolution and lighted up for the oppressed peoples the road of struggle and liberation.

In the stormy years of the revolution, undaunted by the difficulties, the Soviet people demonstrated revolutionary staunchness and heroism and set an example of struggle against the class enemy.

Today the Soviet people are laying the material and technical foundations of communism. The USSR has become a socialist

power with the most progressive science and technology in the world. Its scientific and technological achievements in the conquest of outer space greatly contribute to the development of world science and technology and demonstrate the life-giving force of socialism.

The Korean people rejoice at the successes of the fraternal Soviet people and warmly congratulate them.

The new Five-Year Plan discussed at this Congress provides for a 47-50 per cent increase in industrial output and a 25 per cent increase in average annual output of agriculture compared with the previous five-year period.

Completion of the new Plan will be another

step forward in creating the material and technical basis of communism and raising the well-being of the population; it will further promote the consolidation of the might of the Soviet Union.

We are confident that the Soviet people will prove equal to the stupendous tasks set by the Congress.

For more than twenty years now, due to the U.S. imperialists, Korea has been divided. South Korea has been turned into an American colony and military base. The purpose is to use it as a springboard for a new war of aggression. The hardships and suffering experienced by the people of South Korea are the result of this policy of U.S. colonial enslavement and of the treasonous anti-national policy pursued by the Park Chung Hee clique.

Recently, on orders from Washington, the Japanese government and the South Korean puppets concluded an unlawful "South Korean-Japanese treaty" which presupposes not only economic and political collusion but also a military alliance.

With this "treaty" as the basis, Washington is trying to knock together an aggressive "military alliance of Southeast Asian countries" and thus complete the formation of a single anti-communist bloc in Asia.

At present the U.S. imperialists are escalating the war in Vietnam and stepping up the bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Their aggression in Vietnam is a provocation aimed against the entire socialist camp, at crushing the national-liberation movement and undermining world peace.

The aggression in Vietnam and the valiant resistance of the Vietnamese people are the focal points of the fight of the anti-imperialist forces against imperialism.

The facts bear out the correctness of the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties which characterized U.S. imperialism as the bulwark of world reaction, an international gendarme and enemy of the peoples of the world.

The situation demands that all the anti-imperialist forces close their ranks and intensify the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

When all the anti-imperialist forces headed by the socialist camp, the world Communist movement and the national-liberation movement are united, it will be possible to frustrate the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war.

Our Party will always be loyal to its internationalist duty in the fight for peace, national independence and socialism.

Our Party will do its utmost to uphold the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the world Communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Korean and Soviet peoples have been bound by bonds of comradeship-in-arms since the time of their struggle against Japanese imperialism.

We are confident that the friendship and cooperation of the two countries—Korea and the Soviet Union—will grow in the interests of the peoples of our countries, in the interests of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement.

YUMJAGIN TSEDENBAL

First Secretary, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

The People's Revolutionary Party and the people of Mongolia are genuinely proud of the success of their loyal friend, the heroic Soviet people; they regard it as their own success, the success of all the progressive forces of the world, for the historic achievements of the Soviet Union contribute decisively to multiplying the might of world socialism and weakening the positions of world imperialism.

The Soviet Union—standard-bearer of the world revolutionary movement, bulwark of the progressive forces of our time—shoulders the main burden of the defense and consolida-

tion of the world socialist community, of the support for the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, and the preservation and strengthening of world peace. We note with joy and gratitude that the Soviet Union, the Communist Party and all Soviet people, holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism and faithful to their historical tasks, have always been in the van of the struggle of the working class, for the triumph of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, have always fulfilled with honor and dignity their internationalist duty to the world proletariat, to the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries

and all the forces standing for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

This testifies once again to the noble historical mission of the Soviet people, the pioneer in the revolutionary reconstruction of society, enhances the prestige of the land of Soviets, and reaffirms the vanguard role which the Soviet Union has been destined to play as the country of Leninism, as the first socialist state blazing the trail to communism for all mankind. For this reason the tremendously rich experience of the CPSU, the most steeled contingent and militant vanguard of the world Communist movement, is a model for the Marxist-Leninist parties, for the fraternal socialist countries.

Guided by the People's Revolutionary Party, the people of Mongolia have made remarkable progress in developing their country; they have carried into life Lenin's teaching on the non-capitalist path of development, accomplished the historical transition from feudalism directly to socialism, and are now successfully completing the building of socialism. An important step forward along this road has been made with the successful completion of the Third Five-Year Plan made possible thanks to the selfless labor of our people and the all-round cooperation, aid and support of the fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place.

This year we shall begin work on our Fourth Five-Year Plan, the directives for which will be debated at the Fifteenth Congress of our Party in June. This Congress will also discuss the new program of our Party, the program for completing the building of socialism in our country.

In carrying out the new plan, in solving the problems of rounding-off the building of socialism, we shall, as before, rely on the many-sided aid and support of the Soviet Union.

A member of the family of socialist nations, Mongolia has been invariably pursuing a policy of peace and friendship among nations and fighting against the danger of a new world war, for the realization of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for utmost support of the liberation movement of the peoples, for the preservation and consolidation of world peace.

Our Party and our people, who fully side with the valiant people of Vietnam, hail the ever-growing Soviet aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in strengthening its defense capacity against the imperialist aggression.

The Mongolian People's Republic will con-

tinue to coordinate its policy and actions with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and closely cooperate with all the peace-loving forces in matters pertaining to solving pressing international problems by peaceful means, the achievement of general and complete disarmament, the final abolition of the colonial system, and defense and consolidation of peace.

Our Party and people hail the efforts and practical steps of the CPSU and the Soviet Government aimed at lessening international tension, preventing a thermonuclear world war and ensuring universal peace and the security of the peoples.

Like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, our Party fully supports the efforts and actions of the CPSU to overcome the differences in the world Communist movement and to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries and all the fraternal Communist parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the general line laid down in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The socialist countries have all the objective conditions needed to consolidate the friendship, cooperation and unity of peoples in the struggle for common aims. These conditions are determined by the socio-economic changes that have taken place in the socialist countries, the identity of socio-political system and dominant ideology, and the common aim of building socialism and communism. The task is to make full use of the ample possibilities provided by socialism, of its advantages for ensuring the friendship and unity of the peoples of the socialist community in the fight for communism, against imperialist reaction.

The bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism fomented by imperialism are insidious enemies of the friendship and unity of the peoples of the socialist countries and of the world Communist movement. It can be said that reactionary nationalistic ideology, far from elevating nations, can lead to self-isolation of some nations, to the humiliation of their honor and dignity.

We are sincerely glad and proud to see that the genuinely fraternal relations between our Party and the CPSU, based on the principles of the invincible Marxist-Leninist teaching, are developing and growing stronger, finding embodiment in the everyday practical work of our parties and peoples.

We are deeply convinced that the relations of friendship, fraternity and cooperation between our parties, between our countries and peoples will continue to expand and deepen

to the benefit of our great common cause, to the benefit of peace and socialism. This confidence stems from the boundless devotion of our parties and our peoples to Marxism-Leninism, to the idea of friendship and fraternity of the peoples, to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Utmost consolidation of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet people has always been a special concern of our Party, which sees in this a sound guarantee of the further prospering of People's Mongolia, a source of the happiness of our people, and the central

factor for strengthening the solidarity of all the progressive forces of the world.

In all their aspirations, aims and deeds the Communists and all the people of Mongolia are at one with the glorious Party of Lenin, with the Soviet Communists, with the Soviet people, whom they regard as their most loyal and reliable friends, their brothers and sisters.

Our people will in the future, too, march shoulder to shoulder with the valiant Soviet people towards new victories in building socialism and communism, in working for a lasting peace on earth.

ALEXANDER RANKOVIC

**Executive Committee Member and Secretary
League of Communists of Yugoslavia**

The relations of friendship and cooperation between the people of Yugoslavia and of the Soviet Union, tempered in the joint struggle of the Soviet Army and the Yugoslav People's Army against fascism, are now being deepened and consolidated in the spirit of equality and mutual understanding and confidence, in our joint efforts to safeguard peace, creatively to apply Marxism, to ensure the triumph of socialism and the spirit and principles of the Belgrade Declaration and other joint documents. For the Communists and all working people in Yugoslavia this development in the relations between our countries is a reason for rejoicing.

The victories won by the people of the different countries in working for socialism and the victories of the national-liberation movements that, in the past ten years especially, have accelerated the disintegration of colonialism, have created new opportunities for strengthening socialism, which for five decades now and on an increasing scale and with growing success has been narrowing the orbit of capitalism. The peoples' striving for socialism, a striving inevitably stemming from the internal needs of every nation, is asserting itself more and more.

Despite temporary defeats and setbacks, these victories, won at the cost of great sacrifice, have generated pressures impelling further progress towards socialism and quests for new ways of struggle and, in the countries where socialism has triumphed, further enhancement of the role of the human being in society, in the economy and in the political sphere, deepening of socialist democracy in

accordance with the specific conditions of each nation.

The common task facing us is to explore and pave new paths of socialist development and, by perfecting these paths and exchanging experience, to extend our cooperation and help, to consolidate socialism, the most progressive of all social systems. This is our common internationalist duty.

The identity or near-identity of our views on the basic international issues, primarily those relating to war and peace, abolition of colonialism, struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, the policy of coexistence, as well as other problems of the world today, derive from our cooperation and our common interests and aims.

We are deeply concerned at the deterioration of the general state of international relations, the continued existence of the old seedbeds of conflict or activation of new ones in various parts of the world, all of which are a grave danger to peace. The basic reason for this worsening of the international situation lies in the attempts made by the neo-colonialists and reactionaries generally to halt or retard, by means of crude interference in the internal affairs of other countries, political and economic liberation and equal cooperation among peoples and states. The U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the intervention, coups and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Asian, African and Latin American countries are only part of their design.

We are profoundly disturbed by the situation in the international working-class move-

ment. As we see it the issues at the heart of the differences show that ideological motives are not the basic reason for the present state of the relations between Communist and Workers' Parties and socialist countries. Judging by the nature and the scale of the contradictions that have emerged, it is clear that much time and effort will be needed in order to study and resolve the main issues of contemporary socialist development and to rectify the present state of affairs in the international working-class movement.

The League of Communists, standing for consistent implementation of the principled foreign policy of socialist Yugoslavia, resolutely opposes policies of imperialist aggression and fully supports the struggle of the people of Vietnam and all other peoples for complete independence. We are convinced that neither force, intimidation nor threats can prevent the people of Vietnam from carrying their just struggle to victory and to win freedom and independence. Yet the fact remains that the presence of foreign troops and outside intervention impede the search for solutions that would be in the interests of the people of Vietnam. The important thing is that the Vietnamese themselves should be allowed to decide the ways and means of realizing their aspirations. Clearly the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is the sole genuine spokesman of the embattled people and hence it must have a say in shaping the future of the country. It has won this right in struggle, in which it is making enormous human sacrifices.

For the League of Communists the basic international issue today is the fight for peace, against all forms of subjugation and inequality. This is also the very essence of coexistence, the meaning of which consists not only in efforts to avert another world war and to solve outstanding problems through agreement and negotiation, but also in that this approach to international relations is indispensable for social progress generally and for the success of revolutionary and liberation movements. Needless to say, peace-

ful coexistence signifies peace not between oppressed and the oppressors, but between independent and equal peoples. Therefore the policy of coexistence also presupposes an active approach to resolving the difficult problems and conflicts now bedeviling international relations and, above all, support of the liberation struggle of the peoples, as well as long-term economic and other aid with a view to accelerating the progress of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are vitally interested in this aid.

Orientation on resolving the present international contradictions by way of a general war means underestimating the real power and the ability of the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces to find and impose peaceful solutions. The resolute stand taken by the USSR and the other socialist, non-aligned and peace-loving countries and forces against policies impelling the nations towards a nuclear war, and also the effort exerted to isolate the aggressive imperialist circles harmonize with the interests of freedom-loving people everywhere and are a vital contribution to peace and progress.

Experience shows that real solidarity among all sections of the working-class movement can be achieved only through genuine agreement on essential issues, with each party and movement independently defining its own stand. Diverse forms of equal bilateral cooperation have proved to be the most effective way of promoting understanding and coordinating attitudes, opinions and actions, of multilateral cooperation between the Communist and Workers' parties and progressive and democratic movements in the fight for peace and socialism. Such cooperation and such activity will help to make it possible for all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces to render more comprehensive and sustained support to the people's struggle for national and economic liberation, against the aggressive forces of imperialism and colonialism.

Strengthen and deepen Soviet-Arab friendship

FUAD NASSAR

First Secretary, Jordanian Communist Party

Friendly, fraternal relations between the people of the Arab countries and the Soviet Union are the main factor in strengthening and developing the national-liberation and social movements of the Arab peoples with whom the Soviet Union has always sided in their striving for political liberation and for economic and social progress. Support for them is forthcoming in economic, technological and military aid. Arabs will never forget the stand taken by the Soviet Union during the triple aggression against Egypt in 1956, its active support of and all-round aid to the Algerian revolution, its siding with Syria against the conspiracy and threats of the CENTO bloc (formerly the Baghdad Pact) in 1958, or its resolute support of the July 14, 1958, revolution in Iraq. Today the Soviet Union is helping to build numerous industrial, agricultural and other enterprises in the United Arab Republic, Syria, Algeria, Iraq and other Arab countries. The Aswan High Dam on the Nile is a symbol of growing Soviet-Arab friendship.

It was perfectly natural that the attention of the millions of working people and progressive people generally throughout the world was focused on Moscow during the Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party. People followed with the greatest interest the proceedings of this congress, for they knew that this historic assembly was of significance not only for the Soviet people, but for all people. The achievements of the Soviet Union in the economy, science and technology, the growth of its international influence and the strengthening of its military

capability are in the interests of peace and progress throughout the world. The Congress justified the hopes of the Arab and all other peoples fighting for economic liberation and social progress. The Congress devoted much attention to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As Comrade Brezhnev said in his report, "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sees its internationalist duty in continuing to do its utmost to support the struggle of the peoples for final liberation from colonial and neo-colonial oppression."

The Twenty-Third Congress was significant also because it charted a perspective of expanding economic links between the Soviet Union and the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, a perspective of expanding multiform aid to these countries. As was pointed out in Comrade Kosygin's report, economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the developing countries is aimed at radically resolving the problems of these countries, such as the creation of important branches of national industry, training research and technical personnel, and strengthening the position of these countries on the world market. The coming five years will see a big increase in trade between the Soviet Union and the developing countries. As Comrade Kosygin pointed out, what is in question is not simply increasing trade but also changing the structure of this trade so that it should accord with the requirements of economic progress in the developing countries.

At present the Soviet Union is helping to build more than 600 industrial, agricultural and other projects in the developing countries.

Needless to say, the varied aid rendered by the Soviet Union to these countries will increase with its economic, scientific and technological advance, and the big achievements which the people of the Soviet Union are sure to score in the coming five years will play their role in safeguarding the political independence of the peoples of the developing countries as well as their independent economic progress.

The Soviet Union's relations with the developing countries are founded on the principles of complete equality and mutually advantageous exchange. The economic cooperation agreements have no political, military or any other strings attached which might place these countries at a disadvantage.

A notable place in the proceedings of the Congress was occupied by an examination of the urgent problems facing the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and in particular the problem posed by the growing aggressiveness of international imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. The U.S. imperialists and their allies are using the war against the people of Vietnam and the recent temporary defeats suffered by the national movements in some countries of Asia and Africa, and also the differences in the international Communist movement, to exert pressure on the peoples fighting against imperialism and neo-colonialism. They are trying to create the impression that the world balance is shifting in their favor, the idea being to compel the peoples to surrender and to subordinate them to their diktat. But the Twenty-Third Congress showed up the fallacy of these calculations. As Comrade Brezhnev stressed in his report, the "increased aggressiveness of imperialism does not at all mean that there has been a change in the balance of world forces in its favor. On the contrary, this aggressiveness is a reflection of those growing difficulties and contradictions that the world capitalist system is faced with in our days. The events of the past years have again shown that no matter what methods and means imperialism resorts to, it is not in a position to halt the course of historical development. The revolutionary forces are continuing their offensive. The peoples have stepped up their struggle against imperialism."

The report showed that the success of the national-liberation movement is inseparably connected with the success of the socialist world system and the international working class, that a durable alliance between these mighty revolutionary forces is a guarantee of the final triumph of the cause of national and social emancipation of the peoples. The

Congress contributed largely to cementing the international revolutionary forces fighting to preserve peace and to stop the aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their allies. As the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Working People of Vietnam said at the Congress, "the powerful support of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU is a source of inspiration for the people and the fighting men of the armed forces of our country."

The delegations of 86 Communist, Workers' and other progressive parties which took part in the Congress voiced in their greetings gratification at the economic, scientific and technological achievements of the Soviet people since the previous Congress. They declared their support of the foreign policy of the Soviet government which is aimed at safeguarding peace among the nations, abolishing the threat of a new world war, and ending U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. They unanimously endorsed the wise policy of the CPSU aimed at strengthening the cohesion of the socialist camp, unity in the international Communist movement, solidarity and unity of action among all the revolutionary forces of our time.

The Arab peoples, waging a valiant struggle against imperialism and colonialism in both its old and new forms, for economic and social progress, wholeheartedly welcomed the deliberations of the Twenty-Third Congress. The work of the Soviet people and their achievements in the various spheres of endeavor are for the Arab peoples a source of inspiration to continue their struggle with faith in the future, for they see in the Soviet Union a selfless friend rendering them powerful support.

The Twenty-Third Congress took place on the threshold of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution and the founding of the world's first socialist state. The commemoration of this anniversary will be a festive occasion for all humanity, a jubilee demonstrating the grandeur and heroism of the Soviet people and the magnificent things they have done in the fifty years since the revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party founded and nurtured by the immortal Lenin. This occasion is bound to develop into a mighty international demonstration of the peoples' determination to preserve peace and to prevent a new world war. The international working class and working people everywhere will voice on this anniversary their unshakable resolve to build a new world, a world without war or exploitation.

Profound international meaning

S. A. DANGE

Chairman, Communist Party of India

Ever since the 1917 October Revolution broke the chain with which imperialism had bound the humanity of the world nothing that the Soviet Union does has remained its sole domestic affair and much less so in the Congresses of the CPSU. Every Congress of the CPSU has carried an international meaning, especially for the anti-imperialist forces fighting for national freedom and for socialism.

Let us take the two biggest countries of Asia or, for that matter, of the world—China and India.

It was the October Revolution that gave the emancipation movement of the peoples of these two great countries a clear perspective of complete freedom and social progress.

China with her special conditions took the path of armed revolution; and India, with her special conditions took the path of mass popular, but mainly unarmed, yet bloody struggles, against British imperialism. Both, however, failed to attain their goal for a long time.

At the end of the Second World War, only when the victories of the Red Army against Nazism and Japanese imperialism weakened the imperialist system the world over and led to the establishment of the socialist states in Eastern Europe, the liberation movements of India and China were finally crowned with success. Only then India could secure her state independence in 1947 and China could establish her People's Democracy in 1949, with the moral and material support of the Red Army.

And soon after, almost the whole colonial system collapsed.

But it is not only the guns of October or the March of the Red Army against Nazism and imperialism that had international signi-

ficance for world revolution and the emancipation movement of subject peoples. Not only in conditions of world war, but even in conditions of peace, the Soviet Union has been a great source of help, including that of arms to the liberation movements in various countries.

When the Soviet Union builds its socialist economy and when it lays down a five-year plan for its own economy and fulfils it in conditions of peaceful labor and peaceful coexistence, that also carries international significance and has revolutionary repercussions. The successes of Soviet socialist economy have been of direct benefit to the economies of the newly-liberated developing countries, struggling to keep themselves free from the grasping hand of the neo-colonialists, especially the U.S. imperialists. India, the UAR, and several others have received unstinted and friendly material aid from the Soviet Union to industrialize themselves and overcome the effects of their colonial past. The names of Bhilai and Aswan proclaim to the world with tangible massive proofs the proletarian internationalism of the USSR and the CPSU and the revolutionary international effects of the successes of the Five-Year Plans and the socialist economy of the Soviet Union.

So, when the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU embarked upon discussions of their new Five-Year Plan, which, besides other political questions, was the main theme of the Congress, the delegations from other countries were hearing something and participating in something which was not "foreign" to them but quite akin to their own national interests.

When I was hearing Comrade Brezhnev's Report and that of Comrade Kosygin on the new proportions and targets in the Five-Year

Plan, I was reminded of what the London *Economist* had written ten days earlier on the failures of socialist economy, which, the *Economist* thinks, are *inherent* in Marxism and its centralized planning. It said:

"The Communists have found out that their centralized system is fine at pouring out large quantities of steel and concrete and electricity but bad at turning these into things a discriminating consumer actually wants to buy."

Thirty years ago, this organ of British monopoly was not prepared to admit this, even that in steel and electricity communist economy can succeed in "pouring out large quantities" and overcome the backwardness of the economy and build heavy industry. It, at least, indirectly admits its mistake. So now it talks of consumer goods. What does the Twenty-Third Congress say on this?

"There was a time when to achieve high rates of development in heavy industry we had *consciously* to restrict our requirements. Now we have mighty productive forces which enable us to develop those branches of social production which directly satisfy the material, cultural and other requirements of the people at a faster rate. This line of the Party is given expression in the five-year plan measures to narrow down the gap between the rate of development of the production of the means of production and the production of consumer goods, *between the rate of development of agriculture and industry.*" (Brezhnev's Report. My emphasis.)

Had it not been for the wars of destruction that the imperialists launched against the Soviet Union twice since its birth, socialist planning would have beaten the advanced capitalist countries long ago, even in the sphere of consumer goods, just as it has done in engineering, technology, science, education, health, etc. The Sputnik on the Moon has silenced the bourgeois critics in that sphere. They will soon be silenced in other spheres too! That is the promise of the Twenty-Third Congress.

While pointing to the mighty achievements of the socialist Soviet economy, shortcomings and failures were not hidden nor just waved away. The discussion was free and frank and

anyone who doubted could see for himself the freedom of criticism which the delegates exercised in full. A delegate from a Leningrad factory told the Congress how, when they had produced a fine machine, they put a motor in it which made a horrid noise. He said he refused to put the proud name of his factory on such "a shame." And he was cheered for his pride, for his spirit and for his criticism. The great writer Sholokhov was both proud of his "tribe" as well as satirically critical about the products of some of his colleagues. No one hearing all this, without a prejudiced mind, could have said that the Congress was a dumb affair!

There were fraternal delegates from eighty-six countries, many of whom were elected to sit on the Presidium of the Congress. Almost all the Communist Parties of the world attended the Congress, the most notable absentee being the Chinese, and along with them the Albanians and one or two more. Thus the solid phalanx of the world's Communist movement was at Moscow to greet the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU and its leadership, which takes its stand on nothing but the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which is building the base of communism in its own country in order to serve as the bastion of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism for all mankind.

The greetings from the fraternal parties were received with great applause. The greatest and warmest ovation was drawn by Le Duan, representing the Working People's Party of Vietnam and by Nguyen Thi Bin, representing the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. A wave of emotion, love and respect broke over the whole Congress. When Leningrad workers presented a pennant to Le Duan he said with deep emotion: "We shall carry this flag from generation to generation. . . . For us Vietnamese Communists there are two Motherlands. One is Vietnam. The second is the Soviet Union, the first country of victorious socialism in the world."

That was the spirit and content of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU for those of us who came to Moscow from far off countries, and particularly from the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

For stronger anti-imperialist unity

GILBERT VIEIRA

General Secretary, Communist Party of Colombia

We members of the delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia made the long journey to Moscow not only to be received as honored guests and to witness the lively discussion at the congress; we came to declare our firm solidarity with the CPSU, with its program of communist construction and its policy of peace and effective support of the national-liberation movements of the peoples fighting against imperialist oppression. This solidarity was reaffirmed by the Tenth Congress of our Party.

We told the delegates to the Twenty-Third Congress about the situation in Colombia and the strategic and tactical line of our Party.

A distinctive revolutionary road is opening up before our people which, depending on the actual situation, sees a variety of forms of mass struggle, including armed struggle.

We know that our fight for liberation will be hard and protracted, and that ultra-revolutionary palaver will not overcome our ruthless and as yet strong enemy. We can see from our own experience how correct is the point made in Comrade Brezhnev's report that "only those parties succeed which take guidance from the life-tested Leninist principles of strategy and tactics."

Contrary to those whose impatience is, as Engels put it, their sole theoretical argument, we stress that a long, hard struggle is the real prospect for the liberation movement of our people.

The revolutionary phraseology poured out by some petty-bourgeois groups is an obstacle to the development of the revolution in Colombia and other Latin American countries. These groups are turning themselves inside out to pass for ultra-revolutionaries opposed to the Communist parties which they loftily denounce as "obsolete," "opportunistic" and

"bureaucratized." This phraseology can delude for a time people who could play an important political role. We always recall Lenin's words that "susceptibility to revolutionary phrasemongering is one of the manifestations of the survivals of petty-bourgeois mentality. This is an old truth, an old story which too often becomes a novelty. . . ."

* * *

From the rostrum of the Twenty-Third Congress we declared that the glorious Cuban revolution was our outpost, our guiding spirit in the battle against the common enemy. Therefore we consider that actions against the infamous imperialist blockade of Cuba, and all-out defense of the Cuban revolution are the honorable duty of all revolutionaries in Colombia, in Latin America and throughout the world. As Latin Americans, we express gratitude to the Soviet Union for its support of the free people of Cuba, and we are confident that the same support will be extended to any other Latin American people who will become the master of their destiny and embark upon independent development.

We call upon all anti-imperialists to display the utmost solidarity with the people of Vietnam, a martyr-nation, nation of heroes who are staunchly resisting the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism. The just fight of the people of Vietnam is also our fight. What is taking place in Vietnam today is, as it were, a mirror of the events in the Dominican Republic and of the future in Colombia, where the U.S. military are taking an ever growing part in the fight against the armed peasant movement, implementing the Pentagon strategists' plans for *preventive* war against the Latin American peoples.

That is why, brushing aside the insults and slander, we re-emphasize the need to continue the effort for the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of the constructive proposals of the 1964 Conference of the Latin-American Communist and Workers' parties. We highly value the policy of unity pursued by the CPSU. We agree with the CPSU that the principles collectively worked out at the 1957 and 1960 conferences are the foundation for the unity of the Communist movement. Campaigns aimed at discrediting the gains of the Soviet people, just as disruptive activities against the world Communist movement, benefit only the imperialists and world reaction and boomerang against their authors.

Of late, the bourgeois press in Colombia has been waging an anti-Soviet campaign which often chimes in with the claims of some ultra-revolutionaries, claims echoed by the reactionaries, about "the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union."

Let the capitalists console themselves with this talk. It is merely added proof of the doom of capitalism. As for us Communists, their wishful thinking can but amuse us.

We wholeheartedly wish the Soviet people success in realizing the new Five-Year Plan, a new stage in implementing the splendid program of building communism adopted by your Twenty-Second Congress.

For revolutionary world solidarity

MADEIRA KEITA

Member of the National Political Bureau,
Sudanese Union (Mali)

Fifty years ago the Great October Revolution electrified the world. Its mighty call for freedom has resounded ever since.

After 1917 the achievements of the Soviet people, the people of the great Lenin who built the world's first socialist state, paved the way for a socialist world system. This was a decisive victory over imperialism—the source of poverty and war.

Comrade Modibo Keita, the General Secretary of our Party, said: "The Great October Revolution of 1917 solved the problem of Africa's future."

Thanks to its economic, social and cultural progress and its splendid achievements in science and technology, the Soviet Union today plays a role of decisive importance in historical development.

The Soviet people's achievements in building their socialist state have had a far-reaching effect on the world revolutionary movement. Socialism, which first came into existence in one country, has become a world system. In Asia, Africa and Latin America the national-liberation movement is liberating

millions from imperialist domination. New countries are coming into being, some of them are taking the socialist road.

The Soviet Union has made a tremendous contribution to establishing the socialist world system, to the victory of the liberation movement, to the liberation of colonial peoples. Upon defeating fascism in the Second World War it built up a powerful economy that made it possible to reshape the lives of the Soviet people and to render effective fraternal support to newly independent countries.

The Second World War, a product of imperialist antagonisms, subsequently became a fight of the freedom-loving nations for justice, against imperialism and fascism. The defeat of imperialism accelerated the disintegration of the colonial system on the African continent.

The gains of the national-liberation movement, staunchly supported by the Soviet Union, the socialist world system and the growing international working-class movement, translated themselves into the establishment of independent states. Some of these

states were born as a result of armed struggle, others of peaceful development, but either type of state owed its rise to sustained popular struggles. These advances aggravated the crisis of imperialism and benefited the international working-class movement and the socialist world system. That is why the imperialists, retreating before the national-liberation movements, and occasionally making concessions before resuming the offensive, took steps in advance in a number of countries to provide conditions enabling them to maintain their rule; this was done by seizing key economic positions and by controlling the policies of the nations concerned. Such is the nature of neo-colonialism, through which the imperialists are trying to nullify the people's gains and to take on a new lease of life. They promote this aim by setting up puppet regimes. Countries seeking genuine independence are intimidated and subjected to pressure. Monstrous crimes are perpetrated against those who, barring the way to the imperialists, try to make use of the opportunities afforded by national independence. Countries that have gained real independence and are opting for socialism as the solution to solve their problems become the primary targets of imperialism.

The imperialists would like to rob these countries of independence in order to establish their undivided rule and, above all, to block their way to socialism, isolate them from the socialist camp and weaken the progressive movement throughout the world.

The aggression against the valiant people of Vietnam fighting for freedom and progress, and events in Latin America are concrete instance of the imperialist bid to recover their supremacy. Another instance was the infamous coup in Ghana, where the progress made by the Convention People's Party under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, a great son of Africa and outstanding statesman, made it possible to secure an annual income of up to \$200 per capita.

The peoples are deeply angered by the fact that fascists who got away with whole skins after Hitler's defeat in 1945 are making common cause with adventurers from capitalist Europe and with the South African and Rhodesian racists. They served as mercenaries in the Congo and are now offering their services to the Saigon puppets.

It is highly important for the socialist camp and the international working-class movement to intensify their activity, taking full account of the gravity of the situation. The

liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America are carrying on a common struggle against imperialism as natural allies of the socialist camp and the working-class movement of the world.

Every member of our Party, the Sudanese Union (RDA) and the people of Mali emphatically condemn imperialist aggression and express their fraternal solidarity with all the peoples fighting for freedom.

We are certain of victory despite furious attacks on the newly-established states by the imperialists who are trying to destroy the national democratic gains of the people.

The Republic of Mali has embarked on socialist construction under the leadership of the Sudanese Union, headed by President Modibo Keita. Our people won independence a bare six years ago, but already they enjoy the fruits of the new life. Thanks to their effort, correct policy and the leadership of the Sudanese Union, and thanks to aid from the Soviet Union and other friendly countries, Mali is steadily building up the material foundations of its economy by expanding the state sector, which organizes and controls the basic branches of the economy.

Our country is beginning to build a national industry. The life of our peasants has changed since they formed cooperatives. Life has been reorganized on democratic lines. Our people are working hard to maintain the gains of the revolution, to strengthen the nation's defenses and combat imperialism, which by subversion is doing its utmost to destroy our revolutionary system.

The fight against imperialism will benefit substantially from the recent Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU, which is bound to foster the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and the international working-class movement and to strengthen their natural alliance with the national-liberation movement.

The Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU was a momentous event for the Soviet people and their Communist Party, for the entire working-class and Communist movement and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies. It showed once again that the unity of the Soviet people is unshakable, that the members of the Soviet Communist Party respect and trust their Central Committee. It forcefully demonstrated the Soviet Union's resolve to continue to support the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Stop imperialism

LEON MAK A

National Politbureau Member and Permanent Secretary' Democratic Party of Guinea

The main objective of the Democratic Party of Guinea is to ensure the harmonious development of a people who yesterday were ruled by the colonialists and today have entrusted their destiny to our Party.

In 1957, shortly before Guinea won independence, our Party took advantage of the "semi-autonomous regime" established by French legislation to abolish the system of tribal chiefs. Thereby it struck a blow at the feudal system, the mainstay of colonial rule.

On September 28, 1958, Guinea voted for and won independence. Our Party used this to effect deep-going changes in the social relations inherited from colonialism. These changes led to complete independence for our people, which expresses itself in the following:

- in home policy, the transfer of power to the people united in our Party, whose fundamental principle is democratic centralism and whose everyday rule is criticism and self-criticism;

- in foreign policy, a search for ways to African unity asserting the dignity of Africa, and international cooperation based on mutual respect;

- in the economy, non-capitalist development; utilization of the national wealth according to plan and exclusively in the interest of the people;

- in the social sphere, the emancipation of women; all-round development of young people through a democratic reform of education; revival and promotion of national culture and art.

This program, which undermined the former system of oppression, enraged the colonialists. We showed firm resolve in carrying it out. We began with a three-year plan

(1960-63), under which we carried out a currency and banking reform, established a broad system of school education, and began to develop a consumer-goods industry. The current seven-year plan, focused on industrialization, was the next step.

In tackling these tasks our people encountered many difficulties, which they overcame thanks to their political maturity and vigilance.

The law of November 8, 1964, put an end to the harmful activities of Guinea's private business, which in collusion with the imperialists had been undermining our economy by making it dependent on colonial trusts. In 1965 we uncovered and foiled a conspiracy engineered from without.

Lately the overall situation in Africa has become more complicated. A series of military coups has taken place since early 1963. Not long ago the racialists took arbitrary action to declare the independence of Rhodesia. On the other hand, the people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and other countries have stepped up their fight for freedom. Africa is plainly becoming the object of a fierce counter-offensive by the imperialists, who are trying to check the advance of the people and to establish or re-establish themselves in the former colonies.

The international situation demands close unity of the progressive forces of the world if they are to stop imperialism, whose nakedly aggressive actions seriously endanger world peace.

Our people welcome the support given by the USSR to the oppressed peoples fighting against foreign domination, against neo-colonialism and imperialism. Of special importance is the Soviet people's solidarity with

the people of Vietnam, who are fighting valiantly against the imperialist aggressor. The Soviet Union steadfastly backs the peoples of independent African states combating imperialist subversion.

The October Revolution of 1917 abolished tsarism's colonies and destroyed the myth of the invincibility of the imperialist powers. It aroused the exploited classes and brought socialist society into being. This society is guided by a world outlook that has united numerous peoples into one family, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The world significance of the October Revolution has been growing over the decades. At the Twenty-Third Congress of the

CPSU the valiant men and women of Leningrad, a city at whose gates fascism suffered a crippling blow, presented the people of Vietnam fighting for freedom with a pennant symbolizing the determination of the people of Leningrad to follow the path of their courageous fathers.

The importance of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU goes far beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Its decisions are a valuable contribution to the cause of changing the world. They reinforce the foundations of socialist society, whose ultimate goal is to bring about the fullest development of man.

Program of struggle for democracy, against monopoly rule

GUS HALL

FOR THE PEOPLE OF the USA this is a moment of intense political and ideological probing involving a deep reappraisal of the direction and destiny of our nation. In scope, this probing is without precedent in our history. Its expansive sweep is as if there is the most urgent need to make up for the time lost during the McCarthy years when thought and expression were suppressed and muffled. Partly it is a reaction to these silent years. But fundamentally this critical search is a reaction to the realities of this day.

The searching is not taking place in a vacuum and it is not about some abstract concepts. It is part of and closely follows the contours of the upsurge of mass struggles. It is influenced by the heroic struggles for civil rights. It is related to the rumbling uneasiness about problems of economic security, about speedup resulting from automation. It is about the contradiction of large areas of poverty and unemployment within the framework of a war production economic boom. It is fed by and related to the trends of economic developments that are a part of the growth of monopoly state capitalism. It is the deep concern about the internal trends set off by the 20 years of cold-war policies. It is related to the increase in taxes, prices and rents. It mirrors the deep concern over the rise of the fascist ultra-Right and the attacks on democracy and civil liberties. Increasingly it reflects the ever deepening concern about the policies of U.S. imperialist aggression. It is a mass concern about the decline in moral and ethical standards, by the moral values of a society practising mass murder, genocide and racism.

The probing is about the present, but even more about the future. What is going to

happen to us as a nation, as a people, is an ever-recurring phrase. The concern is about today's problems but even more about the longer-range trends. It is about that which is in the open, but even more about the processes of inner corrosion not always so easily discernible.

The probing is set off by the processes of capitalism in the stage of a general crisis, of inner decay. This deep mass concern is intensified because these decadent trends are in conflict with the mass concepts of our country's democratic traditions and pioneering past, the policies and customs which gave our people strength and confidence.

The probing is about the relationships of the USA to the changed world—the existence of nuclear weapons capable of destroying continents. It is a reflection of the fact that one billion of the world's people are building a new, a different, a socialist society. The reappraisal is aroused by the victory of the national-liberation revolutions around the world. The probe reflects the deep frustration of a nation that is more and more ruled and dominated by the reactionary financial-industrial-military complex. The probe is a reappraisal of the past, a study of the present, and a growing concern about the future.

The probe has created an intellectual atmosphere that demands an objective look at all bodies of thought. It demands to hear the Communist viewpoint from the Communists. This is an important element of the mass search for answers.

The New Draft Program of the Communist Party USA is thus both a response and a contribution to this mass probe. The mass searching for answers has opened up new questions for the Communist Party as well.

Breaking out of the walls of isolation mainly created by 15 years of reactionary oppression, but also contributed to by walls of our own making, has emerged as a central task. Speaking to the millions of our countrymen has become not only a possibility but a political necessity. Old concepts, the usual avenues of public expression do not meet the needs of this moment. The Party is responding and mass doors are open. Yet many will not go through the open door but still go the long way around. Many Communists still shy away from the masses who want to conduct a dialogue with Communists. Many still give pat canned answers that are not in keeping with the spirit of the mass probe. Communists must be ready to submit their thoughts and conclusions as concepts for discussion, as concepts that can change in the process.

Therefore, the style of writing, the method of presentation of our Draft Program was also influenced by the mass probing by our people. This program is geared to the probe, to the dialogue. The Draft Program is a mass public document. Our Party is discussing the Draft Program simultaneously with the people. The Party has asked all Americans to make our Draft Program a part of the overall political dialogue. We have asked all to help us write the final draft of the Program.

This approach is itself a new dimension to the writing of Draft Programs by the Communist Party. The fast sale of the first 50,000 copies of this 128-page paperback book of the Program and the response of hundreds of letters from non-Communist Americans is already an indication that our Draft Program is becoming part of the mass probe.

The Draft is rooted in a Marxist-Leninist reflection of the realities of struggle against U.S. capitalism.

Our Draft Program opens with a sharp focus on the process of inner corrosion of U.S. capitalism:

"Beneath the symbols of affluence on the national landscape, beneath the glitter of polished chrome and the skeletal outlines of television antennas, there is a deep and growing uneasiness in America.

"There is crisis and talk of crisis. A crisis of urban blight, transforming our cities into slum ghettos, their ugly sores of poverty ringed by congested freeways and covered by a pall of polluted air. A crisis in education. A crisis in morality. This sense of unease extends to many facets of American life. All these separate crises are manifestations of the larger, deeper crisis of society which finds its most acute focus in four major areas:

"1. The crisis in foreign policy overshadows

all others. And for good reason. If in other spheres error may be rectified, here it can prove fatal. Thermonuclear weapons make world peace the issue of survival, the precondition for rational solution of all other problems. But U.S. foreign policy, instead of diminishing the ultimate peril, magnifies it...

"2. The revolution in technology spreads and intensifies insecurity among the nation's workers... Consequences of automation and cybernation pose an economic challenge that places present government programs in a range from the inadequate to the irrelevant.

"3. The Negro freedom revolt has torn the veils of complacency and self-deception from the enormity of the criminal injustices, disabilities and humiliations that have accumulated in three centuries of oppression... As the revolt comes ever more directly to grips with the substantive problems of equality in economic opportunity, housing, education and all the other components of what is called the American standard of living, it will demand far more radical measures... What has been called a civil rights crisis is, in reality, a profound social crisis that will increasingly shake every pillar of American society.

"4. Pressures to diminish and destroy democracy reach crisis proportions. Among many manifestations of this crisis in democracy, the most acute is the emergence of an aggressive, well-financed, well-organized, politically skilled ultra-Right... The ultra-Right is not simply an extension of the extreme bigotry and reaction that have long existed on the right flank of American political life. It is a unique product of the contemporary crisis in U.S. society, it is the response to this crisis by the most reactionary, most racist, most adventurist and war-bent sectors of big business."

From there, the Program proceeds to dissect the roots of the problems, namely, the nature of U.S. monopoly capitalism and the role of U.S. monopoly state capitalism:

"At the apex of American society today is the power of monopoly... just 500 corporations control the national economy. But even this does not fully reveal the degree of centralized economic power. These 500 corporations, in turn, fall into domains controlled by a handful of financial groups, the most powerful of which bear familiar family names of high finance—Morgan, Rockefeller, du Pont, Mellon....

"During and since World War II monopoly growth has been especially rapid... In an ever more intimate fusion of corporate and political power, corporation executives have

swarmed into decisive agencies in Washington to make government more serviceable to monopoly. And because the period has been dominated by wars, hot and cold, with a consequent enlargement of the military role in the economy and government, the union of monopoly and government has spawned one particularly sinister offspring: the military-industrial complex.

"The military-industrial complex is only the most monstrous and sinister design in the more comprehensive pattern that fuses corporate and political power at every decisive level of policy-making. Underlying this pattern is the growing reliance of monopoly on the economic resources of the government. The federal government is now a \$100 billion-a-year business. . . .

"Government has been fashioned into a funnel through which billions of dollars extracted as taxes from the entire nation are poured into the coffers of giant corporations. Lucrative defense contracts comprise the largest stream flowing out of the funnel. But there is also the growing volume of subsidies and giveaways. There are the new 'partnerships' of monopoly and government, as in the atomic energy and space communications industries, in which the fruits of tax-financed scientific research and facilities are turned over to the monopolies for their own aggrandizement. . . .

"Government has, indeed, become an agency for taking from the poor to give to the rich. Compared with the enormous flow of government funds to the monopoly corporations, the highly publicized welfare expenditures are a piddling trickle."

In a logical sequence the Draft Program then tackles the question of U.S. imperialism internally as well as the center of world imperialism.

"Our examination of the compulsions and motivations in the very fabric of U.S. imperialism demonstrates that its behavior in the world today is not simply a collection of policies but a manifestation of its innermost character. This character is inherently reactionary. One or another specific policy of U.S. imperialism can be checked by resistance and popular pressure, but the reactionary pressures inherent within it will seek some other outlet. . . .

"The profitability of neo-colonialism is indeed enormous. Superexploitation of labor yields fabulous returns on investment. Inequality of trade, based on extraction or purchase of raw materials at low prices and the sale of monopoly-produced finished products at high prices, enlarges the profit yield. Control of sources of raw materials, strategic

in either the economic or military sense, or in both, is often an added incentive for neo-colonial acquisition. . . .

"The realizable aim in the series of encounters is, therefore, the creation of a preponderance of anti-imperialist strength sufficient to keep U.S. imperialism in check, and finally, with the American people themselves in the forefront, to replace it with a new and just society."

The Program places the overall reactionary and brutal character of U.S. imperialism but it then proceeds to distinguish the different trends within its ranks. This is a very necessary examination for the purposes of necessary tactical approaches in the struggle against it:

"Within the U.S. monopoly structure three variable, shifting trends are discernible, prompted by differences of tactical judgment, which are also influenced by specific economic interest. One trend seeks some form of accommodation with the new world balance of power. A second trend seeks some formula for 'limited war': that is, employment of U.S. military, economic and diplomatic power for counter-revolution, not excluding the possibility of nuclear war as a last resort, but seeking to avoid it. The third trend is committed to an inevitable nuclear showdown, proposing such stratagems as preventive war or ultimatums backed by nuclear force. The first trend would withdraw from the brink, the second would attempt a continuing, precarious balance upon it, and the third would take the plunge into the abyss."

After this examination of its weaknesses and after a placing of the world relationship of forces, the Draft concludes:

U.S. foreign policy is dangerous, reprehensible—and also futile. The military and economic power commanded by the U.S. corporate giants may, here and there, slow the revolutionary tide or temporarily divert it into eddies, but it cannot halt the tide . . .

Each setback for U.S. imperialism serves to weaken its position and to strengthen the forces arrayed against it.

"Looking exclusively at the domestic scene, as some do, and seeing the growing but still modest forces consciously arrayed against the global operation of U.S. imperialism, the contest appears uneven, with the heavy odds on the side of imperialism. But to see the conflict in such narrow focus is to see it falsely on two counts. First of all, the present relationship of forces is not static. Secondly, this relationship is part of, and is influenced by, the worldwide balance of forces.

"Looking at the world scene, we American

Communists, in common with most of the world's Marxists, conclude that although mankind is embarked upon the most treacherous passage of its existence, shadowed by the peril of nuclear war, it can avert this peril. . . .

"Imperialism is no longer the dominant power in the world. A new constellation of forces has come into being that possesses the power to check its inherent drive to global war. To possess power is not the same, of course, as to wield it effectively. All now depends upon the degree of unity achieved in the global peace camp, upon its skill, courage, tenacity in the struggle against war. But it has the potential to prevail. As a consequence we, in common with most of the world's Marxists, are persuaded that world war is no longer inevitable. . . .

"At this writing U.S. military aggression in Vietnam represents the most clear and present danger to world peace. The supreme challenge of the moment, in the fight for world peace, is to halt U.S. aggression, to end U.S. military occupation of South Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese people can decide their own destiny.

"If global war is averted, if U.S. imperialist aggression against the colonial revolutions is checked and beaten back, if the fuse is pulled from such danger spots as West Germany, then we foresee the possibility of a more stable peaceful coexistence. The realization of that possibility will require struggles of the greatest magnitude and intensity. . . .

"For the American people, as for all the world's people, the struggle to avert global war, nuclear war, to realize the historic possibility of peaceful coexistence is the supreme challenge of the age. We Communists are persuaded the struggle can be won. . . ."

With the above as a backdrop, the Program then proceeds to the assessment of the forces challenging U.S. monopoly capitalism:

"Monopoly is thus not only the most formidable barrier to social progress and human welfare; it is also the creator of vast social forces, representing the overwhelming majority of society, that are compelled, in their most elementary self-interest, to struggle against it, to storm and crash its barrier."

And because theories challenging the basic leading role of the working class have emerged on the American scene, the Program starts its assessment by a restatement of this long accepted Marxist truth:

"The decisive, principal adversary of monopoly is the working class. The American working class and its organized detachments,

the unions, have a long, proud history of struggle for social progress. . . .

"The vaunted American standard of living is not the simple blessing of geography and unique historical development. It most certainly is not the generous gift of corporate power. It was achieved through labor's incessant battles. Labor's struggle for the most elementary economic demands—more wages, more leisure, greater security—is in itself an immense force for progress. . . .

"Because monopoly recognizes in labor its most powerful antagonist, it employs the greatest pressures, the most skilled maneuvers to keep labor in check, to make it more pliant. One of monopoly's most patent devices to diminish labor's role is the creation of the most intricate social mythology to obscure it, both from society at large and the working class itself.

"Requiems are pronounced for a vanished working class, but the working class is not vanishing. It has grown, so that today about four out of five gainfully employed Americans are wage or salary earners. . . .

"Not only does economic inequality grow, but social stratification attains astounding degrees. When it is possible to speak (as the literature on poverty does) of 40 million Americans living in dire poverty as being 'invisible', does this not suggest an economic stratification bordering on a caste system with a fifth of the nation consigned to a caste of the unseen, and hence the untouchable? The 'invisible' poor and the 30 million on the borderline of extreme poverty, existing in a state called economic deprivation, are almost in their entirety components of the working class. . . .

"Other classes and social strata feel the oppressive weight of monopoly, but only the working class encounters it in the pith of the productive process, which is the source of the immense accumulations of capital that are both base and instrument of monopoly power. Other classes and strata are exploited by monopoly, but only the exploitation of the working class, that is the extraction of profit from wage labor, is the indispensable condition for monopoly's existence. Relative improvements in the conditions of organized labor do not, as some contend, disprove the existence of class conflict. On the contrary, they bear witness to it, for only through struggle, veiled or open, passive or active, do workers secure and retain economic advances."

In the center of the next historic task facing labor, the Program places the need for the development of labor's political independence

and for a higher degree of class consciousness, as follows:

"In constructing strong, broadly based unions, the workers fashioned the elementary economic instruments to defend their class interests. The next phase of development is creation by the workers of political instruments for the conscious, effective expression and representation of their interests as a class. This necessitates a higher degree of class awareness, of social comprehension. This is the great historic challenge before the American working class, presented by its own evolution and accentuated by the character of the critical problems before it. To be sure, the struggle continues at the point of production, at the collective bargaining table, on the picket line, for the economic needs of the workers, and such struggle will never be rendered obsolete as long as exploitation exists. But the problems increase that require resolution in the political arena."

The other most crucial sector of the forces aligned against monopoly capitalism are the 20 million oppressed Negro Americans. The Program views the working class, both Negro and white, and the Negro people as the two pillars on which the struggle for social progress rests. From this it is clear why the Draft puts such emphasis on working class-Negro people's unity:

"During the past decade the epic sweep of the movement for the freedom and equality of Negro Americans has stirred the whole world. . . . Vast assemblies in the nation's capital have attested to the unity and determination of this movement, they have proclaimed that this is, indeed, one of those movements that arises from the soul of an entire people, from the suffering and humiliation they have endured, from their unalterable resolve to 'overcome' . . .

"As a consequence, it has wrung grudging concessions from the government, which at last affirms formally the justness of the demand for an end to the Jimcrow system. But the system remains.

"The concessions have been minimal, largely token; official policy still is afflicted with gradualism. And yet something vital and profound has been gained in the struggle. . . .

"The intensity of the Negro freedom struggle arises from the special position of the Negro people in American society. They are part of the American nation. But they are subjected to special oppression and exploitation. The whole Negro people are likewise victims of an outrageous system of racial

discrimination, of the practices and prejudices of white supremacy.

"The Negroes in the United States have the characteristics of a distinctive people or nationality. But only in describing the dimensions of their oppression do the Negro people represent themselves as a people apart from the nation as a whole. . . . Their whole struggle is to secure their historically due and just recognition as Americans, free and equal to all other members of the nation. All strata of the Negro people are involved in this struggle. . . . Since this discrimination robs Negro working people of jobs and livelihood, the Negro workers are the most consistent class stratum in the Negro people's struggle because they, above all, experience the immediate effects of racism in these terms. . . .

"The roots of chauvinism go back to the system of chattel slavery. . . .

"Slavery was abolished but the monstrous ideological edifice of anti-Negro prejudice persisted. . . . It was maintained and reinforced because the plantation economy was reconstructed on the serf labor of Negro sharecroppers and tenants, and because monopoly corporations found it profitable to maintain a segregated labor force that could be super-exploited, that could be used as a wedge to divide the working class and as a lever to depress its conditions.

"In rebelling against their yoke the Negro people clash ever more directly with monopoly power."

The Draft then proceeds to discuss the problems and the role of other sectors of the population who are victims of monopoly oppression. This includes a discussion of the farmers, small businessmen, youth, and others.

From all this it then draws the necessary tactical and strategic conclusions and approach to the organization of the anti-monopoly coalition based on these forces:

"Any grand strategy for progressive social change is irrelevant unless it proceeds from the recognition that the forces we have surveyed are, in their sum, the only forces in society that can bring about such a change. Any serious approach to these forces must also consider them as they are at the present level of their development. The immediate objective of serious radical politics, as distinct from radical rhetoric, is to encourage and strengthen within these ranks the greatest independence, the greatest militancy, the greatest clarity and firmness of purpose, the greatest unity within the political forms on the political grounds of the battle they now

wage. In this lies the key to the historic progression of the struggle from its present level. . . ."

In discussing the many obstacles facing the anti-monopoly forces, the Draft singles out the complicated political and electoral problems for an extended examination:

"The present two-party system places a premium upon corruption, cynicism, frustration of the popular will. It does so because each major national party is a combination of heterogeneous and incompatible elements, glued together by electoral expediency in the contest for the Presidency. . . .

"The fundamental evil of the two-party system in its present form is that it is a vise within which the monopoly power contains the social conflicts and pressures of the age. Like any vise it may be tightened or loosened. In times of popular upheaval it has been loosened to give more play to popular pressures. Certainly the progressive forces should press for the maximum play—but always with the limits set, in the final analysis, by monopoly. This recognition is most essential for the working class because its conflict of interest with monopoly is the most acute and consistent, and hence its loss is the greatest when its political effort is confined within bounds set by its antagonist.

"We are for the maximum political struggle possible within the present two-party vise, but the historical direction we see in this struggle, the desired goal, is creation of a new people's party. . . . Its components will be drawn from the forces arrayed against monopoly: the working class, the Negro people, independent farmers; intellectuals, professionals, small businessmen and other middle strata; youth and other groups. . . . Its form will be democratic. . . . Its program will challenge monopoly on the fundamental and critical issues: foreign policy, economic abundance and security for all, substantive equality, an expanding democracy. . . .

"1. A new alignment, a new party of the sort that has been discussed, and even short of that, the popular mass movements that now exist, are not only the agencies for securing substantial reforms; they must also be the guarantors that the potential substance of these reforms is not lost. The struggle does not cease with the winning of demands; it must go on if victory is not to be dissipated or diluted.

"2. A special premium should be placed on reforms that alter the relationship of forces in society so as to strengthen the position of the working class, the Negro people and their allies in the ceaseless contest with monopoly.

We therefore place our emphasis on reforms that will weaken monopoly control and effectively strengthen and expand the democratic powers of the people.

"In setting forth the kinds of reforms we advocate, we do so not in terms of election platform planks, which are detailed, specific demands related to a specific situation, but rather to indicate directions and longer-range objectives.

"a. We emphasize reforms that weaken the economic and political power of the giant corporations. . . .

"b. We emphasize reforms that expand democracy and eliminate Jimcrow and all its legacies in every phase of life. . . .

"c. We emphasize reforms that improve the economic well-being of the people, and enlarge their cultural and educational opportunities. . . .

"d. We emphasize reforms that enhance the self-confidence, strength, unity and fighting capacity of the working class and its allies. . . .

"In all people's struggles today it is especially necessary to explode the fallacy that meaningful social reforms can be won as long as so huge a slice of national wealth and the federal budget goes for armaments and war. The nation cannot travel in two opposite directions at the same time. This means that a central target of all people's struggles must be the military-industrial complex which drives for ever greater appropriations for armaments and war and opposes any significant increase in appropriations to meet critical social needs.

"Thus the struggle for peace . . . is intertwined with all battles for social progress.

"We therefore place our primary emphasis on the fight for a new foreign policy that will secure peace and free the nation from the crushing burden of armaments. . . .

"But we Communists proclaim that the social crisis can be resolved fundamentally only through the revolutionary transformation of society, through the replacement of capitalism with socialism. . . .

"The active expression of this concern in the immediate present is not in contradiction with our ultimate goal; rather, it is the thread that links what can be done today with what must be done tomorrow.

"It is in the democratic struggles for solutions that cannot be deferred, of problems that cannot be evaded, that we see an American path to socialism. In our view socialism is not some artificial imposition or ingenious contrivance. The American people will arrive at the conclusion that it represents their best

hope not through argument alone, but through experience with alternate solutions. . . .

"It is in this that we differ with reformers. They seek reforms to perpetuate the system. We seek reforms as part of a process to hasten its change and replacement. In the struggle for reforms, therefore, we see not only the possibility for creating the best circumstances for the transition to socialism, not only the swiftest realization of the limitations of the present social order, but also the development of a popular majority with the pioneering enterprise, the daring, the democratic will to undertake the fundamental reconstruction of American society. . . .

"Destruction of monopoly cannot mean a reversion to a pre-monopoly stage of competitive capitalism, for this is an idle, reactionary hope. At the present level of economic and technological development monopoly can only be supplanted by public ownership and democratic control of the nation's basic productive plant and banking-insurance systems, operated for the common good, instead of for private profit. This is the economic basis of socialism. . . .

"Our perspective is not premised upon watchful waiting for catastrophe. On the contrary, we see the best realization of our historic goals in the struggle against the threats of catastrophe, against the ultimate catastrophe of global war, and against the lesser catastrophes in kind, like a reactionary coup or an economic collapse. In sum, we conceive of a path to socialism in America as encompassing an ever more determined and widening struggle for peaceful, competitive coexistence, for an ever more viable democracy, for progressively more radical measures, dictated by necessity, to realize the potential for abundance, knowledge, culture and human happiness created by the genius of American labor and science.

"We strive for the creation of a new political majority. First, a political majority that will challenge the corporate Establishment and fight for radical reforms. Then, arising from this conflict, a political majority for the socialist alternative. For us socialism represents a culmination, a crowning achievement of democratic struggle for a better life."

And so the Program moves on to discuss the question of socialism and the transition to socialism not as some abstract, but as a logical necessary step of a higher form of economic security, for a greater guarantee of world peace, for an end to imperialism and imperialist aggression, to a higher form of democracy and equality:

"For us socialism is not an end in itself;

it is the historic means for attainment of the social goals that we share with most Americans. . . .

"The most conspicuous feature of American capitalist society is the gap between its potential and its actual performance. And this relationship is, after all, the most rational yardstick by which to judge a social order. . . .

"By this commonsense measure American capitalism is the most delinquent social order in history. If in other lands poverty has been, or is, the condition of man because the capacity to produce wealth is inadequate, this is not so in the United States. Here the poverty and deprivation that afflict 70 million Americans by one authoritative count are not the consequence of scarcity. They are indictments of a social order that possesses more than ample means to remedy these conditions but does not. . . .

"The gap between capacity and performance is a manifestation of what Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, revealed as the primary contradiction of capitalist society—the contradiction between the social character of production and the private appropriation of its output.

The Draft then projects a possible peaceful path to socialism:

"In its economic foundations socialism rests on two principles:

"1. Public ownership and democratic control, at first of the decisive branches of industry and finance and then of the entire productive economy and system of distribution.

"2. The establishment on the basis of such public ownership of a democratic system of scientific economic planning to end the anarchy, irrationality and waste of capitalist production, and to guarantee the fullest use of the creative capacities of the whole people for the good of the whole people.

"Politically, to effect such economic change will require a government committed and determined to carry it through. This means a government composed of those who have no vested interest in retaining monopoly control over the economy, of those who, by the very nature of their economic position in society, have all to gain and nothing to lose from the common ownership of the nation's productive wealth by the people whose toil, manual and intellectual, created it—in short, a government of the working class and its allies. Such a government, elected by the people, would have a Herculean job of renovation to do in a bureaucratic structure that was fashioned in the service of capitalism. . . .

"Such a government, with the democratic

support of a popular majority, would have to proceed with the greatest energy and resoluteness to enact the measures for the socialist reconstruction of society, and to enforce these measures with the power at its command.

"We believe such a government can be brought to power by democratic means. . . ."

The Draft Program is in a way a pledge that we Communists are going to seek for the peaceful path to socialism. Further, it is a challenge and a call for struggle to keep the avenues of democratic expression open to facilitate the struggles of today and to be used for the struggle and the transition to socialism.

We make this pledge to seek the peaceful path without any illusions about the nature of U.S. capitalism. We make the pledge to seek the peaceful path without any guarantees that it can be realized. Thus the Program concludes on this point:

"In the light of such precedent it would be naive to assume that monopoly would be restrained by Constitutional scruples from resorting to violence to thwart the most democratic mandate for a socialist transformation. The best, though not the certain guarantee for averting violence in such circumstances is the creation of a majority so overwhelming, so united, so firm of purpose as to restrain monopoly from the resort to force.

"Once a socialist government is established it would, like the Lincoln administration, employ its powers to suppress any violent attempt by a recalcitrant minority of propertied interests to nullify the popular mandate. . . ."

The Program has a special section and attitude towards world relations. In a country where jingoism and anti-Communism has been the ideological cloak for the cold war, for the McCarthyite repression, for the attacks on the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa, in a country that has conducted a repressive campaign against the Left, against the Communists and against dissent generally behind the cloak of charging that they are all a part of a worldwide international conspiracy, this point is very important:

"We Communists are part of a social movement which is worldwide in its scope.

"We are part of such a movement because we believe in the principle of labor solidarity, which is the closest thing to human brotherhood that can be attained in a class-divided society. Abraham Lincoln's insight suggested this truth when he said, 'The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family

relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds.'

"We believe in the principle of working class solidarity on the department and shop level. We believe in it on the plant and industrial level. We believe in it on the community and national level. We believe in it on the global level.

"An American automobile worker may call an Italian automobile worker brother without any trace of self-consciousness. He would gag in using that form of address to a millionaire owner of General Motors. This simple example illustrates a profound truth: there is an essential community in the conditions of existence, in experience, in aspirations, in historic destiny that unites workers of all countries.

"This perception illuminated the dawn of the modern socialist movement more than a century ago in Marx's ringing call, 'Workingmen of all countries, unite!' This call was valid then, it is a thousand times more compelling today, for today we also have a new 'internationalism', that of monopoly capital. . . . As a matter of economic self-interest, therefore, American labor should pose working class internationalism as against monopoly 'internationalism'. . . .

"In our solidarity with other peoples in their struggles for independence, freedom and social progress, we help to weaken U.S. monopoly, and, in turn, enlist the solidarity and support of these peoples with the struggle of the American people to liberate their own land from the oppressive grip of monopoly.

"In this respect we North Americans have a special relationship to the peoples of Latin America, for their lands have been designated as the special private domains of U.S. monopoly. . . .

"Monopoly capital recognizes working class internationalism as its mortal foe, and therefore trains its heaviest ideological guns against it. As against true patriotism, monopoly promotes jingoism—a sick national conceit joined with contempt and hatred for other nations. Patriotism is a love of country that can naturally be combined with respect and friendship for other peoples. . . .

"Working-class internationalism has gone through a particular historical evolution since Marx's call for the unity of workingmen of all lands. The fundamental principle has remained the same, but its specific application and organizational expression have varied, according to time, circumstances, the level and need of the working-class movement. . . .

"We American Communists, in our un-

swerving commitment to working class internationalism, stand for its expression through a relationship among the Communist and Workers' parties that is based on a fraternity of equals. We are for consultation among the parties, on the basis of mutual respect. We are resolutely against any resort to slander, or to factional intervention by any party in the affairs of other parties. We are opposed to any concept of monolithic unity that would press all working class parties into one mold. We are opposed to any 'polycentrism' that would entail several leadership centers in the world Communist movement. . . .

"We are firmly convinced that we best serve the interests of the American working class and the American people by fraternal solidarity with the working class and progressive forces of all lands. We are just as firmly convinced that by truly serving the interests of the American working class and people, we can render the greatest contribution to the common struggle of all mankind for a new and better social order."

The spirit of the Program is expressed in the following paragraph from the Foreword to the Program:

"This program is marked by an air of optimism, of expectancy. This, too, is a reflection of our judgment of the nature of social development. That is, our experience in struggle and our knowledge of the laws of social development convince us that not only does human society change but that it changes in a progressive direction. It moves towards an ever more abundant, humane form of social existence—towards socialism and towards communism. Our experience convinces us that there can be no frozen existence of the status quo and we obviously reject any concept of moving backwards."

* * *

The Draft Program makes its appearance at a very important moment in our political life. After 20 years we are seeing the very important beginnings of a mass break with the poisonous ideology of big lie anti-Communism. There are big gaps in the ideological walls of the cold war. The drive by American capitalism to destroy, to silence or to isolate the Communist movement is headed toward ignominious defeat. The Program is a big weapon, a big step along the path of building a mass Communist Party in the United States.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The Austrian elections

F. FUERNBERG

THE AUSTRIAN GENERAL election of March 6 was the first in nearly twenty years to introduce substantial changes in the political scene. The People's Party polled 2,191,128 votes (nearly 167,000 more than in the previous election) and won the absolute majority — 85 seats out of 165. The Socialist Party received 1,929,922 votes and 74 seats, losing nearly 31,000 votes and two seats. In view of the fact that the Communist Party gave its support to the Socialists in 24 constituencies out of 25 their setback was actually greater than the election returns show; if the Communist vote given to the Socialists is taken into account, they lost more than 140,000 votes. Moreover, it should be

noted that the total vote cast was over 81,000 more than in the last election. The share of the Socialist Party in the total vote dropped from 44 per cent to 42.56, while that of the People's Party rose from 45.43 to 48.35 per cent. The third party represented in Parliament — the Pan-Germanist Freedom Party — polled under 243,000 votes, 71,000 less than in the previous election, and won only six seats, two less than before.

The Progressive Democratic Party headed by Olah, ex-President of the Trade Union Federation and former Socialist Minister of the Interior, which for the first time nominated candidates in all constituencies (with Olah himself

heading the list everywhere), received 148,500 votes but failed to win a single seat.

The Communists put up candidates in only one electoral district in Vienna. They polled less than 19,000 votes as against the 21,000 obtained in this constituency in the previous election, and were not returned.

The new parliamentary line-up, then, is: People's Party 85 seats (a gain of four), Socialist Party 74 (a loss of two) and Freedom Party 6 (a loss of two).

The results came as a surprise to both Austrian and foreign observers, for, going by the experience of the past twenty years, it was assumed that no substantial change would take place in the balance between the two leading parties, that the Communist votes cast for the Socialist Party would compensate for a possible shift from the Freedom Party to the People's Party, in other words, that the People's Party would not win the majority needed to form the government. It was also generally believed that Olah, who had been expelled from the Socialist Party, would not poll more than 60,000-80,000 votes regardless of his smear campaign conducted with People's Party support. As it was, however, he obtained twice that number; particularly noteworthy is the fact that he received more than seven per cent of the vote in Vienna, traditionally a Socialist stronghold.

It would be a mistake to explain the outcome of the election only by tactical factors, or by the dexterity — or lack of it — displayed by one or another party in the election campaign, although this, too, played a part. The reasons go far deeper — they can be traced to the changes that have taken place among the masses in the more than twenty years since the Second World War and especially during the past ten years.

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In recent years Austrian capitalism has gained considerably in strength. It has managed to avoid a severe crisis and has extended its international contacts. Moreover, monopoly has penetrated into every nook and cranny and dominates the life of the country. It has amassed enormous profits and accumulated capital as never before. Austria has been tied to the international system of monopoly and finance capital, with West German monopolies playing a special and growing role.

The Austrian bourgeoisie long ago emerged from its post-1945 debility and regained its economic and social positions with the backing of international monopoly capital. It plays the dominant role not only in the economy, but also in the affairs of state and the political arena. The Manufacturers' Association is again laying down the law, going so far as to arrogate to itself the right to decide whether Vienna should offer to act host to the 1972 Olympic Games.

This new resurgence of the bourgeoisie and its closer links with the international monopolies, especially those in West Germany, has influenced large numbers of people who, though

they cannot be rated as belonging to the big bourgeoisie, are closely associated with it by their mode of life as well as professionally and who have much to gain from its ascendancy.

The prolonged boom has considerably strengthened the material position of the small bourgeoisie. This applies not only to the owners of small and medium-sized enterprises and small shopkeepers but also to professional people and the overwhelming majority of the peasants. Although the number of small independent proprietors in both the towns and in rural areas has declined, their weight in society generally is growing, and not only because they are more prosperous but primarily because, as a result of the boom, large sections of clerical employees (mostly those in the top brackets but also part of the middle sections) and the better-paid workers are increasingly coming to share their ideological outlook. Thus there has emerged a relatively large petty-bourgeois stratum which both the bourgeoisie and the working class are seeking to influence. But the conditions in which the struggle between the two influences is proceeding are very different from those that prevailed between the two world wars. At that time the material position of the petty-bourgeoisie was deteriorating; today the opposite is true, and in some cases the improvement is pronounced indeed. During the interwar years the bourgeoisie was, on the international plane, far stronger than the working class; at that time there was only one socialist country, and the colonial empires of the imperialist powers had by and large not been shaken. Today the forces of socialism, progress and anti-imperialism are more powerful than international monopoly capital.

In recent years the working class has been steadily growing in numbers. It is still being augmented by newcomers from the countryside and by women who formerly were occupied exclusively in their households. On the one hand, this tends to introduce petty-bourgeois trends, views and habits into the working class, while on the other it offers a tangible opportunity to enlist new sections of the population in working-class struggles, in the fight for its specific aims, for socialism.

As for the peasantry, which is steadily shrinking, here, too, far-reaching changes arising from mechanization are causing an evolution in thinking which can develop in one or another direction.

Generally speaking the conditions exist for winning large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie for socialism. Yet, in a number of countries, and Austria is one of them, the bourgeoisie is enlisting the petty-bourgeoisie and even part of the working class on its side. And should this trend continue a highly dangerous situation may arise. What are the reasons for this?

The election showed that the Socialist Party with its petty-bourgeois policy could not attract the mass of the petty-bourgeoisie and that its influence in the working class is declining. The Communist Party, too, failed to muster

more support. Clearly bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences had grown in the working class.

The problem of the youth has acquired prime importance. The momentous events and changes since the First World War and the October Revolution in Russia up to about 1950 not only recast the map of the world, they also made a deep imprint in peoples' minds. The economic crises and the horrors of the war and the fascist tyranny strengthened the popular striving towards peace and democracy, primarily in Europe. In the early period this determined the political attitude of the masses. But in the past fifteen years or so a new generation has grown up which has not experienced economic crises, war, fascism or the events of the immediate postwar years. This generation has a different approach to the past and also to the present and the future. It grew up in a period of boom and cold war, a period of resurgence of anti-communism, and does not know from its own experience that it was precisely anti-communism which fascists used as their main instrument for dividing the people and establishing their bloody rule. Moreover, throughout the cold war anti-communism assumed the mask of champion of democracy. It seized upon the economic difficulties of the socialist countries, difficulties caused in some cases by the initial backwardness of some of these countries, and in others by the havoc wrought by the Second World War, and at times also by their own mistakes. The same applies to the grave infringements of socialist democracy, on which the anti-communists could capitalize since they themselves had donned democratic garb.

The Socialist parties likewise did their utmost to disseminate anti-communism, and for a time they actually spearheaded the anti-communist drive. Had this not been the case, the bourgeoisie could not have injected this venom into so large a segment of the working population. The anti-communism of the Socialist parties was, naturally, especially effective in Austria in view of the strength of the Austrian Socialist Party and the traditions it could invoke.

During the cold war no one in the Socialist parties offered serious opposition to their active anti-communism. The reasons which prompted the various trends in these parties to adopt anti-communism varied. Some sought to damage the Communist movement, the socialist countries and socialism generally, to discredit them and to bolster up the capitalist system. Others thought they were doing a service to the Socialist Party by dissociating themselves through anti-communism from the violation of democracy that occurred in the socialist countries and from the dogmatic stagnation experienced for a time in the Communist parties. They mistakenly thought that by anathematizing communism they were doing the Socialist Party a good turn.

We could make a point of the fact that,

drawing on past experience, we warned that anti-communism would eventually be turned against the Socialist parties as well. But today the important thing is not who was right and who was wrong at the time. We have no intention of concealing the fact that the mistakes made by the Communist movement made things easier for the anti-communists.

In recent years, after the changes in the Communist movement since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, Socialists and other genuine democrats have been increasingly turning away from anti-communism. The decisive factor here has been the growing threat to peace and social gains presented by the monopoly capitalists and the readiness demonstrated by the Communists to work for unity with all Socialists and democrats in the struggle against the monopoly offensive. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie has been using anti-communism against the Socialists.

The evolution of political forces in Austria has, then, proceeded against the overall background of changes in the class balance, growth of petty-bourgeois influence, the impact and consequences of anti-communism and the advance of the younger generation among whom the ideas of socialism have gained very little ground. Mention should also be made of the undemocratic electoral law which makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for small parties to win representation in parliament, and which rides roughshod over the will of the electorate.

These objective trends are of course either accentuated or mitigated by the policies and attitudes of the various parties.

The People's Party has resisted every move towards a more democratic electoral law. It is clinging to the privileged position it enjoys under the unfair electoral system in force since 1919, which enables it to obtain a parliamentary majority with a minority vote.

The Socialist Party has advocated electoral reform, but, as on other issues, hesitantly and inconsistently. At first it proposed a reform which would have given it certain advantages (the "five-per cent clause"*) while leaving things otherwise unchanged. Later it gave up the "five-per cent clause" and put forward a proposal which would indeed have been a step forward, but it lacked the courage of its convictions and failed to submit the proposal to parliament even though it could have carried the majority. The Socialists gave up the idea of electoral reform inasmuch as the People's Party voiced its readiness to drop the radio and television reform for the time being.** But now the latter is taking radio and TV wholly into its own hands. It should be

*The Rights want to bring radio and television under People's Party control by using the misleading formula of "depoliticization."—Ed.

**The "five-per cent clause" stipulates that only those parties which receive more than five per cent of the total vote (roughly 230,000) are entitled to seats in parliament.—Ed.

mentioned that had the Socialist project for electoral reform been carried out, the People's Party would not have won an absolute majority in the last elections, but, provided its total vote were the same, only 82 out of the 165 seats.

The fact that the People's Party has succeeded in preventing electoral reform largely accounted for the poor showing of the Communist Party at the polls. In the 1962 elections the Communists received 135,000 votes but failed to win a single seat since they did not obtain the so-called "basic mandate" in any of the 25 constituencies. True, in one of the electoral districts in Vienna they nearly made it, polling over 21,000 votes; the necessary minimum was 27,800. Thus in the last election it was clear from the outset that the Party's prospects had not substantially improved, and it had to decide how best to help prevent the People's Party winning an absolute majority. Following a broad discussion in the Party, it was decided at a national conference to put up a candidate only in the constituency where it had received the biggest vote in the previous elections and to concentrate all efforts on getting the Communist candidate—Comrade Muhri, Chairman of the Party—elected. In the remaining 24 constituencies the Party gave its support to the Socialists in order to bar the way to the People's Party. More than 100,000 voters who usually support the Communists cast their ballots for Socialist candidates. This saved for the Socialist Party two seats which otherwise would have gone to the People's Party and would have increased the difference between the two from 11 seats to 15.

The People's Party has long pursued policies and tactics designed to attract the petty-bourgeoisie and a section of the factory and office workers, especially the youth, or at least to prevent them from voting Socialist. It not only enjoyed the material resources at the disposal of the capitalists, especially in boom times, it also revived the myth that it is out to enrich everybody and is against the omnipotence of the state, whereas socialism, allegedly, seeks to sacrifice wealth to universal squalor and subordinate everybody to state domination. This line of propaganda, refurbished to meet contemporary requirements, extended to such problems as housing, a solution to which has been promised for many years now, the controversy over the nationalized enterprises, wages and prices.

The trap set for new voters was the claim that Austria was threatened by a "red people's front," by an alliance between the Socialist and Communist parties, which would soon result in the country being brought into the socialist camp. The whole arsenal of anti-communism was brought into play. Needless to say, the People's Party leaders knew full well that there was no people's front on the order of the day, and that no agreements had been concluded or even negotiations conducted

between the Socialist and Communist parties. They were fully aware that there were differences of principle between the two parties and that both openly engaged in mutual criticism as before. But this was ignored by the People's Party propagandists, who used the "red bogey" to stampede petty-bourgeois voters and those under petty-bourgeois influence into voting for the People's Party. This propaganda, however, would have failed had it not been able to capitalize on the inconsistent policy of the Socialist Party, on the crisis in that party which led to the expulsion of Olah, and on his struggle against the party.

When the present leaders of the People's Party prevailed over the democratic forces in it and gained power the Socialists levelled severe criticism at this new leadership, which is closely associated with the home and foreign monopolies, especially the West German, and maintains contact with Otto Hapsburg. Yet when the present Federal Chancellor Klaus found himself in trouble with his own Party and was unable to get himself installed as the new head of government, the leadership of the Socialist Party suddenly changed its course and declared for cooperation with Klaus, thereby playing into the hands of the reactionaries in the People's Party and striking a blow at its democratic element.

During the crisis of the People's Party-Socialist coalition, the Socialist leaders began to discuss the possibility of a "little coalition" between the Socialists and the Freedom Party, which they began to characterize as liberal-democratic although the dominant element in this grouping is not merely Pan-Germanist but patently Nazi in orientation. This was a blow at the anti-fascists in their own party and indirectly played into the hands of the neo-Nazis who have penetrated into the People's Party all the way to its leading committees. When things developed to outbursts of anti-semitism and neo-nazism in the higher schools, resulting in the killing of an anti-fascist, the Socialist leadership once again had to take a new tack. But this, too, was done with characteristic inconsistency.

On the eve of the election the Socialist Party made a show of opposing the steady rise in the cost of living. Few, however, could take this at its face value, for it had allowed prices to soar and even sought to justify this far too long. We have already pointed to the hesitations of the Socialist leaders in the matter of electoral reform, and other instances could be cited. But the decisive factor was the crisis that developed in the Socialist Party in connection with the Olah affair. This crisis, too, was by no means fortuitous.

In 1945 Olah applied for membership in the Communist Party but was denied admission because of the way he had acted when a prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp. In the last fifteen years, riding the wave of anti-communism, he became one of the leaders of the

Socialist Party. He won his anti-communist spurs during the strike in October 1950 when he led strong-arm attacks against the strikers, earning the praise of the then Minister of the Interior Helmer, a rabid anti-communist and aider and abettor of the Nazis. In time Olah became President of the Trade Union Federation, Chairman of the parliamentary Socialist Party and, later, Minister of the Interior.

The capitalist press described the crisis in the Socialist Party as a struggle for power. On its part, the party attributed Olah's expulsion to his financial manipulations and violations of party discipline. That Olah was fighting to get into the saddle and that he was guilty of criminal offences was unquestionably true. But this is not the full explanation of the crisis and its consequences as manifested in the election.

The Socialist leadership, which for a long time concealed its conflict with Olah from the public, did not oppose him until just before the election. By the time it finally decided to take action and quite correctly called the Olah party the embryo of a new fascist organization, it was too late. Moreover, a number of tactical mistakes were made in combating the propaganda conducted by the newspaper *Kronenzeitung* which Olah founded on trade union money and turned into his own mouthpiece. The Socialist leaders were convinced that, as in the past, tradition would not allow its supporters to desert the party at the polls, and that Olah would get a few score hundred votes at the most and that of these about half would come from supporters of the capitalist parties.

These expectations proved unfounded. Olah polled 148,000 votes, almost entirely at the expense of the Socialists. This, however, is a far from accurate measure of the voters' dissatisfaction with the inconsistent policy of the Socialist leadership, for this dissatisfaction was shared by tens of thousands who voted Socialist only to prevent the People's Party from gaining an absolute majority.

Despite bourgeois support, Olah could not have collected as many votes as he did were it not for the widespread dissatisfaction with the Socialist leadership. To many voters who formerly supported the Socialist Party he was a man who had been expelled because of his opposition to the leadership.

Special mention should be made of the fact that Olah contributed to the People's Party campaign. He offered confirmation of the people's front myth spread by the latter, and alleged that he was being persecuted by the Socialist leadership because of his anti-communist stand; his smear campaign against the Socialist leaders provided the People's Party with propaganda material emanating from a man "in the know." His anti-semitic sallies likewise helped the reactionaries in the People's Party.

It may be asked: was all this unavoidable? Was this outcome of the election predetermined

by the objective circumstances (the strengthening of capitalism, the attitude and influence of the petty bourgeoisie, the crisis precipitated by Olah in the Socialist Party, and so on)? We do not think so. What the elections showed was that in the fact of a capitalist and reactionary offensive the inconsistent policy of the Socialist leaders spells defeat.

The less prosperous sections of the petty bourgeoisie can be won over to the side of the socialist movement provided it wages a resolute struggle against monopoly capital and if its spokesmen succeed in convincing the public of the necessity of struggle. But this is just what the Socialist Party has not done. It advocates "social partnership," striving above all to enter into compromises with the big industrialists, i.e., monopoly capital. And if the struggle is not spearheaded against monopoly capital, its cartels and its drive to dominate the entire economy, the big capitalists will be able to win over, despite antagonistic interests, both the urban and the rural petty bourgeoisie. Consequently, the influence of the petty bourgeoisie associated with big business tends to grow also among office workers and some sections of industrial workers.

We have already mentioned that the rural population is declining as a result of the flight from the countryside and mechanization, and that this is accompanied by radical changes in the way of life in the villages. The farmer is anxious to keep abreast of technological and social progress and has long ceased to be as conservative in outlook as he once was.

Far-reaching changes in the Church, which we shall mention only in passing, are also making themselves felt, causing significant shifts in the political scene.

The young generation of workers has not experienced the big social and political struggles of the past. Materially the young people are better off. They are less disturbed than the older people by the resurgence of anti-semitism and Nazi tendencies or the growing danger of war. They take democracy for granted, and find it hard to believe that there are forces which are steering towards a new war. The vast majority of young Austrians identify themselves closely with their country, its independence and neutrality, and this too sets them apart from the youth of earlier times.

This is not to say that the new generation has achieved material and spiritual fulfilment. This generation makes highly important material demands, and the most alert of the young people are keenly aware of the social injustice and of the spiritual and moral decline of capitalism. An active movement to change things could set the youth in motion. It is often said that the People's Party was able to win over the majority of the young generation because it opposed the out-dated and discredited system of proportional sharing of power in the coalition of the People's Party and the Socialist Party which dominated the political

scene for the past twenty years.* There is a lot of truth in this. In this respect the People's Party was strengthened also by the hesitancy displayed by the Socialist Party, which at first, in its "program for Austria," laid claim to leadership but afterwards veered back to co-operation with the People's Party on the plea of the best interests of the country.

Since the election, spokesmen for the capitalists as well as the Right-wing Socialists have argued that Communist support in the 24 constituencies, plus the fact that the Socialist leadership did not reject this support, was the main reason for the Socialist setback. One need not be an experienced politician to see that whatever the circumstances the People's Party would have used the "red herring" of anti-communism as its main election weapon against the Socialist Party. And the attempts made by the Socialist leaders to hark back to the past and to prove themselves anti-communist stalwarts simply played into the hands of the People's Party. Nor did their arguments that the Communist Party, by advising its supporters to vote Socialist, had repudiated itself, and that in any case the Communists played no role in the political arena, help matters. The Socialist leaders clearly did not believe this themselves, nor did the public, judging by the lively interest with which the Communist attitude in the elections was discussed.

Had the Socialist Party honestly and openly entered the lists against anti-communism neither the People's Party nor Olah could have profited as they did. It is now faced with the alternative of either joining the anti-communist chorus and thereby forfeiting all chances of gaining ascendancy over the People's Party, or of exerting every effort to expose and extirpate anti-communism in order to carry on the fight around the crucial issues stemming from the conflict between capital and labor.

Far be it from us to gloss over the differences in principle and the contradictions between the Communist and Socialist parties. On the contrary, we believe these differences should be brought into the open and discussed in public, as has been done in many localities. Anti-communism wants to prevent this; its purpose is to discredit communism, to malign it in order to undermine faith in socialism and to bring it into disrepute. So long as the Socialist leaders fail to recognize this and lack the courage to declare that the Communists are entitled to the same rights as other citizens, that they have always been selfless fighters against fascism and for the independence and neutrality of Austria, that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, even if they did make mistakes (which they themselves have revealed and overcome), are working towards the great humane goal of communism—so long

*According to the proportional principle, posts in state bodies, including the nationalized sector of the economy, were shared between the two ruling parties according to their respective strength. This gave them a monopoly in allocating appointments.—Ed.

as the Socialist leaders are not prepared to disseminate these truths in the working class they will leave the doors wide open for the Red bogey. In this respect the Socialist Party is lagging behind many democratic and even bourgeois circles, and also behind a large part of the clergy, who are prepared to engage in a dialogue with the Communists in order to prevent any return to fascist savagery and war and to promote social progress.

The Communist decision to support the Socialists in the 24 constituencies was correctly understood by the overwhelming majority of Socialists despite the allegations about a popular front. The Communists stand for an honest contest of opinions between themselves and the Socialists, not war with each other, they want joint struggle against reaction and monopoly for Austria's independence and neutrality, for regeneration of democracy, for peace and social progress.

The Communist Party lost votes in the only constituency where it had candidates even though it concentrated all its forces on the campaign. The reason for this we see in anti-communism, especially the slander against the People's Democracies, and in the fact that many voters preferred to vote for the Socialist Party which had a better chance of winning, and in order to prevent the People's Party from getting an absolute majority.

No doubt Olah's candidacy also affected the Communist showing. Voters who wanted to voice their discontent with the Socialist Party leadership took the line of least resistance and voted for Olah, who had the backing of the capitalist press, rather than for the Communists who were assailed from all sides. This was the main reason why the natural defection of voters was not compensated by new supporters. To this should be added the weakness of Communist influence among the youth. Moreover, the election campaign was conducted mostly via radio and TV, from which the Communist Party was barred. The thousands of house-to-house visits by canvassers could not make up for this.

The election outcome has resulted in a complex, perhaps even dangerous situation.

The West German imperialists and revenge-seekers, who in recent years have pursued a policy of economic and political infiltration of Austria, lost no time in making it clear both directly and indirectly that they now envisage a new opportunity to step up their offensive. Above all the object is to press for the entry of Austria into the Common Market, completely disregarding her neutrality, and to strengthen the existing political and economic ties. Otto Hapsburg is waiting in Bavaria for the People's Party to open the door for his return; as to his political intentions, he has made no secret of them. Moreover, the anti-semitic and semi-fascist propaganda during the election campaign is also having its effect.

The big capitalists to whom the People's

Party owes its victory are for moving slowly and gradually, but they have not lost sight of their ultimate goals. And these are plain: higher competitive capacity through bigger profits at the expense of real wages and social gains; turning over wherever possible nationalized industry to monopoly ownership, and emasculating democracy in order to buttress the political power of capital.

The Trade Union Federation, which caters to Socialists, Catholics and Communists alike, has already put forward the workers' demands. The memorandum setting forth these demands was adopted unanimously by the Federation. It would be an illusion, however, to assume that the offensive of big capital can be repelled and the workers' demands won without struggle. The direction taken by Austria will largely depend on the resolve and unity of the trade unions.

The People's Party invited the Socialist Party to join it again in a coalition government.

The capitalists would prefer to avoid sharp changes the consequences of which are difficult to foresee. It is anxious to have the Socialist Party share responsibility for the envisaged reactionary measures in the political, economic and social spheres now that the People's Party is on top. The calculation is that the attitude of the Socialist leaders will lead to a deepening of the rift in the working-class movement. The kind of "new" coalition sought is thus plain to see—a government in which the People's Party would hold the reins while the Socialists would merely "cooperate."

There are two trends in the Socialist Party—one for participation in the government at any price, the other professing to be the Opposition. The future of this Party, however, depends on whether it will muster its forces for resolute struggle instead of vacillating and making endless concessions to the capitalists, whether it will combat the anti-communism, or, carry on and perhaps even intensify its anti-communism as the Right-wing insists. Will it openly proclaim socialist aims and fight to win leadership of the state, or, will it completely renounce socialism as the anti-Marxists in the party demand?

The Communist Party defined its policy at its Nineteenth Congress held last year. This is a policy of defense of Austrian independence and neutrality, of rallying all the democratic forces against the home and foreign monopolies as

opposed to the disastrous policy of "social partnership"; regeneration of democracy, extension of social gains and for the peaceful transition to socialism.

This is the only correct policy. It implies the continued growth of the responsibility and the role of the Communists.

* * *

This article was at the printers when the news came that the People's Party would form a Government and that the Socialist Party would become the Opposition. This is a decision with far-reaching implications for Austria. The People's Party has pledged to uphold the interests of all. The Socialist Party has declared itself in resolute opposition to the government. Declarations of this kind, customary under the circumstances, give little or no indication of the real intentions of the party leaders.

The immediate future is likely to see a sharpening conflict of class interests, for the big capitalists in the People's Party will urge realization of their cherished plans to intensify the drive for profits. On the other hand, the working class is likely to offer greater resistance, now that the Socialist workers no longer feel themselves tied to the government. To what extent the interests of the people will be met depends, needless to say, on the militancy of the economic and political organizations of the working class.

Austria is so situated that foreign policy is of enormous importance for her. It is worth noting that Federal Chancellor Klaus gave no assurances in his initial statement that the government would continue the old foreign policy. This is all the more significant in the light of his demonstrative appointment to the post of Secretary of State for the Federal Chancellery of a man like Dr. Karl Gruber, whose ties with the United States and West Germany are only too well known. This is a danger signal which suggests that Austrian neutrality is in jeopardy, for Gruber is notorious for his opposition to neutrality, and indeed was for this very reason removed from the Government in Raab's time.

The vast majority of Austrians want democracy, neutrality and social security for the working people. They are strong enough to give effect to their will. The point now is to make use of this strength.

The Norwegian working-class movement after the elections

HENRY HOFF

THE 1965 ELECTIONS to the Storting were a serious setback for the Norwegian working-class movement. For thirty years one of Norway's three working-class parties, the Labor Party, had been in power. Throughout these years, however, successive Labor government did nothing to restrict the power of monopoly capital and its influence on the economic and political life of the country. Moreover, serious blunders were committed, such as direct Labor government participation in an anti-Communist campaign, a policy that could only serve the interests of the enemies of the working-class movement as a whole.

As a result, many began to lose faith in the Labor Party and this enabled the bourgeois parties to join forces and establish the first bourgeois government in thirty years. Although this government polled only 49 per cent of the votes, it has 80 seats of the 150 seats in the Storting—a solid parliamentary majority for any Norwegian government.*

The fact that one of the working-class parties was obliged to hand over the reins of government to the bourgeois parties can only be regarded as a major defeat for the working-class movement. Socialism, the common objective of all three working-class parties — Labor, Communist, and Socialist People's Party — cannot be achieved under a bourgeois government. Progress towards it is possible only when the working-class movement returns to power and initiates an anti-monopoly policy.

Formerly the trade unions, in which Communists, members of the Labor Party and Socialist People's Party and many non-party workers are active, could present their demands directly to the government through the labor movement. Now this door is closed to them.

As far as Communists are concerned, this

is no new problem. They have always attached the greatest importance to exerting pressure on the government in capitalist society, whether bourgeois or Labor. Nor should the new situation create any major problems for the Labor Party members. The government they trusted and were ready to defend against all attacks no longer exists, and trade unionists will feel under no obligation to help the bourgeois government remain in power. On the contrary, it will be the task of all union members to see to it that its term of office is as brief as possible and to hasten the return to power of a labor government.

To do this the unions will have to put far more emphasis than before on joint *political action* with the working-class parties. Close cooperation must be established between the unions and the entire political working-class movement. It is up to the unions, in which all working-class trends are represented, to do everything in their power to further cooperation between the working-class parties.

As was noted by the trade union conference held under Communist Party auspices,* the militant, anti-monopoly spirit of the working-class movement will be strengthened in the fight for extending democracy and the right to participate in the government.

The tasks of the unions are in line with those set forth in the program of the Communist Party: which aims to restrict the power of monopoly capital and to effect important reforms, such as democratizing the economy, as well as the state and local government, and nationalizing the big banks and the key branches of industry. To carry out this program, the working-class movement must regain governmental power. The task of the unions is to help bring this about as soon as possible. Hence it is not enough to confine the struggle to collective agreements, to a struggle for kroner and ore.

*The election returns were as follows: the Labor Party polled 43.3 per cent of the vote, the Socialist People's Party 6 per cent, the Communist Party 1.4 per cent, and the four bourgeois parties 49.3 per cent.

*October 1965.—Ed.

WHAT CAN WE EXPECT FROM THE BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENT?

It is obvious that the bourgeois government, even were it to consist solely of representatives of the Høyre (Party of the Right), would hardly be so short-sighted as to pursue a policy that would essentially alter the process of economic and social development. It, too, will continue the practice of wage and pension increases. Given a continued favorable economic situation and more or less stable prices, this government will avoid aggravating the situation in the matter of collective bargaining as well.

Of course, the government is not a monolithic bloc. It includes men who represent branches of the economy where cooperative forms of production play the decisive role, as well as men closely linked with monopoly capital. Objective reality is bound to generate major contradictions in such a government, and monopoly capital, primarily through the Høyre, will exert pressure and may cause serious complications. However, monopoly capital itself and its leading party will doubtless act with caution. They are fully aware of the precarious position of a government with only 49 per cent of the vote.

Nevertheless, the representatives of monopoly capital will do their utmost to steer the government in a reactionary direction. Pressure from the ultra-Right has already begun. The more reactionary elements, such as those in the Libertas organization, are resorting to threats. Johan Hjort, Chairman of Libertas, said: "We have no intention of cooperating at any price. And should the new government choose a course which we hold to be wrong, it will be our duty to disavow that course."

Clearly the forces largely instrumental in bringing the bourgeois government to power will in time demand that it foot the bill, and with interest. And the fact that Prime Minister Borten is a democrat and an honest man will hardly help matters.

What the Rights are demanding can be seen from the program of the Høyre issued prior to the general election. Some of the points in the program indicate that this party expresses the interests of monopoly capital, which is determined to consolidate its positions by intensified exploitation of the wage-earners, peasants and fishermen.

Among other things, the program states: "The Høyre holds that the policy of increasing indirect and reducing direct taxation will benefit the economy and further its progress.... The Høyre has submitted a proposal for some reduction in taxes on shareholding companies and will continue to work for a gradual lowering of these taxes.... The state should contribute by pursuing an economic policy that would ease the burden of taxation on enterprises, eliminate undue state regulation and encourage the growth of capital.... The Høyre will therefore work for a revision of the laws regulating exports, imports, currency, interest

rates, inherited from the semi-socialist post-war era."

It is easy to see that this program, if carried out, would signify quite a change in the distribution of revenue in favor of big capital and would endanger the gains won by the working people over the years. Whether the capitalists will be able to persuade the present government to carry out this program will depend primarily on the degree of working-class resistance.

The decisive role here belongs to the Trade Union Federation with its membership of nearly 600,000. It will not be easy for monopoly capital to get the bourgeois government to adopt any measure against the will of the trade unions, provided the latter resist such moves. Inasmuch as the government is far from being a monolithic one, the unions can, by active and vigorous struggle, win their demands. This would strike at the reactionary forces behind the government, weaken its base and create conditions for the formation of a new labor government or a broadly based democratic government with the working-class movement as its main force.

Since the general election views have been expressed in the unions indicating a desire to make a bigger contribution to the political struggle. The newspaper of the Building Workers' Union had this to say: "We are not a group of losers engaged in licking our wounds. From defeat to victory is the inspiring slogan with which we shall go forward. We do not wish to dwell here on the results of the election having proved once again how dearly we have to pay for disunity in struggle. Suffice it to say that we have been given yet another reminder that for us unity and solidarity are the sole way to victory."

"The working-class movement still occupies strong positions among the people," observed the paper of the Food Industry Workers' Union. "And we must see to it that this is brought home to the new government."

Of course, it is not enough to confine oneself to declarations. Pressure from the unions should be concrete. And in this respect what Henry Nicolaysen, Chairman of the Transport Workers' Union, said at the Union Congress held after the general election is of particular importance. "Immediately after the election the security issues of finance institutions and industrial companies rose by 7 to 10 per cent," he said. "This was a vote of confidence in the bourgeois government on the part of the capitalists.... Our reply to the bourgeois government should be organizational and economic preparedness to be able to cope with any contingencies that may arise in the present situation."

STEP UP POLITICAL ACTIVITY

If the unions are to succeed in their tasks they will have to do much to develop political activity among factory and office workers. It

was a setback for the entire working-class movement when the union clubs in the enterprises and union organizations generally decided to eschew politics at their meetings. This decision, adopted in 1946, was said to be due to the fruitlessness of talks about merging the Labor Party and the Communist Party. It was argued that acrimonious debate should be avoided because it might breed distrust and deepen the split. But this ban has often prevented people from voicing progressive views. It dampened interest in politics and increased the danger of union clubs and organizations becoming passive.

On the other hand, long before the general election, political activity in the enterprises and in the unions grew. The workers began to realize that the unions should talk about something other than kroner and ore. This expressed itself particularly in the contribution made by the union clubs and organizations against stationing atomic weapons on Norwegian soil and against Norway's membership of the Common Market. Today this activity manifests itself in the campaign against the U.S. war in Vietnam.

Union reluctance to discuss politics at meetings is dwindling. The situation has plainly changed compared with 1946. A stirring can be observed in the area organizations of the unions — the trades councils — which for long had hardly functioned as political centres.

Such changes have occurred, specifically, in the Oslo trades council, which took a direct part in relief work for Vietnam, and also in the Kragero trades council, which held a series of meetings to discuss political matters. The important thing is that unions should not confine themselves to meetings but should lead united action by the membership in their respective districts. This will enable them to regain prestige and become an important factor in the trade union movement, primarily in the campaign that must be launched if the labor movement is to win state power.

Affiliated membership of the Labor Party by some of the unions should be replaced by greater political activity by the unions themselves. This would call a halt to infringements of the principle which entitles everyone to join the political party of his choice. It would consolidate the labor movement and, in the long run, benefit it and its parties. It would result not in division but in the trade union movement and the political movement of the working class drawing closer as they strive for common objectives.

The factory is the place for trade union work. It is there that the working people should be mobilized politically. The "groups of militants" formed in a number of enterprises before the general election was a useful measure, for the task of the groups was to campaign against the likelihood of a bourgeois government. But they had a serious shortcoming in that they were linked with only one of the working-class parties—the Labor Party. At the time of the

election it was hard to do anything else, since there was no organized cooperation between the working-class parties which, in fact, were rivals in most localities. Regrettably, numerous Communist Party proposals and appeals for cooperation brought no response from the other working-class parties. Nevertheless, the idea of the "groups of militants" was sound and should be put into effect in solving problems on which the working-class parties are at one.

The Communist and Labor parties have branches in some enterprises. To promote unity in the enterprises, one could consider the proposal for dissolving these branches in favor of political contact groups of the working-class parties in the particular enterprises. This might lead to renunciation of the election of delegates and to the adoption of other decisions on a party basis. As a result, all forces could be concentrated on common tasks and advance to greater unity, with the aim of achieving political unity in the working-class movement.

In any case, this unitary activity in the enterprises might help shorten the bourgeois government's term in office and bring back a labor government. To tackle this problem earnestly means discussing in every working-class party specific organizational steps likely to lead to unity.

UNITY THROUGH GREATER DEMOCRACY

The Communist Party Executive pointed out that the opportunities for extensive democratic development have been substantially reduced since the electoral defeat of the working-class movement. As far as the trade unions are concerned the best way to unity is to press forward for greater democracy, in particular for the right to co-management.

The rules of the Trade Union Federation say that the Federation shall work for freedom, law and order, and economic democracy, to ensure that employees have a say in the economy, and to bring about a development of society under which a higher standard of living and an equitable distribution of public wealth can be attained. The rules of most of the big unions say that their aim is socialism.

However, the entire trade union movement should hold broad discussions on democracy if it wants to succeed in its effort for greater democracy. These discussions should exceed in breadth and depth the debate on the data collected by the Aspengren Committee.* These data were useful enough, but too little was done to organize extensive discussions with the cooperation of the whole movement. There were no adequate summaries and other data fully reflecting class relations in Norway and likely to invite broad and lively discussions.

Materials of this nature can be found in the writings of H. Klevens, author of *The Class*

*Set up by the Labor Party and the Trade Union Federation to study problems of industrial democracy.—Ed.

Composition of Norwegian Society. This book appeared in 1965—too late to affect the discussion already going on about the problems of industrial democracy, and as for earlier data, they were familiar to too few Communists.

The need for this discussion will make itself felt more and more. Reiulf Steen, Vice-Chairman of the Labor Party, said in *Arbeiderbladet* that the Party needed a new long-range program and that its organizations should therefore set out to "discuss problems of the future, especially in terms of the development of democracy in every sphere of social life."

What Steen poses as the focal issue is a discussion of those problems which we Communists also consider most important. It should therefore not be difficult to reach agreement on holding such discussions in the unions. But this cannot be done by one party. The TUF should take the initiative in holding talks with spokesmen of all working-class parties in order jointly to prepare the material to be discussed in the unions and in the labor movement generally. Every point of view should be examined in these discussions.

The Communist Party Program says: "Democratic development today demands that the economic and political power of monopoly capital be restricted. The Communist Party advocates the unity of all who are exploited by monopoly capital, in a common fight for the renovation and extension of democracy. This can be brought about only through working-class unity and the unity of the people."

The Program outlines tasks aimed at extending democracy in every sphere of social life. It poses questions of the kind of government, cultural progress, moulding public opinion, democratic rights, and the right of decision-making in industry and investment. Obviously, this Program, while not perfect, is a valuable contribution to a general discussion.

It goes without saying that the unions' first and most important demand aimed at extending democracy is the demand for co-management. The General Agreement recently concluded between the unions and employers is a step forward, for it puts new conditions to the employers for talks with the employees. A law in force in the state enterprises concerns so-called enterprise meetings. Wage and salaried workers elect one-third of the delegates to these meetings. On the other hand, the right to membership of the *boards* of state enterprises is restricted, since employee representatives are appointed, not elected. This is undemocratic. In the post and telegraph departments, controlled by the state, councils will be set up. One-third of the members of these councils will be elected by the employees. The state railways will have a cooperation committee on which the employees will be represented along with the management. Thus the legislation in force in enterprises owned or controlled by the state gives the wage and salaried workers a somewhat bigger say. At any rate, the

situation there is better than in private enterprise.

Industrial democracy does not come about of itself. The labor movement can win it only through sustained struggle. But to further this struggle, the entire movement should consistently hold discussions enlightening those who take part in them.

The demand put forward by the trade union conference sponsored by the Communist Party that workers and office employees be given the right of genuine participation in deciding questions pertaining to labor relations in the enterprises, management, planning, investments, utilization of profits, and hiring, dismissal and pensioning of workers could be a valuable contribution to the discussion of the situation in the enterprises.

The right to strike is a basic democratic right essential for the working class not only in the struggle for immediate demands but for progress leading to socialism. Yet this right is frequently infringed in our country by the Wage Board as well as in other ways.

To relinquish the right to strike would signify virtual dissolution for the trade unions.

Henry Nicolaysen, Chairman of the Transport Workers' Union, was quite right when he said that "workers and office employees should be fully entitled to participate in deciding matters concerning wages and working conditions. This is a human right which belongs to us, and factory and office employees will fight for this right should anyone try to deprive us of it."

Without their struggle the workers would not have the right to strike today. This struggle helped to build up and consolidate their organizations. Factory and office employees should draw on these traditions to combat the attacks of the Wage Board. The right to strike should be used against the Board itself. What the chairman of the Transport Union said was addressed to the entire trade union movement, which must defend the right to strike.

At the same time the unions must not violate the right of their members to take independent decisions concerning working conditions. The endorsement of collective bargaining agreements by union conventions (or union executives) without submitting the agreements for approval by the membership was such a violation. Practices of this kind make for passivity and indifference in the unions. This line, fraught with deadly danger for the trade union movement, would undermine the unions and create a climate favoring disruptive organizations. Hence it is essential to be on guard against any infringement of the rights of the union membership.

Needless to say, in all organizations the members delegate some rights to their officials and to their elected representatives to conventions who are empowered to decide matters affecting union budgets and reports by the executives, to chart the basic lines of union activity and to elect their executives. The latter, in turn, are vested with leadership of the

organization. But it would be wrong to deprive the rank and file of the right to take part in fixing the price for the sole commodity they have to sell—their labor power. Anything tending to undermine faith in the unions would help to keep the bourgeois government in the saddle for a long time. Now more than ever it is important to reinforce the workers' faith in their unions and to give new impetus to their activity. And this implies a constantly growing rank and file influence.

REVISION OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS

The revision of the collective bargaining agreement now that the bourgeois parties are in power will be an important test of strength for the trade unions. As was to be expected, the employers and the government are urging wage-earners to give up their demands. Despite the fact that for years now the big industrialists have been gathering record profits. *Arbeids-giveren*, the mouthpiece of the Employers' Association, claims that under the circumstances wage increases are practically ruled out. "From the standpoint of coordinating wages with growth of production," the paper says, "it is perfectly clear the wage-earners have already received their fair share and even more."

The same argument is advanced each time collective agreements come up for re-examination. Actually, however, real wages have risen only slightly in recent years while profits have soared. As a result, "the share of the wage-earners in the overall income has declined considerably," to quote Jens Solli, economic expert of the Labor Party paper *Arbeiderbladet*.

Things are developing as the Program of the Communist Party pointed out: "In the postwar period marked by a steady rise in prices, the Norwegian working-class movement has waged an unflagging struggle against the lowering of real wages. Wages have risen, the working day has been shortened, and workers' families are now in a position to acquire more consumer goods. But workers are often compelled to work overtime, the production pace has been greatly speeded up, and frequently both husband and wife have to work. The greater expenditure of labor by workers and the growth of labor productivity have resulted in increased production and more intensive exploitation. Big capital is appropriating a steadily increasing share of the values created by the people."

The capitalists are out to channel the 1966 production increment wholly to accumulation of capital. Hence the trial of strength the trade union movement will face in the course of renewing contracts this year. The proposals advanced by the Trade Union Federation are noteworthy, calling as they do for a general increase in wages, additional payments for the lowest-paid groups, women included, wage compensation in connection with the possible introduction of a five-day week in the future, full wages for all workers in the event of illness, etc.

These proposals are in line with those put

forward by the Communist Party's trade union conference. The latter, however, also demanded earlier retirement on pension and shorter working hours, and urged that collective agreements should be negotiated by unions on an industry-wide scale.

The need for a shorter working day is highlighted by the greatly increased productivity and intensification of labor. Many of the unions have come to see this. The railwaymen's convention, for instance, called for a forty-hour five-day week.

Investment rates, marketing problems or the size of dividends are not examined during negotiations on collective agreements. In Norway, where the monopolies use the machinery of state to carry out policies serving their interests and fix their own ratio of income distribution, the "coordinated incomes policy" offered to wage-earners does not extend to profits but relates only to the incomes of wage-earners, farmers and fishermen. Hence the latter can only resist it and it is their struggle that should be coordinated. Their efforts should be directed not against one another but against monopoly capital and profits.

The Trade Union Federation, however, seems to have taken a line admitting of a competitive struggle between wage-earners, farmers, and fishermen. It has announced its readiness to accept "coordination" of incomes provided agricultural and fishing agreements are concluded and made public before the Federation announces its final stand after a vote in the various unions. This would make it appear as if the collective agreements were a matter of regulating relations primarily between wage workers, farmers and fishermen. From this one might draw the erroneous conclusion that these groups of working people have no interests in common. These groups should be brought together to render mutual support to one another in combating the incomes policy and the monopolies behind it. This is the only way to combat the danger in the shape of the "coordinated incomes policy."

UNITY AND COOPERATION OF ALL WORKING PEOPLE ARE IMPERATIVE

The attempts made to set one group of working people against another are by no means a new departure. To this device the monopoly capitalists have resorted time and again with a view to diverting attention from their profits and the exploitation to which they are subjecting both wage workers and farmers. Hence it is essential to be on guard against every attempt to drive a wedge between these two sections sharing common interests.

The most important factor determining the relationship between factory workers and office employees is that neither category owns the means of production; in fact, they possess nothing but their labor power. The former may work at a forge hammer, the latter at a typewriter, but both are exploited by a common

enemy irrespective of the conditions of the exploitation. It is important to bear in mind the thesis put forward in the Party Program that the working class consists of both factory and office workers, whose numbers are steadily growing. Only a small group of privileged higher officials remain outside the working class.

Among the clerical workers there are new and growing groups of wage and salary earners who are entering the trade union movement alongside the factory workers and the older categories of office workers. All these groups of working people should join in common organized activity in defense of their common interests and common goal.

Factory and office workers should join forces against their common enemy. They should stand together both in re-negotiating the collective agreements and in activities aimed at returning the working-class movement to the helm of government.

They should rally their forces in the enterprises, in every trade union, in the area and city trades councils and in the leadership of the Federation. They should get together to render solid support to the farmers and fishermen.

If this is done the results will be felt not only in the process of renewing the collective agreements but will help to hasten the defeat of the present capitalist government.

The general election in Finland

ERKKI SALOMAA

THE FINNISH PARLIAMENT as it stands today, dates back to the revolutionary movement of 1905 which swept Tsarist Russia, of which Finland was then part. Thanks to this upheaval the struggle waged by the working-class movement since the nineteenth century for universal and direct franchise culminated in the establishment of a 200-seat parliament with proportional representation and suffrage extended from the outset to both sexes. Since then the regulations governing the functioning of the Diet have remained basically unchanged. With the achievement of independent statehood in 1917 and the restoration of constitutional practices in 1919, parliamentary government became established. Whereas the Finnish government during Tsarist rule had been responsible only to the Tsar, it now became responsible to parliament.

Until the end of the Second World War, however, the freedom of association and assembly and the universal and direct electoral rights stipulated in the Constitution were restricted, and at times of black reaction a substantial part of the nation was almost completely denied these rights. The Communist Party, for instance, was declared illegal and barred from the electoral arena. In the 'thirties fascism swept Finland as well, depriving all those to the Left of the Social Democrats of the opportunity to nominate candidates for

general elections and local elections. Things changed only after Finland dropped out of the war. The peace treaty called for an end to the previous restrictions on democratic rights. In the new conditions the People's Democratic movement* which had gained considerable ground succeeded in bringing about many democratic changes. For one thing, the voting age was reduced to 21. In the first democratic general election held in 1945 the People's Democratic Union polled nearly 399,000 votes, or 23.5 per cent of the total. The Union became the strongest party in parliament, with 51 seats.

In subsequent general elections, now held once in four years the percentage of the vote cast for the People's Democrats remained stable. In the 1962 elections they polled, for the first time, more than half a million votes, out of a total of 2,300,000.

The last general election, originally scheduled for early June but brought forward to March 20 and 21, aroused keen interest. The country had a bourgeois government enjoying only a

*The People's Democratic Union was founded in 1944 by the Communist Party, many Social Democratic and other workers' organizations and individual Social Democratic leaders. Since then it has grown into a strong organization with a membership of over 150,000. It is the electoral vehicle of the entire working-class movement Left of the Social Democrats.

small majority in parliament (113 seats) and pursuing a policy which evoked deep dissatisfaction among the working people and other sections of society. It was headed by a representative of the Center Party (the name recently adopted by the Agrarian Union in a bid to extend its influence to the cities and industrial areas), which had the largest number of seats (53) in the Diet. The working-class opposition was divided into three groups—the People's Democrats (47), Social Democratic Party (38), and the Social Democratic Workers' and Smallholders' Alliance (2).

All three groups criticized government policy equally sharply. The main election slogan of the opposition was the demand for a new governmental policy. The People's Democratic Union and its biggest affiliate, the Communist Party, laid the emphasis on the need for an alternative policy which would put an end to the economic and political power of the Finnish and foreign monopolies, introduce social reforms, abolish unemployment, promote all-round development of the economy and stand consistently for peace. In the course of the preparations for the elections, a clear demarcation line was drawn between the bourgeois parties represented in the government, on the one hand, and the socialist parties, on the other. The People's Democrats, however, were attacked by all the other parties. The old smear was revived that the People's Democratic Union was an undemocratic grouping while the others, even the extreme Right-wing Coalition Party, were democratic. Only the Social Democratic Workers' and Smallholders' Alliance refused to join the smear campaign, instead it entered in an electoral bloc with the People's Democrats. Although the People's Democratic Union offered to conclude a similar alliance with the Social Democratic Party the leadership of the latter rejected the proposal. As in the previous postwar elections, the People's Democrats in effect stood alone against the other parties which cooperated with one another to one or another extent in combating the former.

The electorate has displayed a relatively high degree of activity in all postwar elections. This year 83 per cent of voters came to the polls. The results thus were an impressive indictment of bourgeois policy and of the bourgeois parties by the people, who for the third time in Finland's history returned a socialist majority. The first time this happened was in the revolutionary year of 1917, and the second time, in 1958. As on these occasions, the present majority is a narrow one, 103 seats against 97; nonetheless this is evidence of a substantial growth in the vote cast for the workers' parties, of a turn to the Left on the part of the electorate. The undisputed victor was the Social Democratic Party, which increased its representation from 38 seats to 55, and its vote by 200,000 (from 449,000 to 645,000). The Social Democratic Alliance won

what might be called a technical victory. In the preceding election, when the Alliance, like the Social Democratic Party, refused to enter into a bloc with the People's Democrats, it polled nearly 100,000 votes and won only two seats. This time its vote was down to 60,600, yet this gave it seven seats.

The People's Democrats met with a setback, the number of its deputies dropping from 47 to 41. Its vote, too, slightly declined, remaining, however, above the half-million mark. The seats lost by the People's Democrats went mainly to its electoral ally, the Social Democratic Alliance, which put forward only one or two candidates in the various constituencies and concentrated on winning support for them. The gains of the Social Democratic Alliance despite its relatively small vote is due to the proportional representation system (the Belgian d'Hondt system) enforced in Finland. Yet the fact remains that it was the election bloc between the People's Democrats and the Social Democratic Alliance that resulted in the Left majority in the new Diet. Without this bloc the Alliance would have entered the arena independently since the Social Democratic Party refused to form an election bloc with it. In this case its 60,000 votes would surely have been wasted and the Alliance left without even the two seats it had before. Thus, from the standpoint of the interests of the working-class movement as a whole, the bloc was fully justified even though it reduced the number of People's Democratic MPs. Otherwise the bourgeois parties would have remained in the majority in the new Diet.

Various explanations have been offered for the People's Democrats' setback. One is that the People's Democratic Union and the Communist Party did not have the same impact on the young voters as the other parties, that they failed to make their principles and aims sound convincing to the masses of voters. It is pointed out that both the Union and the Party decided to bring their programs up to date before the elections, and that the polling gave new impetus to work in this direction. Another explanation offered is that Finland is no longer an agrarian country but an industrial one where the majority of the population are wage and salary earners living in towns and industrial areas, and that these changes in the population structure had not been taken sufficiently into account by the People's Democratic Union and the Communist Party. It is also true that the views of those who hitherto had voted for the capitalist parties do not change rapidly and without zigzags, they could hardly be expected to turn all at once to the People's Democratic and Communist positions. The tendency is for people newly disillusioned with capitalist policies to give their votes to the Social Democratic Party. It is worth noting that the vote was particularly heavy for the newer Social Democratic candidates representing the intellectuals and middle strata. Wheth-

er the Social Democrats gained support at the expense of the extreme Right, which lost heavily, is hard to say, although the drop in the representation of the Conservative Coalition Party to 26 seats, six less than in the previous Parliament, seems to suggest this. The more than 100,000 votes lost by the Coalition could hardly have gone to the Center Party, considering that the latter's voice declined by 26,000.

The Social Democratic Party, whose leaders turned down repeated proposals for cooperation made by the People's Democratic Union before the election, now holds the key position.

One of the main objects of bourgeois policy was to bar the People's Democrats and the Communists from the government. And, indeed, ever since 1948 the bourgeoisie has succeeded in keeping out the People's Democrats, who all along have been, jointly with the Center and Social Democratic parties, one of the three biggest political groups in the country. In the past the Social Democrats too supported this line. Their victory at the polls, however, has changed the situation. They are now in the saddle, and all the prerequisites exist for cooperation among the Left. But the trouble is that there are influential people in the Social Democratic leadership who prefer to cooperate with the bourgeoisie. On the eve of the election the Social Democrats advanced a comparatively radical eight-point program which could serve as the basis for joint action on the part of the

workers' parties. The SDP, moreover, declared its readiness to head the struggle for the implementation of this program. At the same time, the bourgeois parties, whose policies were defeated at the polls, are reluctant to tackle any reform program under Social Democratic leadership. Consequently the Social Democrats will find it extremely difficult to carry out their election promises as regards reforms if they refuse to cooperate with the People's Democrats and the Communists.

The Social Democrats were faced with a similar situation in 1958 when there was a socialist majority in parliament. But at that time, contrary to the clearly expressed will of the electorate, a government was formed in which the key positions were taken by representatives of the capitalist parties and government policy was shaped accordingly. Nor have the Social Democrats forgotten their experience in cooperation with capitalist parties in the government and the discontent this caused among their followers. The prospect of a repetition of such cooperation is anything but heartening for them. From the standpoint of the working class and all who work for a living, the most desirable thing is cooperation among the socialist groups in Parliament. This could bring about a turn in the country's policies and ensure realization of the wishes of the electorate so clearly expressed at the polls.

Conservative defeat in Britain

THE BRITISH GENERAL election on March 31 resulted in a crushing defeat for the Conservative Party, the party of big capital. The Labor Party, which in the outgoing Parliament had the precarious majority of three, now has the comfortable majority of 97 seats. Compared with the previous election in October 1964, Labor increased its vote by 850,000, or 3.8 per cent of the total. This is indicative of the response of the voters to some of the reforms carried out by the Wilson government during its one and a half years in office.

Labor's total vote of slightly over 13 million was 47.9 per cent of the total. The votes cast for the Conservative and Liberal Parties, respectively 11,387,832 and 2,293,422, add up to 50.3 per cent of the overall vote. The Communist Party, which contested 57 of the 630 seats, polled just over 62,000 votes. For one reason or another — apathy, illness, absence from home, etc. — roughly 25 per cent of the electorate did not go to the polling booths.

It was generally agreed that the main issues of the election were the stagnant state of the economy and, as a means to remedy it, the so-called incomes policy.

In his electioneering speeches, Mr. Wilson argued that a Labor Government could, and would, manage the economy more efficiently than the Conservatives — hence the incomes policy. The Conservatives in turn found the workers, and especially their trade unions, mostly to blame for all the difficulties of the economy.

The Times, March 10, in an editorial offered a list of twenty-six "Why the £ Is Weak" in the markets of the world. Britain, it complained, "living beyond her means," was in pawn to foreign moneylenders; her industry has continuously lost its share of world markets; extra leisure is put before effort; too many working hours are turned into gambling hours, and the trade unions are irresponsible. In the summing up of the oracular leader

writer: "The £ could be strong if the British people had the ears to hear, the eyes to see and the will to recover their native sense and energy."

To this angry tirade the "deaf," "blind," "lazy," "gambling" and "erring" working people responded by ignoring *The Times* and the Tories and by returning a Labor Government with a vastly increased majority.

In justice it should be said that the few of the far Right in the Labor leadership like George Brown, deputy Prime Minister, and Ray Gunter, Minister of Labor, competed with *The Times* and the Tories in hectoring trade unionists.

The 57 Communist candidates and the Communist Party put the blame for the country's economic plight squarely where it belongs—on the monopoly capitalists. The Party's election manifesto called for a Labor policy which would express the class interests of the working people and not those of the monopolists and the capitalists generally.

The class interests of the working people, it pointed out, are in no way served by squandering £350 million a year in overseas military bases and by exporting capital at an annual rate of £250 million. It is this expenditure that is largely responsible for Britain's chronic balance of payments crisis. And while this kind of squandermania has continued year in and year out, successive governments have complained that money cannot be found with which to build the homes, schools, hospitals and other services needed by the people.

Communist candidates are handicapped in many ways by the electoral system which, working to the advantage of the two big parties, is stoutly defended by them.

Costs of electioneering are high. For the Conservative Party, the party of Big Business, money for campaigning is hardly a problem; the Labor Party traditionally, is generously supported by the trade unions. The Communist Party, on the other hand, has no financial subsidies; it relies on the support of its members and sympathizers, on voluntary effort in all routine work of campaigning.

The two big parties, moreover, are able to use television and the radio to put their case before millions of viewers and listeners. The Communist Party had to wage a veritable battle before it compelled the powers that be to grant it an appearance on television and radio. John Gollan, for example, was allocated a mere five minutes on television in which to present the Party's policy. And it hardly needs saying that all the national dailies, with the exception of the *Daily Worker*, were slanted against the Communists.

Unlike the Conservative candidates most of whom had associations with Big Business, and unlike Labor candidates many of whom were trade union officials or professional politicians, the Communist candidates were working men and women, some professional people—univer-

sity lecturers, doctors and teachers—but many of them workers from factory, mine and office.

Unlike the electoral system in some countries where proportional representation or variations of this system are practised, in Britain the voter has only a single choice—one party. Thus in constituencies where the combined vote of, say, Labor and Liberal candidates happens to be greater than the total Conservative vote, the majority of the electors in the constituency are saddled with a Conservative member with whom they totally disagree. In the overall sense the present voting system usually results, as we have seen from the total figures for this election, in a minority Government.

This system hits particularly hard at the Communist Party because many would-be Communist voters, in their anxiety to prevent the Conservative or Liberal from winning, vote Labor since the feeling is that Labor's chances of winning are greater than those of the Communist candidates.

With proportional representation and the transferable vote this fear would be eliminated, and the allocation of seats according to votes cast would assure the Party of representation.

The great question now is what will the new Labor Government do with its massive working majority. Throughout 1965 Mr. Wilson could plead with his Left critics not to "rock the boat" in view of his tiny majority. Labor's overwhelming majority deprives him of this excuse, and with the fear of being defeated in the House by the Conservatives now dissipated for the next five years, the working people expect much from the Government.

Washington with its position in South Vietnam going from bad to worse will, no doubt, press Mr. Wilson harder than ever to repay for their underpinning the £ by sending a contingent of British troops to South Vietnam, i.e., to pay with blood for the dollar loans.

Submission to the pressure of the transatlantic moneylender would in all probability signify for the new Labor Government the fate that befell Attlee's Government in the 1950s when, quailing before Washington, it became involved in the Korean War and subsequently went down to defeat by the Tories and doomed Labor to 13 years in the political wilderness.

The Communist Party and the Left generally say that, with the strengthened position of the Left in Parliament, a new stage has set in in the struggle for peace and progress; the task now, as the Party sees it, is: "to force action against the monopolies, to defeat the incomes policy, and the threatened legislation against the unions, to put social spending before arms, to end Britain's support of the U.S. in Vietnam and the 'east of Suez' policy, and to get an independent British foreign policy. In this great effort the Communist Party will play its part."

J. GIBBONS

Political parties of Senegal and unity of its patriotic forces

MAJHEMOUT DIOP

IT IS DIFFICULT to understand the problem of unity in Senegal unless one understands the nature of the obstacles in the way of those who are working to solve it. The relatively developed system of political parties in the country has led to the fact that when tracing the origin of these parties the tendency has been to classify them according to the usual categories. Thus, some parties have been described as parties representing different social classes, others as parties serving the interests of individual politicians or clans, still others as parties representing foreign interests in the country and abroad. However, reality is much more complex. To classify the Senegalese parties according to a single denominator is to oversimplify this reality.

This reality requires that a number of factors be taken into account. The first is that points of contact exist between the different parties and their leaders. Nearly all of these leaders are of the same social origin—the urban petty bourgeoisie. Furthermore, most of them imbibed their ideology at a certain period in their careers at the same source—nationalism and even “Marxism.” It does not follow from this that the writings of these leaders necessarily express a definite mode of thinking or final political choice. It would therefore be a mistake to appraise them solely on the basis of these writings. What they write might often be designed to meet the tastes of a certain readership inside and outside the country.

However, one must guard against the danger of overestimating these factors, for in practice any professed doctrine (irrespective of the intentions of those professing it), leads to the formation of groups based on common interests, these groups naturally gravitate towards points of view likely to be of advantage to them. It is in this sense that one can speak of an ideology being characteristic of one or another class and serving its interests.

Viewed from this aspect it is easy to see that class, personal and foreign interests can exist side by side, the one superimposed on the other. However, since these interests are sometimes antagonistic, unity of the patriotic forces can be achieved only given very favorable conditions and vigorous action.

Thus, the achieving of unity is a complex and delicate matter. It cannot be attained by the wave of a wand, by incantations or impassioned appeals. It is essential to get down to the root of the matter and find solutions that best correspond to our times and to the requirements of the revolutionary struggle.

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An examination of the Senegalese political parties from the standpoint of achieving unity shows that they are in constant movement, that fusions and splits among them are frequent occurrences. Before the Second World War ten years passed between the break between Galandou Diouf and Blaise Diagne (1928) and the fusion of the Senegalese Socialist Party with the SFIO (1938)*. After the war, when the Senegalese section of SFIO was reconstituted with Lamine Gueye at its head, there broke away from it in 1948 the party of the Democratic Bloc of Senegal (BDS), headed by Senghor, President of Senegal. This was followed in the next ten years by four mergers of parties or factions and five splits.

Thus, in 1956 the BDS merged with the Senegalese Democratic Union (UDS), a section of the Democratic Union of Africa (RDA). This resulted in the formation of the Senegalese People's Bloc (BPS). But even before the process of amalgamation culminated in 1958

*Blaise Diagne was the first African deputy to represent Senegal in the French parliament. In 1928 Galandou Diouf, a teacher and associate of Blaise Diagne, joined the Opposition. After the death of Diagne, Galandou Diouf, who had been elected a deputy, left his former supporters, who formed the Senegalese Socialist Party. At the time of the Popular Front in France the SSP united with a group of French members of the SFIO at a congress in Thies.

in the People's Bloc uniting with the Senegalese Party of Socialist Action (new version of the SFIO) which brought into being the present ruling party, the Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS), our party—the African Independence Party (PAI)—had come into existence (1957).

Since then there have been several splits in the UPS. Thus, in 1958 the Party of the African Regrouping of Senegal (PRAS) separated from it; in 1961, the Bloc of the Senegalese Masses (BMS); and in 1962, the Party of Senegalese Rebirth (PRS) in which the supporters of ex-Prime Minister Mamadou Dia have united.*

During 1963-64 the minority factions in the BMS and the PRAS rejoined the Senegalese Progressive Union. This, however, has not changed the general tendency of "loss of substance" in the government party.

In all instances of unification the programs adopted are more Left than those of the majority parties. The same applies to the parties that have emerged as a result of splits. They too, unlike the trade unions where the reverse is the case, are more Left than the parties from which they have broken away. This was true of Galandou Diouf, who accused Blaise Diagne of being an "agent of French imperialism," and of Senghor, who proclaimed that he was more of a "nationalist" than the "assimilationist" Lamine Gueye. It is even more true of the postwar. But we know from our experience and the experience of Latin America that "although power is taken, like a violin, with the left hand, it is the right hand that plays it."

All these regroupings took place in favorable circumstances: at the time of the Popular Front in France, towards the end of the Second World War, when Defferre's "Loi Cadre" was introduced and when independence had been won. One does not have to be a prophet to foretell that future regroupings will take place against the background of the final disintegration of neo-colonialism, or at any rate during one of the phases of its disintegration.

In 1962 our Party held its First Congress which charged us with the "most difficult, most noble and most inspiring task, that of uniting the people . . . of completely liberating it from long and oppressive foreign rule and restoring its trampled dignity, its national heritage and enabling its representatives to

take their rightful place at the national hearth."

The First Congress, which was a notable event in the history of the Party, paid special attention to the unification of Senegal's patriotic, progressive forces.

Our approach to this question has, of course, varied in form, depending on the concrete situation. But no matter what the circumstances, the Party has always regarded the achievement of unity as one of its paramount tasks.

Having itself come into existence as a result of a split, the African Independence Party, already in the manifesto marking its birth, stressed the need for unity. It noted, however, on the basis of Lenin's precepts, that before uniting a distinct demarcation line must first be drawn.

In its appeal for *unity of action* by the patriotic forces fighting for independence the Party posed two basic questions: "Unity with whom?" and "Unity for what purpose?" At the conference of African political parties held in Paris in 1958 the PAI sought, unsuccessfully, to find the right forms of welding this unity. Later, having drawn the necessary conclusions from this meeting, the Party "turned to the masses" and formulated the thesis about the need to form an *anti-imperialist front of struggle for national independence*. To this end a meeting of representatives of the parties and mass organizations favoring independence was held at Dakar. Although, for technical reasons, not all the delegations could take part in this meeting, this did not prevent it from paving the way to uniting the patriotic forces of Senegal and laying the cornerstone for the subsequent establishment of the League in Defense of Democratic Liberties.

The anti-imperialist front concept was widely supported and the First Congress, at which the PAI established itself as a political force in Senegal (although it had been active on the entire territory of French West Africa), decided to begin preparatory work to set up a Senegalese United Front of Independence.

However, it was only in October 1963 that the front was created in Dakar, under the name of the National Democratic Front (FDN)*. The national front idea has gained such popularity that even the latest political party that has appeared in the country has taken the name the National Front of Senegal (FNS).

Realizing how important it was to unite the masses on as broad a scale as possible, and fully aware of the complexity and specific nature of the problems involved, our Party did not stop at its first success, the formation of the FDN. Developments daily posed new problems. Such complex phenomena as the

*Until the merger with the Democratic Bloc of Senegal the Senegalese Democratic Union was the only really Left party in the country. Its leaders publicly proclaimed their adherence to Marxism. The PRAS included mainly former UDS members who were in opposition to Senghor. The BMS was originally called the "Committee in Defense of the Interests of Cape Verde." In 1963 after it was banned the BMS changed its name to the National Front of Senegal, which too was subsequently outlawed. The PRS was formed following the arrest of Mamadou Dia, who was sentenced to life imprisonment for opposing Senghor. The PRS is illegal. To complete the picture, mention should be made of the Senegalese Solidarity Party which split with the Senegalese Progressive Union in 1959, but partly rejoined it later.

*The FDN included, besides mass organizations, supporters of the imprisoned religious leader Sheikh Tidjane Sy, the Party of Senegalese Rebirth, the African Independence Party and the PRAS-Renovation, a faction of the Party of the African Regrouping of Senegal. The FDN program is of a patriotic and democratic nature.

neo-colonial state, the nationalities question in the newly-independent African states, the home and foreign policies of Senegal's various political parties constantly compelled us to reassess situations, to reformulate our tasks.

Thus at its meeting in November 1964 when the Central Committee stressed the fundamental need for unity it noted that the form this unity would take would depend on the concrete situation at the moment. The meeting adopted the following declaration on unity of the patriotic forces:

"The Central Committee, taking into account the serious situation in the country and the patriotic demands arising therefrom, is determined for its part to surmount the last obstacles standing in the way of unity of our people in its fight for renovation and national dignity.

"Once again and more solemnly than ever before, the Party appeals to the Party of the African Regrouping of Senegal, the National Front of Senegal, the heads of religious communities, to all patriots still in the Senegalese Progressive Union, to mass organizations, to all persons and leaders who have the interests of our people at heart to realize that:

"The situation demands, more imperatively than ever, the unification of the country's sons. Unity of the patriotic forces is becoming the crucial issue upon which depends our advance.

"All efforts must be directed toward uniting the masses in powerful national patriotic organizations.

"The political organizations PRAS, FNS, PAI and FDN should extend hands to each other and unite. The youth, women's trade union and other organizations should carefully examine and tackle the pressing problems of unity."

Naturally, our Party, the party of the working people, wants to retain its independence, its autonomy. However, it does not make this a preliminary condition to beginning talks on unity; if need be the Party is ready to prove its profound loyalty to the idea of unity.

* * *

Thus, the question of unity is ever in the center of the Party's attention. More than anything else it wants to put an end to the disunity of the national forces. As we see it, this disunity is the result not so much of certain internal and external factors, as of an incorrect estimation of the social forces in the country, of the relations between these forces and, consequently, our inability to rally them in the fight for political and economic independence, for democracy and social progress.

What have we in mind? Primarily unification of the majority against the minority at every stage of the struggle—the progressive majority against the stagnant, obscurantist minority, the anti-colonial majority against the colonialist minority and their agents, and against the neo-colonialist minority and their henchmen. The task is to increase to the utmost the forces of the majority and reduce more and more those of the minority.

This is not an easy task for it has to be accomplished essentially by the relatively small party of the vanguard.

Unity of the country's patriotic forces would give momentum to our society's advance, make it easier for it to set its sights on national goals.

Of course it will depend on a number of factors whether the process of unification will be a continuous or intermittent one, deep-going or superficial.

To the question "unity with whom?" and, consequently, "against whom?" our Party replied: when the struggle is one for national independence all classes and sections of Senegalese society, irrespective of the definition of the present structure of this society, should unite against imperialism, which is supported only by a small number of yes-men from among the local population. The majority of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie of town and country and the remaining feudal element are definitely interested in seeing the end of colonialism. It is only a question of discussing the forms and stages of the struggle.

At the present, neo-colonial, stage the problem remains the same in all essentials. The only difference is that the local lackeys of neo-colonialism have donned the garb of what we call the parliamentary bourgeoisie. Itself servile, this parliamentary bourgeoisie is surrounding itself with yes-men from among the feudal segment, the bourgeoisie, including the petty bourgeoisie, and even from among the peasantry and labor aristocracy.

Although the advocates of the evolutionary way to independence and the advocates of the revolutionary way might differ on the question "unity for what purpose?" they are agreed that the anti-colonial struggle might be a protracted one. This does not necessarily preclude a qualitative leap forward at one or another stage of the struggle.

To sum up. It is evident that the parties concerned now realize that the principal thing as regards unity is not its form—whether it should be more flexible or more rigid, stable or temporary, in a word, whether unity is a matter of tactics or strategy. The principal thing is to advance, even if this will mean having to renew alliances constantly.

Unity in itself has its inherent virtues, independent of the aims pursued. Unity justifies itself only because it helps to eliminate negative isolationist sentiment and promotes the spirit of national cohesion. This is particularly essential in societies which for a long time were divided because of foreign occupation and where the clan and tribal spirit has not yet been completely overcome.

* * *

What practical steps were taken by the Party to achieve unity? First and foremost it proposed to every political party and mass organization of consequence in Senegal to form an

alliance at one or another stage of the people's struggle.

Thus the PAI established contact with the Party of the African Regrouping of Senegal as soon as it was formed in opposition to the 1958 referendum on the de Gaulle constitution. There were many meetings between the two parties. However, they failed to settle certain organizational and program differences. Looking back, the richer in experience, we realize that many of these seemingly insurmountable obstacles could have been overcome.

We also established good relations in the beginning with the Bloc of the Senegalese Masses. Our two parties acted jointly, for example, at the municipal elections in Dakar in 1961. However, although the PAI and BMS still maintain contact, it has not resulted in a stable unity. This might again be attributed to inexperience on both sides (which is played upon by centrifugal—and not always national—forces).

In the case of the Senegalese Progressive Union relations were much more complex, which is natural, considering that it is the government party. Although we regarded it at one time as the mouthpiece of colonialist interests and today of neo-colonialism, still we tried at crucial moments to establish points of contact with it. This was the case, for example, after the conference at Cotonou of the area sections of the Party of African Regrouping, which declared in favor of independence for French West Africa, and later when the independence of the Federation of Mali was proclaimed. In both instances, however, we received no reply to our proposals. Still later, during the crises of 1960 and 1962 when the UPS turned to the Opposition, it preferred to negotiate with PRAS and the BMS, rather than with our Party. The end result was, as noted earlier, that separate factions of these two parties joined the UPS. These difficulties are to be expected. The Opposition has a logic of its own which determines certain extremes, "escalation" of repressions and counter-repressions. Besides, there are internal elements who, accustomed to estimating others by their own yardstick, do not believe in patriotism and are always ready to accuse their partners of ill intentions. There are also simply nonentities who can thrive only in a situation of disunity.

However, all this notwithstanding, we are confident that we shall be able to unite the sound forces of Senegal, because sooner or later these forces *are bound* to come together, no matter what the vicissitudes of life.

There is no need to mention here our constant efforts to establish unity with other political groups and organizations of importance. This *persistent and patient quest for unity has become a tradition with our Party.*

We were much more successful in establishing contact with the supporters of ex-Prime Minister Mamadou Dia, and formed a united

front with them in 1963, known as the National Democratic Front.

It should be noted that our efforts to enlist the support of the mass organizations were always more fruitful and that their loyal and patriotic attitude made possible the fronts of 1958 and 1963.

* * *

The experience of nearly ten years of talks on unity clearly indicate the difficulties involved.

Up to 1960 the conflict developed on both sides of the line dividing the supporters and opponents of independence. Intolerance existed on both sides and, it must be admitted, particularly on our side.

Those championing independence, which they considered the minimum demand, refused to cede an inch. But so did those who rejected independence; they refused to have anything to do with the "dreamers up in the clouds." Clearly agreement was out of the question in such an atmosphere.

After 1960 the patriotic forces became more tolerant. But new developments took place sparked by the attitude adopted by the "new usurpers of independence" who became intoxicated with success, all the more so, since they had not expected it.

It cannot be denied that we, for our part, were inclined to cling to a platform which we considered to be a minimum one and, in particular, to impose it on others, both in form and content. There was also a certain "revolutionary puritanism" on our part which led to the fact that we refused to realize that the political arena, like any other arena, does not allow for the haughty manner.

In short, our Left extremism, our political infantilism estranged us at one or another time from our partners. The reason for this was our failure to discern the pitfall into which the policy of unity at any price can lead, a unity which in the long run can benefit only the privileged. If we have thus often paid homage to dogmatism and sectarianism, it is because opportunism, the other side of the medal, continues to be a constant danger.

* * *

However, in our conditions when the problem is such a difficult one as unity, the solution of which affects so many interests, it would be naive to ignore other than Senegalese forces.

Due account must be taken of neo-colonialist reality. An examination of this reality shows different forces emerging on the national scene, each playing its own game and in their aggregate constituting the main obstacle to unity of the Senegalese patriots. To complicate things, in addition to reactionary French interests (interests of the metropolis which do not always dovetail with local French interests), new and no less reactionary interests have to be contended with—American, West German, Israeli and others.

In these circumstances the Senegalese par-

ties are in danger of being tossed about like straws.

Outside forces pursue the traditional policy of division. They pour oil on the flames of conflicts, systematically spread misinformation and poison the minds of the people. They take advantage of the inexperience of the Senegalese, of their fears and anger, to keep them divided. They direct the subversive activities of reactionaries, sow demoralization and hatred in all spheres of public life. In a word, they organize subversion so as to control power or to abolish it.

These forces could not operate, of course, with their Senegalese agents who become more dangerous the more alienated they become from their people, the higher the post they occupy in the administration and the machinery of state, and the more adept they are in political intrigue. But it would be a mistake, at any rate in this case, to oppose only those who are on the stage, and forget about those behind the scenes, the men who pull the strings.

And so we get a vicious circle. Unity cannot be achieved without complete liberation, but liberation can be won only through unity.

However, all problems posed by life are invariably solved. And ultimately we, too, will achieve the unification of our people.

* * *

What is the outlook for unity in 1966? The general picture is favorable, although, it should be noted, this might not be the case everywhere.

The war in Vietnam continues and has become even more brutal. However, it is clear that the Americans have no chance of winning this war, despite their military might. Sooner or later they will have to sit down at the negotiating table with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. This will be a big victory, for it will make it clear to everybody that in the world of today the issue is: either mutual destruction or coexistence in conditions of peace, independence and mutual respect. There is no other alternative. But despite everything one must believe in man, and it is to be hoped that he will choose the second alternative. And not so much because he has grown wiser, but mainly because there are powerful forces in the world today which must be reckoned with.

It is the alignment of world forces and the existing means of wholesale annihilation rather than international law and morality that are compelling nations more and more to be guided by at least practical common sense, and many statesmen, having realized this, are doing so.

On the other hand, nobody doubts that the collapse of neo-colonial regimes, like that in Senegal, is inevitable. Senghor says that he is surprised there are not more military coups in Africa. There is no doubt that they are all

the handiwork of imperialism. At the same time a distinction should be made between the coups where imperialism overthrows people's governments (Ghana, for example) and the maneuvers with the help of which it removes its lackeys from power who have compromised themselves. In the second case, it is the dissatisfaction of the peoples that acts as the detonator, and even as the motive force of the change.

Nobody will contend that this dissatisfaction is less in Senegal than it is in Upper Volta, Dahomey or Nigeria. This does not mean, of course, that what happens in one place will automatically repeat itself in another. But that is why there is all the more reason for saying that the forces on the scene today will be making the right choice if they opt for unity instead of stagnation which can only lead to chaos.

In our time it is no longer enough just to appeal for unity. It is even more dangerous to play at unity in conditions when the people want an end to a disquieting situation, to find the solution to their growing difficulties.

Today unity of the Senegalese patriotic forces has become an objective necessity. In these circumstances any concept of unity propounded merely as a tactical device to ensure the domination of one group over another or as a trick to overcome temporary difficulties will cut no ice.

Developing countries like ours have to build their economy. This cannot be done without the conscious, organized and creative participation of the masses.

Any investment, any rational and fruitful use of capital calls for stability and social peace. This is possible in the developing countries only provided their independence is consolidated and democracy constantly promoted.

Peace, which every person is pressing for, can be ensured only when the nation will live in conditions of democracy and justice.

This is impossible in Senegal without unity, and the political force that does not recognize this is doomed. That is why the PAI program stresses the importance of this question. "National unity in the struggle against neo-colonialism," states Article 35 of the Program, "rules out neo-fascist tendencies in the newly-free countries, since unity must be built on confidence and militant fraternity, i.e., on democracy both on a national and international plane. In the present international situation the unification of national forces in a government of a patriotic alliance to jointly solve pressing issues is of vital practical importance. If the urgent questions of promoting independence and democracy are to be solved there must be unity. However, the problems still not on the order of the day are growing more complex and making difficult the solution of the basic question, that of unity."

Thus, our Party has clearly defined its goal. This goal will be reached, despite the obsta-

cles encountered on the difficult, tortuous and at times deceptive road leading to it. It is not a question of illusions, but that the accom-

plishment of this task and the triumph of unity of the country's patriotic forces have become an objective necessity.

Some interpretations of socialism in tropical Africa

VACLAV OPLUSTIL

"It is a rare African country which, after winning political independence, has not declared for African Socialism."

(From the thesis on "African Socialism" published by the Senegalese weekly *Afrique nouvelle*)

THE CHAIN REACTION of declarations by many African leaders proclaiming socialism to be the political and economic platform of their countries calls for a thorough examination by Marxist-Leninist researchers of the rapid development of socialist ideas in Africa. The authors of the American symposium *African Socialism* write in the introduction to the volume:

"The present decade has seen the mushrooming of a new doctrine, largely unknown only five years ago, which African leaders call 'African Socialism.' The expansion of writings on this subject surely marks one of the most rapid developments of an ideological orientation in recent times."

The authors of the symposium see in "African Socialism" a doctrine of growing significance. "It may well be," they say, "that African Socialism . . . contains a large element of pure rhetoric, and that Africa's leaders, like other politicians, use the ideology to justify their authority and mobilize their people. However, the impact of this ideology upon the people should not be underestimated."

In examining the social significance of the African ideologies advancing a socialist program one should not of course lump together, as the above-mentioned American symposium does, all the political and economic programs of the parties and movements which declare they are working towards socialism. Some, like *Afrique nouvelle*, apply the same yardstick both to doctrines propounding "African Socialism"

(Senghor's theories, Nyerere's ideological treatises, etc.) and to those which to one or another extent approximate to scientific socialism (the platform of the Convention People's Party of Ghana prior to its suppression following the military coup, and the program of the Sudanese Union in Mali). The diversity of the ideologies thus classified under the common heading of "African Socialism" is nevertheless patent. And if we examine them in their totality, we do so simply because they have one common feature—they have their genesis in Africa and declare for socialism.

The different attitudes taken by the Western ruling circles towards Nkrumah and Sékou Touré, on the one hand, and Senghor and Tom Mboya, on the other, also show that the doctrines advocated by these leaders, their superficial similarity notwithstanding, differ from one another as regards class content and their class approach to capitalism.

But even clarification of the class character of these ideologies in itself will not be adequate for a long time for defining their role in social and political development. The relatively rudimentary class differentiation and the social relations on the continent rule out any simple definition of the place occupied by the various elements of the existing class structure in the social struggles under way in Tropical Africa. For the same reason it is also impossible to give any simple characterization of the ideologies reflecting the elementary differentiation of

the class structure. In some situations and in a certain sense they may be factors of social progress, and in other cases, of retrogression.

Socialism is, needless to say, a matter primarily for Africans themselves. Choice of ways and means is the internal affair of each. Nevertheless, the theoretical aspects of this problem cannot but interest Marxist-Leninist social scientists even beyond the bounds of the continent, for study of these aspects throws light on a wide range of issues relating to the struggle for progress and socialism. A discussion from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint of the theoretical aspects of the problem of socialism in Africa could be an effective way of elucidating the issues and bringing closer Marxist-Leninist and non-Marxist supporters of socialism. The important thing at present, we believe, is to promote mutual understanding among all supporters of socialism, otherwise there can hardly be any serious discussion of how to interpret the concept or to build socialism anywhere in the modern world.

Away back in December 1918 Lenin in discussing relations between Communists and Socialists in an article in memory of the Left Socialist Revolutionary Proshyan with whom he had worked in the Council of People's Commissars in 1917-18, said this: "... The Left Socialist Revolutionaries entered into an alliance with us. Proshyan at once stood out among them for his profound dedication to the revolution and socialism. It could not be said that all the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, or perhaps even most of them, were socialists. But of Proshyan it could be said, for, despite his loyalty to the ideology of the Russian Narodniks (Populists—Ed.), which was a non-Socialist ideology, you could see he was a convinced socialist. In his own way, not through Marxism, not proceeding from the ideas of the class struggle of the proletariat, this man became a socialist. . . ."

The views expressed by Lenin in 1918 have a bearing on the present African situation. They underscore the Communist attitude towards socialists whose ideological positions (in the case referred to by Lenin, the position of the Narodniks) were in many respects similar to the views engendered in present-day Africa by the indigenous community and the poverty of the peasant masses. For Lenin the decisive thing was not the ideological basis of Proshyan's attitude towards genuinely socialist ideas but his dedication to socialism. However, the opponents of Marxism, who are going out of their way to stir up controversy on such questions as the role of religion in contemporary African society or the role of the peasantry and the working class, clearly would like to drive a wedge between the Marxists and the non-Marxist advocates of socialism. This is the underlying idea behind some of the conclusions drawn by *Afrique nouvelle*, which in its theses on "African Socialism" defines its attitude to Marxism as follows:

"The fundamental African attributes are

open-heartedness, disposition to dialogue, and spiritualism. These are attributes which, while not diverting man from his earthly concerns, do not confine his outlook to purely material well-being but impel him equally to strive towards truth, freedom and brotherhood of man and to display concern for material welfare.

"Africa, which has experienced slavery and colonial rule, has remained a continent of free men thanks to its specific attributes. It does not wish to sacrifice what self-preservation and liberation have given it. Precisely because of this no African country has to this day endorsed the Marxist model of development, although one or another aspect of this model is being carried out in practical life, in particular as regards the one-party political structure and the association of the party and the state. Precisely because of this the socialist ideology taking shape in Africa today is an indigenous ideology that can be called 'African' inasmuch as it is rooted deep in the philosophical values of the continent."

From this exposition of "African Socialism" even the uninformed reader will readily conclude that the social significance of the model of socialism expounded here consists primarily in its being opposed to Marxist ideology. As *Afrique nouvelle* sees it, socialism orientating on Marxism is the embodiment of a dogmatic non-humanistic ideology incapable of reaching the minds and hearts of the African peoples. According to this concept, African socialism is sacrosanct, since it stems from African spiritualism and African civilization generally. In other words, Africa is not receptive to Marxism and scientific socialism, but remains an unknowable thing-in-itself. It is hard to see why *Afrique nouvelle* found it necessary to accompany its reflections on socialism with attacks on Marxism. Evidently, the authors of these reflections are not too sure of themselves in opposing their model of socialism to Marxism. Be that as it may, in advancing their theses of the African model of socialism immune to what they call "Marxist contagion" they find themselves on the thin ice of speculation divorced from the real needs of African society.

The Christian clerical organizations and the Hoover Institution in the USA which are lavishly financing research on the influence of socialist ideas on contemporary development in Africa are no doubt doing so because they anticipate continued growth of this influence. Many non-Marxist writers have noted that the protracted economic and social stagnation in the newly emerged African countries provides favorable soil for the spread of these ideas. In his book *Africa—What Lies Ahead*, Dunduza K. Chisiza of the Malawi Republic suggests that "independence creates a social vacuum" on the continent. And the English writer John Hatch ends his *History of Postwar Africa* with the following passage: "Political independence had been achieved, yet it had hardly touched the

personal life of most Africans. Economic revolution had still to appear. And it was economic change which would shake the roots of African life. The climax of the African drama lay in the future, a climax heralded by the political revolution of African independence."

The social iniquities weighing down on the mass of the people are compelling more and more states to work out programs of social and cultural emancipation and improvement of the living standards of the masses. These programs find reflection not only in the economic plans of all the newly-free African countries, but also in a growing striving towards social and cultural emancipation. The ideas of socialism in many respects are the embodiment of these aspirations. The disintegration of colonialism has, of course, played its part by breaking down the wall of lies with which imperialism sought to isolate Africa from the rest of the world, but for all that it should be noted that the spread of socialist ideas is, as a rule, the result of ideological activity at the top, on the part of the ruling parties and movements. As often as not these ideas do not reflect the present level of ideological consciousness of the masses.

The theories of social emancipation disseminated in Tropical Africa bear a strong imprint of pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism never was an integral doctrine. It consists of diverse trends, many of which are opposed to one another. All these trends have gone through a tortuous process of development. W. E. B. Du Bois, who is considered the founder of pan-Africanism, traversed a long road from his initial negative attitude towards cooperation with the revolutionary working class to the conviction that Africa, like the rest of the world, was destined to take the socialist way. In 1961 he joined the Communist Party of the USA. Another prominent spokesman of pan-Africanism, George Padmore, moved in the opposite direction, from participation in the Communist International to advocacy of the thesis that communism was another manifestation of white supremacist aspirations inasmuch as it, allegedly, did not believe that the Africans were capable of freeing themselves. In his *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* Padmore wrote: "The only force capable of containing Communism in Asia and Africa is dynamic nationalism based upon a socialist program of industrialization and cooperative methods of agricultural production."

Padmore also put forward a program of "African Socialism" which he at times called "pan-African socialism." Many of his followers, however, subsequently overcame his limitations and declared their support of scientific socialism. Nkrumah was one of these. His ideological and philosophical credo, set forth in his *Consciencism*, was influenced by many pan-African ideas. Somewhat similar was the ideological evolution of the Sudanese Union, the ruling party in Mali. This party was founded in 1946 as a section of the African Democratic Federa-

tion whose platform was of a purely national-democratic nature. Two years after Mali became independent, the Sudanese Union, at its Sixth Congress in 1962, adopted scientific socialism as its program. Following the first stage of decolonization (the winning of independent statehood), the diverse ideological concepts inspired by pan-Africanism began to pay more attention to problems of socio-economic development, often drawing on socialist theories. These ideologies might be classified in five basic groups:

1) Concepts which steadily assimilate the Marxist ideology of scientific socialism (for example, the programs of the Convention People's Party of Ghana and the Sudanese Union in Mali);

2) concepts whose adherents underscore their difference from scientific socialism but in effect carry out significant social changes in the economic basis as well as in the superstructure (the Democratic Party of Guinea is a case in point);

3) ideologies rejecting Marxism-Leninism but aimed in practice against foreign domination and exploitation, and potentially capable of taking over some aspects of scientific socialism (for example, the program of the Tanganyika African National Union founded by Julius Nyerere, and the concepts of some Senegalese political leaders, such as ex-Premier Mamadou Dia);

4) ideologies which reject Marxism-Leninism and declare for socialism only to cover up their striving to prevent the national-liberation revolution from developing into a socialist revolution (for instance, the ideology of the ruling parties in Cameroun, Gabon and the Malagasy Republic);

5) ideologies stemming from pan-Africanism which have degenerated into advocacy of African capitalism and its competition with socialism (the ideology of the ruling party of the Ivory Coast, headed by President Houphouët-Boigny).

Most African political leaders and thinkers brought up on ideas of pan-Africanism can now be classified in the third and fourth groups.

A typical example of coordinated action between these leaders and their parties was the international colloquium held in December 1962 in Dakar on development trends and diverse ways to socialism in Africa. The colloquium as a whole can be regarded as a well-organized attempt to formulate a non-Marxist alternative to classical capitalism which is powerless to solve the pressing problems of Africa.

It can definitively be said, however, that the Dakar meeting failed to produce any integral and viable blueprint of such an alternative. At best it indicated a desire to make planning the basic lever of development. At the same time it revealed the sincere resolve of the participants to bring their concepts of economic and social advance in line with ancient African traditions. The principal role at the meeting was played by representatives of the former French

colonies in Tropical Africa. Also present were some fifty representatives from Western Europe and North America.

Many speakers made a point of avoiding even the word "socialism." A unique definition of socialism was given by Otabela, the Cameroun Deputy Minister of Planning. "First," he said, "it should be noted that the citizen of Cameroun is at once a capitalist and a socialist. A capitalist because he owns the land, to which he is attached. . . . A socialist because he shares the fruits of his labor with his compatriots even though he is not absolutely bound to do so. But socialism stemming from African traditions is not like the socialism which has developed in Europe on the basis of class struggle. Our socialism is traditional as regards its concepts, and accords with the mode of life of the society of which we are members."

This statement of Otabela's is an admission, as it were, of the striving of the embryonic entrepreneur element in Africa to assert itself. And it should be said that there is no lack of ideologues who seek to substantiate and justify the entrepreneur aspirations of members of the African bureaucracy of the Otabela type.

No one asserts that Africa can develop economically without the participation, conditioned by the specific requirements of the various African countries, of state-capitalist and private capitalist sectors. The whole experience of struggle for the non-capitalist ways of development in Africa is that the forces fighting for social progress are obliged to reckon with a number of factors influencing the potentialities and pace of revolutionary change in African society: the limited internal sources of accumulation and the structure of the young states; the dependence of these states on the system of international division of labor in the non-socialist world regulated by the capitalist monopolies; the general backwardness of class and political consciousness of the masses and the shortage of skilled technical and scientific cadres of their own. This shows that even progressive African governments will evidently be unable to get along without economic cooperation with capitalist countries. Nor will they be able to avoid an economy with a complex social structure, with a capitalist sector existing alongside the state and cooperative sectors.

This of course by no means implies rejecting principled defense of the class interests of the exploited African people.

One would be blind not to see that the existence of a capitalist sector stimulates the growth of antagonistic contradictions within African society. But to ignore the fact that the economy of the African states cannot do without the participation of the private capitalist sector would be sheer sectarianism.

The present level of social relations in the African countries affords anti-Marxist ideologues the opportunity to gloss over the antagonistic contradictions within that society and to speak of its allegedly non-class character. Emphasis on the collectivist nature of the

traditional African society is the cornerstone of the ideology of "African Socialism." However, the ideologists of the Convention People's Party of Ghana, the Sudanese Union of Mali and the Democratic Party of Guinea also underscore some attributes of the collectivist nature of African society, the reason being that collectivism is the dominant form of social relations in vast areas of Africa (especially in the countryside).

Pierre Kanoute of *Afrique nouvelle* explains the relation between African collectivism and socialism thus:

"The African world is a world in a state of permanent socialization, and the Negro is a socialized being. . . . African socialism is a reality which at a certain period suffered from the shock of colonialism, a reality which must now be reappraised in the context of new global developments. Dismayed by the spectacle of Western individualism, we prefer to correct the shortcomings of our 'socialist condition' and to preserve the communal character of our civilization. The term 'African Socialism' is an expression of a reality as old as Africa herself."

Idealization of traditions is by no means a purely African phenomenon. Any discussion of these traditions with their advocates must be approached with tact and understanding. However, it is dangerous even in Africa to embellish traditions, to elevate them to immutable principles. Some extremely instructive ideas were expressed by the Mali Minister of Economic Development Seydu Badian in his book *African Leaders and Their Peoples*.

Sydu Badian proceeds from the premise that contemporary African society still contains elements of the pre-colonial times. The basis of this society which emerged in ancient times is not the individual but the group. Its nucleus is the patriarchal-type family which has branched out to form the village, a community of several families. All able-bodied members of this community are obliged to produce collectively since the jointly-produced product is consumed collectively. This collectivism over the centuries engendered its own forms of social relationships which ensured the individual member of the group his livelihood—a meagre livelihood, true, but the only one possible. The advent of wage labor introduced by colonialism was one of the causes of the disintegration of the pre-colonial community.

The man who is paid wages for his work in the town seeks to break with the community because his obligations to the latter become an impediment to his personal development. Thus, individual effort comes into conflict with the laws of the community inasmuch as the wage-earner's relatives in the village regard his regular earnings as a necessary substitute for income from agricultural production, which is constantly dwindling as a result of bad harvests. And so the group clutches at the privileged individual; the young villager who works in the town shares his earnings with his rela-

tives. Labor has become individual but consumption remains collective. The man who thus works for a community he considers unnecessary tends to turn elsewhere. His labor does not yield him the material rewards which in modern society would belong to him alone. On the other hand, those who come to him from the village community tend to idleness, for they have found a source they can draw on without hindrance. Thus, initiative is paralyzed on both sides. In an underdeveloped country, as the author points out, this can have fatal consequences.

Any polemic with those who idealize African social reality is depicted by some Africans as a manifestation of the white man's contempt for the African people, as an attempt to deny the African the capacity for creative thinking. Nothing is more alien to Marxism than theories of racial supremacy or racial inferiority. However, to deny the low level of development of the productive forces in Africa and of African social life, and, particularly, the backwardness of African production relations would be to close one's eyes to the urgent need to change the so-called "traditional African mode of production" and replace it with more modern methods. In one of his books, Mamadou Dia disagrees that African tropical agriculture, where the hoe is the principal instrument of production, is backward. Non-utilization of draught animals and the plough in tropical areas, or in what is known as Black Africa, is, he claims, merely a rational solution of the problem of maintaining the balance between the productivity of the soil in the given geographical zone, on the one hand, and the needs and productive capacity of African society with its group organization, on the other. Acceptance of this thesis would preclude all possibility of any change in this century in the condition of the traditional African agriculture.

The fact is that breaking down the vicious circle represented by the traditional method of production in Tropical Africa is perhaps the biggest problem confronting African society today.

Another problem that arises in analyzing contemporary African society is a terminological one, namely that of ascertaining the meaning of African ideological categories in their translation from African languages into European languages and vice versa.

President Nyerere of Tanzania, speaking in 1962 at a conference of the Tanganyika African National Union on Pan-African socialism, offered his own interpretation of the principal political and social objective of the party in the word "ujamaa"—the foundation of "African Socialism." In Swahili the word "ujamaa" signifies a definite identity of relations among people united by a common origin. "Ujamaa" is sometimes translated as "brotherhood, commonwealth, familyhood." President Kenyatta of Kenya, in his preface to the pamphlet *African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya*, advanced, as a definition of the goal

after winning "Uhuru" (Freedom), the term "garambee," which in the Kikuyu language means approximately "joint effort." The content of these African terms has little in common with the content of the word socialism as understood by Marxist-Leninists. For this reason alone it would be a mistake to equate such widely differing terms.

The theories of social emancipation springing from the objective needs of African society reflect a multiform and diversified world of ideas and concepts which bear little resemblance to social consciousness in industrially developed societies. Nevertheless certain African and non-African social forces, drawing on the somewhat exotic character of society in the African countries, seek to limit the development of the theory of social emancipation on the continent to the concept of "African Socialism," understood as a blueprint for the development of African society along capitalist lines. From this standpoint the propaganda of "African Socialism" bears a very definite class character.

Such tendencies are evinced by some who, as a result of decolonization, now occupy privileged positions in the new African countries. But this speculative ideology is deliberately inculcated in the African social consciousness from the outside as well, particularly on the initiative of some Catholic and Protestant circles of the former colonial powers as well as by representatives of West European Social Democracy.

The gnosiological roots of the ideology of "African Socialism" can be found in capitalist Europe primarily among the theorists propounding "harmonized or coordinated development of world civilization." In the sphere of philosophy, African theorists such as Senghor proceed from the concepts of St. Simon and the Jesuit thinker Teilhard de Chardin; in the sphere of economics, from Marshall and Perroux; in sociology, from Max Weber. The education absorbed by these theorists in universities in France, Britain and the United States has laid its imprint on their thinking, "occidentalized" them, so to speak. They are surrounded by foreign advisers connected by class ties to monopoly capitalism. Not long ago *le Monde* published a detailed exposé of the part played by foreign experts in compiling the pamphlet *African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya* (an official document approaching the question of nationalization from the standpoint of the British Labor Party), and the interference of American experts who regard the Kenya government's project to establish a state commercial bank as too "socialist." Experts in the former French colonies are similarly occupied, although the truth about these activities does not always find its way into the press. It is this backstage activity that determines the development of "Operation African Socialism."

The spiritual fathers of this operation correctly decided that "the best situation is that which obtains in countries whose constructive

efforts rest on a strong ideology enjoying the firm but voluntary support of the people and which emerges from the actual conditions of life of this people." "Ideology," they conclude, "is the motive force of development, one of the means of gathering strength." But to talk to the masses about the right of each to a prosperous life and at the same time to encourage parasitism, which is spreading irresistibly in the very countries advocating "African Socialism," is playing with fire. Articles on manifestations of parasitism in most of the former French colonies printed in the French language (although in African newspapers) and therefore incomprehensible and unavailable to the overwhelming majority of the African population, cannot remove the basic inner contradiction contained in the ideology of "African Socialism," namely, the contradiction between its function as an instrument for protecting the privileges of the contemporary bureaucratic groups and the interests of nascent African capitalism, on the one hand, and its function as a medium for spreading ideas of social equality for the entire nation, on the other. For the apologists of "African Socialism," to pass over from discussion of these contradictions to their practical solution would mean the destruction by their own hand of the theory of an idyllic African society which they have gone to so much trouble to build up.

The inner dissonances of the "African Socialism" ideology indicate that a broad differentiation of the forces presently subscribing to it is inevitable. The objective situation in African society, the constant socio-political tension, makes for a gradual radicalization of some trends of this ideology. The potential of positive development at present is by no means exhausted. In African conditions, however, the important thing is not only to unite the adherents of socialism through the propaganda of socialism. The fight for socialism in Africa is, more than anywhere else, a fight for the creation of the material and technological foundations of modern society, for effective means and methods of raising the masses to the social and cultural level of the present-day world.

Marxist social science is still in the process of working out its own comprehensive concepts of how to embark on the all-round building of socialism in areas liberated from colonial rule and imperialist domination. But the union of Marxist sociology and socialism is not a *mariage de convenance*. The intrinsic unity of Marxism as a method and socialism as the goal makes Marxism the magnet attracting the social forces truly dedicated to socialism. Those who claim that Marxism has outlived its time cannot halt the irresistible march of history.

The USSR and the developing countries: experience of economic cooperation

MIHAIL PANKIN

ECONOMIC RELATIONS with foreign countries play a big role in the life of the Soviet state. In addition to being an effective means of accelerating the rate of development of the Soviet economy through international division of labor, they help strengthen the world socialist community and serve as a source of growing economic aid to the peoples fighting for national and social emancipation, to strengthen their political and economic independence.

The recent Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU emphasized the importance of the tasks in this sphere in the new five-year plan period (1966-70). One of these tasks is "to broaden economic cooperation with the developing countries through increasing trade with them and by extending economic and technical aid to help them build up an independent national economy."

The development of Soviet trade with Asian,

African and Latin American countries is part of the process of establishing an integral system of economic cooperation between the socialist countries and the "third world," a process which has been developing vigorously since the mid-1950's. Soviet experience in this sphere reveals a number of features common to all socialist countries, features conditioned by their common economic, political and social foundations. At the same time, this experience reflects the specific development of the economic cooperation between the biggest industrial power of the socialist world system and the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

THE MOTIVE FORCES OF COOPERATION

Recent years have witnessed a rapid growth of Soviet trade and economic cooperation with the developing countries. In the ten years from 1955 to 1965 the volume of trade has grown almost sixfold, and the share of the "third world" in the overall Soviet foreign trade has risen from five to 11 per cent (in 1964).

The number of developing countries with which the Soviet Union has regular trade and economic relations has risen from 18 in 1955 to 60 in 1966. Since 1955 the number of countries with whom the Soviet Union has inter-government economic agreements has grown from nine to nearly 40.

Imperialist propaganda goes all out to present this growth as the result of the Soviet Union's unilateral initiative, as "communist economic penetration," "communist expansion" and even "economic war." Understandably this propaganda cannot admit that the steady growth of economic relations between the developing countries and the Soviet Union, both in breadth and in depth, is a natural and irreversible process determined by both the requirements of world economic development and the logic of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The need for direct trade between the Soviet Union and the developing countries was realized long ago. Away back in the prewar period the Soviet Union imported considerable quantities of raw materials and food produced in Asian, African and Latin American countries. However, the purchases were made, not in the countries of their origin, but rather through Western firms, for the colonialists did their utmost to prevent any contact between their possessions and the world's first socialist state.

With the disintegration of the colonial regimes the "third world" countries evince a natural desire to rid themselves of the undesirable mediation of Western firms and to trade directly with the Soviet Union. True, by far not all developing countries succeeded in regaining their sovereign rights in the sphere of foreign trade immediately after political independence. And now, too, the colonialists often contrive to pursue their traditional policy of keeping "third world" countries isolated from

the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole. In this they are helped by the puppet regimes in some countries, by domination of Western companies in the foreign trade of others, and by overt and covert political, economic and military pressure on the new countries.

However, the issue of economic relations between the Soviet Union and those countries whose policies are still directed by opponents of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union is in the ultimate decided, as Lenin said, not by the will of any government or class, but by the laws of world economic relations. Today these laws assert themselves in the growing number of developing countries entering into economic cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The break up of the colonial system has, however, not merely cleared the way for economic contacts between the Soviet Union and the developing countries. What is much more important is that it has posed for the for the latter problems whose solution would be extremely difficult or even impossible without economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. These problems emerged in the course of the effort of the developing countries to overcome the economic aftermath of colonialism.

This effort is pursued along two lines: on the one hand, the developing countries want to achieve economic independence, i.e., the sovereign right freely to dispose of their national resources, to use them at their discretion in their best interests; on the other, they are anxious to end the backwardness and poverty as quickly as possible, to heal the scars left by the colonialists on the economy, on the spiritual and material culture and the health and well-being of the peoples enslaved by them, and to ensure conditions for a steady and rapid growth of the national economy.

Naturally the developing countries want to make the best of their foreign economic contacts in the interest of solving these two problems. This is all the more imperative because the present level of the productive forces of the "third world" is such that it cannot but draw on the material resources and experience of the more developed countries.

But the striving for economic independence brings the developing countries into open conflict with the imperialist powers, whose monopolies refuse to renounce their colonial privileges and regard the acute need of these countries for external resources as a pretext for meddling in their internal affairs and extorting new privileges and concessions. This makes it difficult for the developing countries to use the resources of the world capitalist market in their national interests.

An instructive example is provided by India's attempts to secure the developed capitalist countries' aid in solving her oil problems. After long and painful negotiations India had to give up for the time being the idea of building her

own oil industry and, having no other way out, had to agree to the construction on her territory of three new oil refineries belonging to British and American oil monopolies. This gave her a certain saving in foreign currency, enabling her to import crude oil instead of refined oil products. But the monopolies tightened their grip on the Indian market, which increased India's dependence on the West in a strategically vital area of economic development.

In their relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states the developing countries are not encumbered with problems of this kind. The socialist states base their economic policy towards the "third world" on community of interests of socialism and the national-liberation movement in the struggle for the revolutionary reconstruction of the world. Hence the striving of the developing countries for economic independence is wholly and unreservedly supported by the Soviet Union.

The identity of views of the socialist states and the "third world" countries as regards the economic emancipation of the peoples exploited by imperialism is a motive force of the Soviet Union's cooperation with Asian, African and Latin American countries.

It should be stressed that in this instance we are dealing with a permanent factor, for support for political and economic emancipation is the invariable foundation of Soviet policy. Back in 1919 the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets, with Lenin present, adopted a special resolution on the oppressed nations fighting against "imperialist violence and exploitation"; the resolution expressed "the full readiness of Russia's workers and peasants to render them both moral and material support." In 1966, the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU reaffirmed that "the Soviet Union, like other socialist states, has always seen its internationalist duty in supporting the peoples fighting for national and social emancipation, the developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America upholding their political and economic independence."

As the trend towards remaking society along socialist lines gains strength in the course of the struggle of the "third world" against imperialism, broader economic cooperation with the socialist world will be necessitated also by needs stemming from the radical changes in property relations and by the emergence, on this basis, of new laws of social development in countries launching out on the road of genuine progress. "The fact that more and more of these young states gravitate towards socialism creates especially favorable conditions for our friendship and cooperation," said L. I. Brezhnev in his report to the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COOPERATION

Soviet economic cooperation with the developing countries is on an impressive scale. In

1965 the total value of mutual trade exceeded 1,600 million Rubles. The Soviet Union has granted to these countries, under inter-government agreements, long-term credits amounting to over 3,500 million rubles. About 600 projects have been built or are in the process of being erected or at the planning stage in the various branches of the economy in these countries with Soviet aid. Some 10,000 Soviet specialists are working in the developing countries, helping them solve complex economic, technical and scientific problems.

However, the fruitfulness of these economic contacts cannot be judged on the basis of the levels and indices of cooperation currently reached. It is no accident that Western propaganda makes much of purely arithmetical comparisons to substantiate the imperialists' claim to a "lead" in economic aid to the developing countries. A specific feature of international economic contacts is that the growth of physical volume does not always, and not necessarily, bring proportionate and equivalent benefits to the partners in international economic exchange. Proofs of this is the entire experience of capitalist trade.

Hence the importance of the problem of determining the effectiveness of international economic contacts. For countries belonging to different socio-political systems and differing in levels of development and in the role foreign economic contacts play in solving national tasks, the content of this problem is far from being identical. Without going into detail, we shall merely note that whereas for the socialist countries the criteria of effectiveness are economy of social labor and the gain in time deriving from the international economic exchange and, for the developing countries, consolidation of economic independence and acceleration of economic growth rates, the imperialist states think solely in terms of rate and amount of profits derived from foreign economic exchange, including profits from their investments, and also in terms of political gain accruing from the international economic contacts.

Speaking of the Soviet Union's cooperation with the developing countries, we can point to the following chief factors determining its effectiveness for the "third world" countries.

Cooperating with the Soviet Union, *developing countries acquire full control over the resources afforded them through this cooperation.* Things are quite different in the case of the developed capitalist countries. It is common knowledge, for instance, that up to 60 per cent of all U.S. exports to the developing countries are earmarked for the subsidiaries and daughter companies of the U.S. monopolies, with only 40 per cent accruing to their national economy. Clearly, these differences acquire vital importance for the "third world" countries intending to utilize foreign economic contacts to consolidate their economic independence.

Highly significant in this respect is the character of the economic undertakings started by the developing countries with Soviet cooperation. These are, as a rule, *big major modern projects built according to the last word in science and technology*. The iron and steel plant in Bhilai, the heavy engineering plant in Ranchi, the heavy electrical engineering plant in Hardwar, the state-owned mechanized farm in Suratgarh (India), the shipyard in Alexandria and the mechanized flour mill in Afghanistan are among the biggest enterprises of their kind in Southeast Asia and the Near East. From the technological angle, the Aswan Dam in the UAR has no equal in the world. One can enumerate hundreds of other projects going up in the developing countries with Soviet aid as the first centers of modern technology and high productivity.

On the other hand, cooperation with the Soviet Union is increasingly used by the developing countries in building *big economic complexes* making for the most effective utilization of their national resources. In India, for instance, the Soviet Union has helped in developing newly discovered deposits of new materials for the metallurgical industry, in starting large-scale production of ferrous metals and the manufacture of heavy industrial plant. This giant industrial complex, which includes also big power stations, ore-dressing mills and other enterprises, enables India for the first time to rely on her own forces in developing her heavy industry.

The U.S. Information Service claims that the United States has provided more for India's industrial development than any other country. This makes it all the more striking that, with the exception of a series of power stations, U.S. "aid" has not figured in any other industrial projects of genuinely national importance.

The Soviet Union, too, is helping India develop her power industry. As of the end of 1965, the capacities of power stations already built or in the process of being built with Soviet aid were estimated at 2.7 million kilowatts. Power stations with a total capacity of 6.6 million kilowatts are being erected with the help of the United States. However, the Soviet Union is participating also in the construction of a heavy electrical engineering plant whose products will ensure an annual increase of 2.7 million kilowatts in generating capacity. It is not only a high way of utilizing external resources but also a very effective one for the development of the national economy.

The bulk of the material and financial resources acquired by the developing countries through cooperation with the Soviet Union is designated for purposes of extended reproduction. For instance, consumer goods account for only five to seven per cent of Soviet exports to Asian, African and Latin American countries. The remainder are plant, machinery and industrial raw materials. Industrial development

claims about 70 per cent of all economic and technical aid commitments. These proportions are not accidental. In their relations with the Soviet Union the developing countries are not faced with the difficulties preventing utilization of external resources for a radical reconstruction of the colonial economy which they encounter in their relations with the imperialist camp. The Soviet Union readily supports expansion of national production in the state sector of the "third world" countries, whereas in the United States, for instance, the ban on aid to "socialized projects" in those countries is now a principle of foreign economic policy.

The same is true of the industrialization in the developing countries. *The Soviet Union unreservedly supports their striving to have their own national industry, without linking its support to the issue of competition between the output of this industry and Soviet exports*. For the imperialist states, on the other hand, the latter consideration is, not infrequently, central in deciding the expedience of aiding industrial projects in the developing countries.

The cost of external resources for the developing countries is also important in judging the effectiveness of foreign economic contacts. This is not a simple question, for it does not boil down to a mere comparison of current expenditure and revenue. We shall merely cite some facts. *The developing countries are not obliged to grant the Soviet Union any special rights or privileges in exchange for its goods, credits and services*. The Soviet Union does not claim a share in the profits or in the management of the enterprises built with its aid, nor does it claim concessions, the right to set up its own enterprises in the country concerned, or any other privileges—which is what the imperialist states usually do. Furthermore, an analysis of the end results of the economic relations with different countries as reflected in the balance of payments of the developing states shows that the receipts-payments ratio is more favorable for them when they cooperate with the Soviet Union than with any of the imperialist states. This is due to a number of factors. In dealing with the Soviet Union outflow of profits and dividends, which in the case of the imperialist powers comes close to 3,000 million dollars annually, is eliminated. Again, Soviet credits, which are granted at 2.5 to 3 per cent interest and with payment spread over 10 to 15 years, involve less expenditure than do credits given by the developed capitalist states. According to figures for 1962-64, for example, more than half the credits received by the developing countries from five imperialist states (the USA, Britain, Federal Germany, France and Japan) was extended at an annual interest rate of over three per cent, while a third of the credits was granted at the rate of five percent and more. And in March this year, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development announced another increase in annual interest rate on credits

to the developing countries from 5.5 to six per cent.

Much currency is also saved by the developing states thanks to other favorable terms on which Soviet economic and technical aid is granted. In Ceylon, for instance, it has been calculated that the designing of an iron and steel plant by Soviet specialists cost the country one-third of what it would have had to pay to Western firms.

The time factor, too, is an important criterion. While private capitalist firms sometimes still prove to be more efficient in fulfilling individual orders, *the organization of aid to the developing countries in solving overall economic problems clearly shows the advantages of the Soviet Union's planned socialist economy and state monopoly of foreign trade.*

PATHS OF DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION

The economic contacts between the Soviet Union and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are developing along many channels. Mutual purchases of goods on purely commercial terms, credits and technical aid by the Soviet Union, assistance in training personnel, cooperation in freight and passenger transportation and bank operations — these are the principal forms of cooperation at present. The system of the Soviet Union's economic contacts with other countries, founded on the state-monopoly of foreign trade, ensures the combination of various forms of cooperation. This makes it possible to carry out the cooperation by closely interlinking all the forms, subordinating the specific nature of each to the solution of key tasks, and concentrating efforts on the decisive sectors.

The *structure of cooperation* is also distinguished for its wide range. The following enterprises have been completed, in the process of building, or scheduled for construction in the developing countries with the aid of the Soviet Union: more than 45 engineering and metal-working plants, 20 chemical factories and oil refineries, plants, mills and departments of the ferrous and non-ferrous metals industry, some 30 power stations, roughly 70 factories of the light and food industries, dozens of transport and communications projects, over 100 educational and medical establishments, and research centers. Moreover, to meet the current needs of the developing countries, growing quantities of machines, plant, semi-finished goods and raw materials ranging from aeroplanes, automobiles and tractors to metals, chemicals and building materials are delivered to them from the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, *the important traditional branches of the economy of the developing countries, just as a wide range of manufacturing industries of the Soviet Union, have been drawn into the sphere of cooperation thanks to Soviet imports.* The significance of this

aspect of the cooperation can be gauged from the fact that at least 30 per cent of all exports of Afghanistan, 20 per cent of those of the UAR, 10 per cent of India's exports, etc., are oriented on the Soviet Union, and the significance of export to the USSR is even greater for individual branches. Deliveries from the developing countries play an ever-increasing part in supplying raw materials to the Soviet light industry and food-processing industries and meeting the growing requirements of the population of the Soviet Union.

With all the multiplicity of forms, methods and objects of Soviet cooperation with the developing countries, the main trend and its general line should be underscored: the experience gained so far demonstrates that *the main stress is laid on assisting the developing countries to solve major economic problems of national significance.*

Belonging to this category are, primarily, problems whose solution is prompted both by the urgent requirements of economic development and by the need to win freedom from foreign control at the vital sectors of the struggle for economic independence. Solution of these key problems can have a lasting stimulating effect on the entire national economy.

In the sphere of industrialization economic problems of national significance include, primarily, the building of those branches, the demand for whose output grows to the extent that in the course of the economic development its satisfaction through imports creates insurmountable currency difficulties and becomes incompatible with economic independence.

A problem of this nature the solution of which was made possible mainly through cooperation with the Soviet Union was the satisfaction of the growing demand of the developing countries for ferrous metals. As long as the developing countries remained colonies and semi-colonies, their markets were divided among the steel monopolies of the West which spared no effort to retard the creation of expansion of steel production or rolling capacities on their territories. In the early 1950's information leaked in the capitalist press that, on the initiative of U.S. steel trusts, these monopolies had made a secret deal jointly to prevent the creation of an iron and steel industry in the developing countries. The consequences of this were felt primarily by the Asian countries which were the first to shake off the colonial yoke. At the end of the 1940's and in the early 1950's attempts were made in these countries to invite the Western powers to take part in building iron and steel mills. However, as the Indian journal *Capital* commented later, all attempts to persuade U.S. and British capitalists to assist India in building an iron and steel plant ended in failure. According to Sahib Singh Sokhey, a prominent public figure in India, things changed when the Soviet Union appeared on the scene. The agreement to build the iron and steel mill in Bhilai buried the

hopes of the finance oligarchy in the West that, without a metallurgical base of their own, the developing countries would be bound hand and foot in implementing a national economic policy.

The Bhilai mill was the first contribution made by Soviet Union to the solution of this problem. It was followed up by agreements on Soviet aid in building and extending iron and steel plants in the UAR, Indonesia, Ceylon and Algeria. In 1965 an agreement was reached on building, with Soviet aid, another iron and steel mill in India, in Bokaro, with an annual capacity of 1.5-2.0 million tons of steel that can subsequently be increased to four million, which, according to the Indian authorities, will be even more important for India than the plant in Bhilai.

A feature of the present stage in solving this problem is the aid already rendered by the USSR to the developing countries in organizing their own production of metallurgical plant and equipment. Pioneer in this respect, the heavy engineering plant in Ranchi will enable India to increase its steel producing capacity by one million tons a year.

Faced with the new situation, the Western monopolies have become more compliant. This has made it possible for Pakistan, the Philippines, Morocco, Tunisia, Nigeria, Ethiopia and a number of other countries to secure their agreement to help with the construction of the first iron and steel mills.

No less tangible an effect on the scale of the entire "third world" was produced by the Soviet initiative in aiding the developing countries to solve their oil problem. We have already mentioned the vain attempts made by India to do so through economic contacts with the imperialist camp. In the matter of oil the developing countries have had an even more formidable opponent — the eight giant oil monopolies which controlled 80 per cent of the prospected deposits and over 60 per cent of the output and refining of oil in the capitalist world. Their policy was to retain control over extraction and refining in countries rich in oil, on the one hand, and over supply and distribution in countries having no oil of their own, on the other. Hence in the latter countries they sabotaged oil prospecting in every way, claiming that these countries have no future from the standpoint of discovering sources of liquid fuel.

National liberation has imparted unprecedented acuteness to the oil problem. In the Middle East it has become the mainspring of political life.

In the oil question the Soviet Union has come out openly in support of the developing countries against the brazen *diktat* of the oil monopolies. Cooperation has developed on a broad scale. Soviet oil experts have prospected ten large deposits of industrial significance in India with reserves exceeding 150 million tons, considerable deposits of natural gas in Afghan-

istan, new oil deposits in the UAR and Syria, have come upon hopeful oil and gas structures in Mali, and are engaged in prospecting in Pakistan. Large-scale modern oil refineries have been built in a number of countries with Soviet aid.

In recent years the Western press has made a noise about a "Russian oil offensive" in the developing countries. What they do not say, however, is that this offensive is conducted in alliance with these countries against the capitalist oil monopolies of the West.

A start has been made in the cooperation of the Soviet Union with the developing countries in establishing their own machine-building industry. So far these plants are mainly at the stage of construction, and hence the fruits of this cooperation will tell somewhat later. However, there is no doubt that the effect will be not less and, probably, even greater than in foregoing instances, for the existence of a national machine-building industry will contribute more than anything else to a radical change in the position of the developing countries in the system of international division of labor.

In the sphere of agriculture Soviet cooperation with the developing countries is concentrated mainly on three problems: extending the crop area by bringing under the plough new, previously uncultivated lands, raising soil fertility through irrigation, and initiating the first steps in large-scale mechanized farming.

Thus, in the UAR it is planned to reclaim 840,000 hectares through utilizing the resources of the Aswan reservoir. Thanks to the Aswan High Dam and the irrigation systems, the country's crop area will be extended by 30 per cent, which will make it possible to increase the output of farm produce by 40-50 per cent as against 1959. Large-scale irrigation installations, affecting the entire agricultural development of the countries concerned, are also being built with Soviet aid in Burma, Afghanistan, Iran, Tunisia, Congo (Brazzaville) and Mali.

The training of national personnel is a crucial issue for all developing countries without exception. Cooperation with the Soviet Union in this question has already produced fruit. In the past five years alone over 100,000 skilled workers and foremen have gone through individual and group training at building projects erected with the aid of the USSR, and in assembling and commissioning plant and equipment in the developing countries. Thousands more specialists are being trained in colleges, technical schools, training centers and vocational schools built with Soviet aid.

Tackling economic problems such as those mentioned above is one of the principal tasks of the programs of economic development in the "third world" countries cooperating with the Soviet Union. This considerably enhances the reliability of planning in the developing countries, and consolidates the effectiveness

of state regulation of economic processes, which is most important from the standpoint of the socio-economic perspectives of the "third world."

The present division of labor between the Soviet Union and the developing countries leaves its imprint on the ways in which cooperation develops. Various instruments and objects of labor are supplied to the developing countries in growing quantities by the Soviet Union, the decisive element being the export of machines and equipment which increased nearly threefold between 1958 and 1964 and now amounts to 413 million rubles. Today the "third world" accounts for about one-third of all capital goods exported from the Soviet Union, whereas in 1955 this figure was only 10 per cent. Some two-thirds of this is delivered in the shape of complete sets of plant for industrial and other projects built with Soviet aid. Deliveries from the developing countries to the Soviet Union consist mainly of raw materials of various kinds and foodstuffs (rubber, cotton, rice, cocoa-beans). However, recent years have witnessed a notable expansion of manufactured goods deliveries from the young national industry of the developing countries (textiles, footwear, sports items and other consumer goods, and also some of the output of the engineering enterprises.

* * *

The past experience of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the developing countries testifies to the good prospects for its further development.

This cooperation can be expected to broaden by way of enlisting the cooperation of those developing countries which for one reason or

another do not as yet maintain direct economic contacts with the Soviet Union.

Development in depth of this process will be of even greater significance. A criterion of the possibilities in this respect is afforded by the Soviet Union's cooperation today with its biggest partners in the "third world." Soviet-Indian cooperation, for instance, is of such dimensions that India, for volume of trade, has become the biggest partner of the USSR outside the socialist system. Moreover, under a new trade agreement, Soviet-Indian trade will double by 1970. Trade between the USSR and the UAR, already impressive, is to increase by 50 per cent by 1970. Agreements concluded lately are designed to secure a big growth in economic cooperation with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. Trade has enlivened perceptibly with Kuwait, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Kenya and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville).

Long-term trade agreements are a reliable means of steady expansion of trade and economic contacts with the developing countries. Suffice it to say that between 1959 and 1964 trade with countries with which the Soviet Union had such agreements increased 2.6-fold, whereas trade with the developing countries as a whole increased by only 73 per cent. If we bear in mind that so far there are but 12 such countries, it is safe to say that trade on the basis of long-term agreements with a wider range of countries will serve as a stimulus for the further growth of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the "third world."

The grand program of economic development charted by the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU for the next five years signifies the most favorable conditions for further consolidation of trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the developing countries.

New conditions of the ideological struggle of Communists and Catholics

ORLANDO MILLAS

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW has examined in previous articles the problems arising from the changes that have taken place in the thinking of Catholic circles under the impact of the social struggle. These articles, and particularly the article by Santiago Alvarez, "Towards an Alliance of Communists and Catholics," summed up the experience making possible joint actions by Communists and Catholics, and the participation of the latter in democratic movements. This subject is of exceptional interest, especially for countries like Chile where the Christian Democrats are in office. The attitude of the Catholic masses, of their organizations and leaders, is of great importance for advancing the unity of the forces fighting for peace, the independence of nations and against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and the omnipotence of the monopolies.

"AGGIORNAMENTO"

Last December the Second Vatican Council ended its deliberations. Pope Paul VI declared in this connection that one could not speak of the Council having "reformed" or "transformed" the Church, but one could say that it had "renovated" it. Press commentators use the word "aggiornamento," meaning "modernization," to describe this new development.

A change in attitude among the clergy is evident also in Chile. It can be said that in certain respects the Church is departing from its traditional positions. Some of our views regarding the Church are, therefore, no longer valid and need to be modified.

Unlike religion, Marxism-Leninism does not require "aggiornamento" for its very essence is constant critical reflection, examination of reality and rapidly cognizing the new. Let us, therefore, frankly, carefully and dialectically examine the problem of Catholic "renovation."

THE REAL WORLD—THE BASIS OF THE CHANGES

The act of convening the Ecumenical Council signified a departure from the dogmatic extremes associated with the personal dictatorship of the Pope. After the First Vatican Council in 1870 affirmed the infallibility of the Pope, it was announced that there would no longer be any need for such meetings. Pius XII based his absolutism on the principle: "The Church, I am the Church." Numerous articles published at the time in the Vatican repeated the sacramental phrase: "The living directives of Pius XII are the direct universal norms of the faith." During his office bishops were reduced to mere vicars of the Pope. The Council, on the contrary, is a collective authority, and its recent meeting accented the need for partial decentralization which would create the prerequisites for semi-autonomous initiative by the dioceses.

The authoritative Catholic commentator René Laurentin in his *The Dispute about the Council*, which appeared shortly after John XXIII's initiative, wrote: "The difficulty is that Jesus Christ did not institute the Councils. Neither he nor the Apostles established any explicit norms. It is an improvised institution, connected with unforeseen historical circumstances. . . . Usually Councils are summoned at times of crises, abnormal situations, when serious danger threatens the Church."

"Crisis", "abnormal situations when serious danger threatens the Church." What lies behind these words?

We are living in the times of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Marx wrote in *Capital* that the religious world is a reflex of the real world. This real world is changing rapidly, and with it its religious reflex.

Marx explains that "for a society based upon

the production of commodities, in which the producers in general enter into social relations with one another by treating their products as commodities and values, whereby they reduce their individual private labor to the standard of homogeneous human labor—for such a society, Christianity with its cultus of abstract man, more especially in its bourgeois developments, Protestantism, Deism, etc., is the most fitting form of religion,” and that “the religious reflex of the real world can, in any case, only then finally vanish, when the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellowmen and to Nature.”

The process of adequately reflecting society is extremely complex and difficult. In our time too the protest against “real misery” is expressed in the shape of “religious misery,” “the sigh of the oppressed creature,” “criticism of the vale of tears, the halo of which is religion,” disillusionment which leads to critical reflection and revolutionary action—all these feelings are closely interwoven in the hearts and minds of millions of people.

THE STANDPOINT OF THE COMMUNISTS

We know of innumerable cases of deeply religious people taking an active part in the struggle headed by the Communists, even though this participation meant for them the personal tragedy of excommunication. We know of many families in which the mothers or grandmothers who, although devout Catholics, helped their Communist sons and grandsons in the struggle during the periods of repression. They would return heartbroken from the Sunday Mass at which the priest had anathematized Communism as being “evil from its very birth.”

We explained to these families that at the beginning of the last century Pius VII had intimidated fighters for the independence of Chile by invoking the wrath of the Lord, and that Leo XII in one of his encyclicals had denounced the founders of our republic as miscreants. Now when celebrating the anniversary of the founding of the republic the archbishops and cardinals praise the Lord for the victory which not so long ago they had cursed. And on Independence Day, September 18, 1965, during the thanksgiving service in the Cathedral of Santiago, the priest, enumerating the most illustrious figures in the national history, mentioned the name of Luis Emilio Recabarren, the founder of the Communist Party of Chile.

Anti-communism isolated the Church, erected a wall of distrust around it which blocked its access to the hearts of people. In many villages the peasants regarded the visiting monks as the direct accomplices of the landlords. In the mining villages the presence of priests was considered a bad omen. In the past decade the number of people dedicating themselves to

religion has sharply decreased. Congregations are becoming smaller; parish priests in poor areas have told us that their rejection of anti-communism has made their work easier, have given them new possibilities for regaining the confidence of the people.

The attitude of the Communist Party of Chile to religion has always been consistently Marxist. True, there was a time, shortly after the Party was founded in 1912 (as the Socialist Workers' Party), when it was influenced by the anti-clericalism of a section of the bourgeoisie and by the anarchists, when it sent lecturers to working-class centers who satirized religious practices. Even Comrade Elias Lafertte, who subsequently became chairman of the Party, was tried in his youth as editor of the satirical newspaper *El Bonete* which lampooned the Church. However, before long these methods were replaced by persistent ideological work which, far from weakening, stimulated joint action by all working people against reaction.

In the 19th century the progressive attitude of the liberal elements of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie was identified with anti-clericalism. During the latter part of the century when the radicals became the standard-bearers of the progressive movement the secular trend gained ground, due primarily to the freemasons who opposed the Catholic Church. Later a series of anti-clerical demands were granted (the right to have secular cemeteries, civil registration, civil marriages, freedom of religious rites, compulsory elementary education), and in 1925 the Constitution was amended to provide for separation of the Church from the State. However, as workers gathered from their own experience, the amended Constitution did not put an end to the regime of exploitation. They continued the struggle on a different plane, at the same time carrying forward the correctly understood anti-clerical traditions. In our times these traditions are reflected in the movement to extend the network of state educational institutions with a scientific approach to instruction, in opposition to interference by the Church in politics, in the fight against religious intolerance.

In his article “Emigrant Literature” Engels ridiculed the program of the Blanquists which stated that: “There is no room for priests in the Commune, every religious manifestation, every religious organization must be prohibited.” He wrote in this connection: “This much is sure: the only service that can be rendered to God today is to declare atheism a compulsory article of faith and to outdo Bismarck's *Kirchenkulturkampf* by prohibiting religion in general. . . .” In his *Anti-Duehring*, he expressed himself in a similar vein: “Herr Duehring, however, cannot wait until religion dies this, its natural, death. He proceeds in more deep-rooted fashion. He out-Bismarcks Bismarck; he decrees sharper May laws not merely against catholicism, but against all religion whatsoever; he incites his gendarmes of the future

against religion, and thereby helps it to martyrdom and a prolonged lease of life. Wherever we turn, we find specifically Prussian socialism."

This denunciation of the anti-religious twaddle had as its purpose to organize the working class, to raise its ideological level in the course of the social struggle and thus help develop the mass consciousness away from religious illusions. *The determining factor must be the actual progress of the class struggle*, the guiding principle—concrete conditions, without "transforming what is a shifting and relative boundary into an absolute boundary" (Lenin).

In Latin America reactionaries have always exploited the religious differences in the working class. This has always been an obstacle to developing mass movements. In this connection it should be noted that in view of the growing role of women in society, to identify their religious sentiment with counter-revolutionary positions can only keep them away from the common struggle. Communists are now using all possibilities to promote unity of the working class and the people and to foil attempts to divide them.

THE BEGINNINGS OF A PROCESS

We fully appreciate the importance of the new policy of the Catholics. Although some people believe that, apart from certain outward change, everything has remained the same, while others regard "aggiornamento" simply as a skilful, calculated move, we on the contrary, see the world in constant movement. We know that the class struggle is the decisive factor revolutionizing institutions and ideas. We are fully aware of the profound effect that the structural changes and the trend towards socialism are having on the superstructure in general, and on the religious outlook in particular. And we were not surprised by the convening of the Council which was summoned to register the irremediable agony of values formerly exalted by the Church, and the triumph of all that it had combated.

If religion were to die suddenly, without leaving any traces in the minds of people, things would be simple and a requiem would be enough. However, for a substantial part of humanity it is a question of a real drama of the conscience, often a question of personal tragedy with the most unforeseen moral consequences affecting many aspects of everyday life. The process will continue for a long time, ultimately merging with the struggle for national and social liberation.

THE INSTABILITY OF RELIGIOUS NORMS

One of the theologians who participated in the Second Vatican Council, the Jesuit, Karl Rahner, in an article published in *Stimmen der Zeit* testified that "some Catholics welcome the Council and its work with enthusiasm

since it represents the beginning so long awaited and which very nearly came too late."

The old Catholic thesis: "Stat Crus dum volvitur orbis" ("the world changes, but the Holy Cross remains") has lost its pull. This thesis never corresponded to historical reality. But even the elementary concepts of religious thinking which were used to prevent the masses from being drawn into the revolutionary movement, are now losing their former effectiveness.

Finding themselves compelled to combat the danger of the collapse of the fundamental doctrines of Catholicism, ecclesiastical commentators had to differentiate between immutable Divine right and Ecclesiastical right which are undergoing modifications, depending on the zigzags of historical development. To avoid more serious difficulties they have warned: "Doubts might arise about some particular law being ordained by God, and hence immutable."

Great indeed is the effect on the faithful of the doubts about the religious canons, and also of the Church's recognition that a large part of its commandments, laws, proscriptions, prohibitions and absolution are determined by circumstances and not in any way by "revelations."

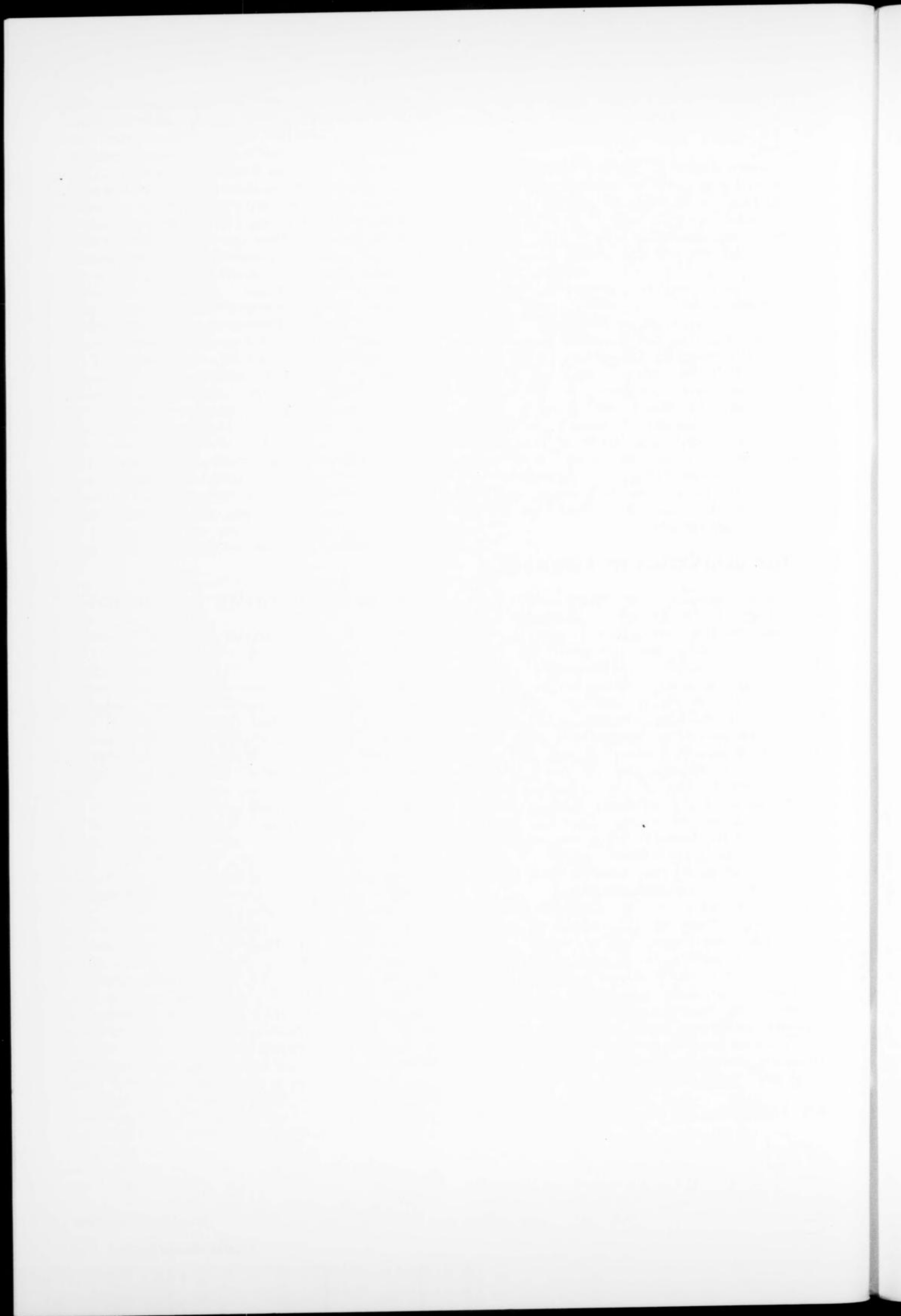
DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE CHURCH

For nearly two thousand years the dominant tendency in Catholicism was submission to an external, superior will. It was the religion preached by emperors, slaveowners, feudal lords, capitalists, imperialists. But alongside this there was another powerful, though subordinate and submerged, tendency, that of "love thy neighbor," found chiefly among the masses of the exploited. Marxism has always stressed the difference between these two tendencies. The centuries-old contradictions in Catholicism, which stem from such factors as the spirit of solidarity and the spirit of antagonism inherent in this religion, are now developing on a new plane and are no longer determined by purely internal impulses but by the changes taking place in the world.

The most notable change registered by the Second Vatican Council is a certain democratization in the Church, which makes it possible for the faithful to exert a greater influence.

This democratization is manifested in the changing of the Church, for centuries patterned as an absolute monarchy, into "the children of God," in a reassessment of the role of believers who, while continuing to be subordinate to the decisions of the Bishops, will meet at national episcopal conferences possessing a certain degree of autonomy. Clearly this will enable many leaders of Catholic organizations influenced by modern trends to adopt a more progressive standpoint. The signs are that the ideological struggle in the Church, far from relenting, will gain in intensity.

The rejection of gloomy rituals, of unintel-





colonialist contacts between Europe, on the one hand, and Africa, Asia and Latin America, on the other. The European-Latin American Center is one of the branches of this organization.

Thus, a variety of trends are represented—from the “Right” Opus Dei, to the “Centrist” Columbianum and the “Left” Economy and Humanism.

We are witnessing an intensive Catholic campaign to recruit new followers, a campaign which is being conducted much more effectively than in previous years, and directly among the masses.

The “marginal” theory advanced by Christian sociologists recognizes the tendency on the part of all individuals to join the social struggle, but notes at the same time that considerable sections of the population have not been able to achieve this either in the countryside or in urban working-class areas where women in particular play hardly any part in public life; the same is true, they add, of different social categories who have no access to culture. The Christian leaders of the new type pay special attention to these “marginal” sections which include people who have recently joined the ranks of the working class, farm laborers, men employed in small workshops and the members of their families not engaged in production, and the petty-bourgeoisie. They appoint “leaders” from among these sections, form organizations for them, act as their spokesmen and channel their activity into reformism and certain forms of class collaboration. They call this policy “popular advancement.”

IMPERIALIST INFLUENCE

What is the attitude of U.S. imperialism to the new clerical policy?

In his interesting article, “The Ideological Offensive of Catholicism in Latin America; the Social Sciences,” published last year in the Uruguay journal *Estudios*, Manuel Facal noted that one of the decisive factors contributing to the proliferation of new Catholic organizations is the financial support given by U.S. and West European foundations, mostly non-clerical.

Although the Georgian University in Rome indisputably remains the alma mater of this tendency, after the Alliance for Progress was launched and, in general, beginning with the first steps of President Kennedy's Administration, the United States became the second center. The Belgian Jesuit Roger Vekemans, the “grey eminence” of the Christian Democrat government of Chile, welcomed the Alliance for Progress with the same enthusiasm as his European fellow-priests had welcomed the Marshall Plan. Vekemans has established in Santiago the Center for the Economic and Social Development of Latin America, which has links with the Organization of American

States. This Center collaborates with the Loyola University in New Orleans.

The relations between imperialism and the modern clerical trends are not those of unconditional subordination of the latter to the former; they are more in the nature of reciprocal relations. The Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (regional organization of the International Confederation of Trade Unions), distinctly differs from the Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor (ORIT), although both oppose unity and independence of the trade unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions. Having failed to split the working class, the Latin American Federation of Trade Unions set up its own organization, the Chilean Trade Union Movement (ASICH) which trains union officials and operates inside the unions. The Christian-Democratic Latin-American Federation of Peasants and Farm Laborers has, on the contrary, been able to establish parallel organizations which in the struggle for agrarian reform are beginning to carry out joint actions with the Federation of Peasants and Indians, an affiliate of the Trade Union Center of Working People.

The ultra-reactionaries in the Pentagon and the State Department who consider violence and military dictatorships to be the lot of Latin America do not believe in the effectiveness of the actions of the clericals and, as a rule, view their reformism with hostility. It is symptomatic, however, that a paper like *El Mercurio* (Santiago), mouthpiece of the U.S. Embassy and known for its sympathies for the “gorillas,” should at the same time support the Catholic groups in power. In the crusade against communism both God and the Devil will do!

U.S. imperialism has rendered very substantial aid to the Chilean Church in its campaign to win new followers. It has supplied the Church, through the American Catholic charity organization, with food, medicaments, clothing and money. The Chilean Cardinal, Raul Silva Henríquez, heads the charity organization Caritas Internacional.

Quite a few Catholic organizations are financed from U.S. sources. One of the factors facilitating this is that the Vatican and religious orders invest their capital in those U.S. monopolies operating in Chile and in Latin America generally, which announced in advance their readiness to give part of their profits to aid the clerical institutions.

SOME CATHOLICS GO FURTHER . . .

The religious world, in the throes of a crisis, is rent by many contradictions. However, the theological changes, far from mitigating these contradictions, are exacerbating them. The result is a deep-going moral conflict attended by many misgivings and far-reaching aspirations. Many Catholics, including priests, go much farther than the stand proposed by

their colleagues who are anxious to adapt Catholicism to the conditions of the last phase of capitalism in order to maintain contact with the masses, and to retain their influence, at any price, on the historical process. The well-known and instructive example of the worker priests, many of whom have become imbued with the spirit of class consciousness, is now being repeated on a wider scale. Imperialism's investments in some of the clerical organizations might well lead to results it least expected.

There was a time when the broad-minded approach of the Jesuits to the new social reality of our times seemed astonishing. In Chile the Jesuit college San Ignacio educated several generations of Christian Democrats, the first Catholics to join progressive movements. But the Jesuits soon systematized their aims in the framework of reformism which Roger Veke-mans hitched to the Alliance for Progress, thus revealing its feebleness.

The reformism of the Jesuits is limited. It assiduously avoids anything that might injure the U.S. monopolies. And yet the Jesuits have had to release the deluge, held in check so long and whose course they cannot block.

Although a neo-capitalist trend was apparent at the Second Vatican Council, with Paul VI as its main spokesman, the voices of other prelates were heard during the deliberations, among them Helder Camara of Brazil and Tchidimo of Guinea, who went further. And it is not a question of individual dignitaries. Constant contacts with Catholics in the trade unions, in residential areas and in the mass movements show that a large number of them want to break with capitalism. The same is true also of many priests. The men of this trend sincerely believe that the democratization of their churches would be a truly Christian undertaking. They see the meaning of their religion in love of their fellowmen, in implicit faith in man. To these Catholics their faith is no obstacle to being revolutionaries; on the contrary, it helps them in the struggle. An example if this was the life and heroic death of the Colombian priest and revolutionary, Camilo Torres.

UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE ENTIRE PEOPLE

We Communists are glad to be working side by side with Catholics in the mass movement. We are all for unity of the working class and the entire people, for a united trade union in every branch of industry, a united center of the working people, a united organization of the residents of a particular settlement or area, a united center of the mothers in a community, for organizational unity of all mass movements without exception. There will be place in them for Marxists and Catholics, for Protestants and other groups, for Communists and Socialists, Radicals and Christian Demo-

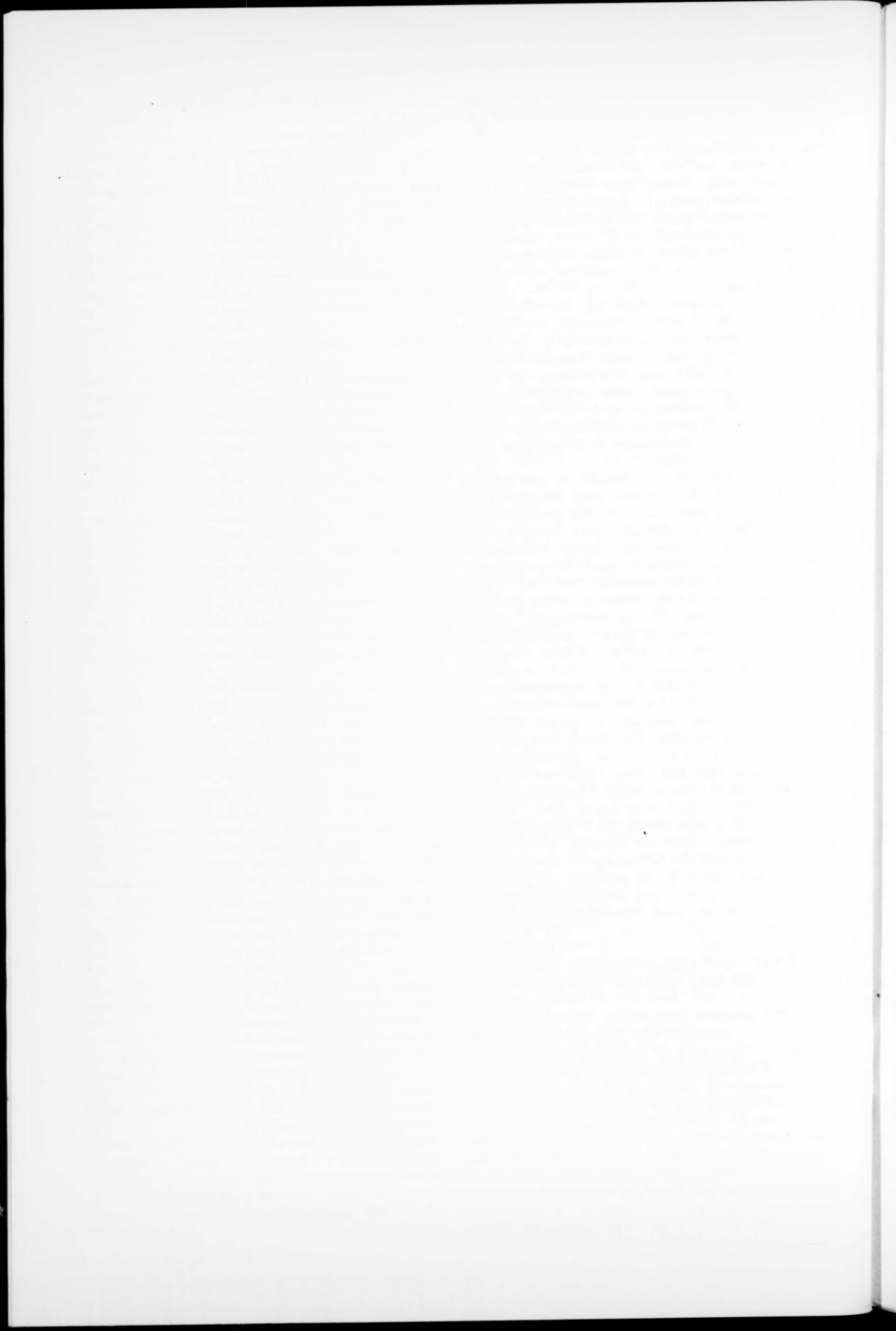
crats, National Democrats and for people of no party.

The common denominator is basic class interests. Experience shows the need for united front action and rallying the masses of town and country. At the dawn of the working-class movement in Chile the revolutionary trend, headed by Luis Emilio Recabarren, had to contend with anarchists and the "Josefinos," as the Catholic workers were called at the time since the Church maintained that Saint Joseph was the patron saint of their union centers. In the beginning the trade union centers functioned on a regional scale and were known as workers' communities. Subsequently, on the initiative of the railwaymen, the Workers' Federation was formed, the first national union in the country. It was headed by the Conservative Marin Pinuer. Owing to the fact that the unions in the industrial communities did not at first join the Federation initial membership consisted mainly of "Josefinos." During the First World War the Federation was joined by the contingents of the working class with long traditions of militancy. Luis Emilio Recabarren became its general secretary. Ten years later official trade unions were formed with the object of undermining the unity of the working people. These unions enjoyed the support of the authorities and also certain privileges. The Communist attitude was that all workers should join these unions, with the result that the revolutionary trend soon predominated in them.

After the Second World War the U.S. imperialists succeeded in splitting the trade union center, then known as the Confederation of the Working People of Chile. Undaunted by the split, the Communists still fought for the unity of all unions. They insisted that the minority supporting a split in the unions that had remained loyal to the old Confederation should have the same rights as those supporting unity in the unions that had been split. Before long, the Center itself, under pressure of the lower organizations, urged healing the split, with the result that the Trade Union Center of the Working People of Chile came into being.

Respect for the creeds and political views of the members, public discussion at meetings, proportional representation of the respective groups in the leading bodies reaching agreement with the groups concerned on basic resolutions, using every opportunity to arrive at unanimous decisions (in keeping with the rule of the subordination of the minority to the majority)—all this, far from weakening the struggle, favors its development and hampers the maneuvers of the class enemies and the intrigues of their agents.

Practice has shown that the Catholic workers do not always adopt reformist positions or show insufficient class firmness. Ideological convictions do not necessarily correspond to exact and automatically defined views on the development of the class struggle. Even if





of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, as set forth in its statement of March 22, 1965, and the position of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, outlined in the statement of April 8, 1965. The World Federation of Trade Unions considers these positions the most realistic and logical basis for terminating the U.S. intervention.

At the beginning of February the Secretariat of the WFTU issued a statement sharply condemning Johnson's decision to resume the bombing of the DRV. The statement also denounced Johnson's "peace offensive" as a maneuver designed to mislead world public opinion and to prepare the ground for escalating the war. At the same time, the WFTU added its authoritative voice to the appeal issued by the First Tri-Continental Conference in Havana to intensify the movement of solidarity with embattled Vietnam.

The Executive Committee of the WFTU took the initiative in forming an International Trade Union Committee of Solidarity with Vietnam, in which national and international trade union centers not affiliated with the WFTU are represented. The Committee is guided by the principles of international working-class solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and class oppression and has as its aim to render active support in the spirit of unity to the liberation struggle of the Vietnam people. The Committee has held two international trade union solidarity conferences, attended by representatives of the trade unions of 31 and 50 countries respectively. In a letter addressed to the secretariat of the Committee, Phan Xuan Thai, Chairman of the Trade Union Federation for the Liberation of South Vietnam, said that "the success of the first and second Hanoi conferences of solidarity have helped to rally the world trade union movement in support of our patriotic struggle against the American imperialist aggressors, for the salvation of our country."

Naturally, the extent of the aid rendered by the workers and trade unions of the various countries differs, depending on the concrete conditions in one or another country.

World public opinion is well informed about the extensive moral aid rendered by the governments of the socialist countries. From day to day the working people and trade unions of these countries, fulfilling their internationalist duty, are increasing their aid. The Soviet trade unions have repeatedly taken a resolute stand against the aggression of the American imperialists in South Vietnam and the barbarous bombing of the DRV. Millions of Soviet trade unionists are helping Vietnam with medical and other supplies and equipment as well as money. Last year the Soviet unions allocated 800,000 rubles for this purpose. The Polish unions have donated 1 million zloty worth of aid since the beginning of this year. The working people and trade unions of Cuba dispatched two million articles of clothing and 15,000 tons of sugar. The Czechoslovak trade

unions last year sent a mobile surgical hospital, and this year sent several hundred thousand crowns worth of supplies. Substantial aid in the most diverse forms has been contributed by the trade unions in Hungary. Workers and trade unions in the GDR have contributed aid to the value of 1,250,000 Marks. The Bulgarian unions have sent goods to the sum of 50,000 leva, and are now sending another consignment of medical and other supplies to the sum of 300,000 leva. The Chinese trade union center last year sent Vietnam supplies to the sum of 50,000 yuans. Aid is also rendered by the trade union centers of Rumania, Yugoslavia, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and Mongolia.

In the socialist countries solidarity with Vietnam is expressed in various forms: meetings, lectures, films, exhibitions showing the struggle of the Vietnamese people, donations to the solidarity fund, etc. In Hungary, for example, workers launched a broad movement to work one shift (usually on Saturdays, Sundays or other holidays) without pay, the earnings to go into the solidarity fund. Similar movements have been launched in the GDR.

This by no means complete enumeration of the various forms of aid shows the prominent place of the trade unions in the socialist countries in the broad front of international solidarity with Vietnam.

The solidarity movement is spreading also in the European capitalist countries.

Mass rallies and demonstrations of protest against the U.S. aggression, and collection for the Vietnam fund have become a common feature in Italy. The trade unions, and especially those affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor, are the initiators and an important component of this solidarity movement.

In France the trade unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor are likewise active in support of Vietnam. They have sent hundreds of petitions to the U.S. Embassy in Paris and to consulates throughout France demanding an immediate end to the aggression in Vietnam, the withdrawal of the U.S. troops and strict observance of the Geneva agreements. In March the Secretariat of the GCL called on the workers to increase their money donations to Vietnamese patriots. It requested the President of France to take urgent steps to consider what France as a great power and one of the signatories to the Geneva agreements of 1954 could do to end the war.

In Norway committees of aid to Vietnam have been organized in towns and districts on the initiative of the workers and trade unionists and a National Committee set up. These committees hold protest meetings and have organized a fund collection campaign. At the end of 1965 they dispatched a large consignment of medical supplies, chiefly penicillin, to the value of over 400,000 kroner. A second consignment is now being prepared for shipment. In Denmark the protest movement against the American war in Indochina has developed into

the biggest since the mass actions against Denmark's joining NATO.

The organizer of the Vietnam solidarity movement of the Austrian people is the trade union unity group. Its leaders have addressed hundreds of meetings and rallies against the dirty war in Southeast Asia. The group organized a broad campaign for collection of funds, issued 20,000 postcards which individual workers and trade unions addressed to the U.S. government protesting against the crimes of the U.S. military in Vietnam.

In March a trade union conference on Vietnam was held in London with the participation of 66 delegates from different unions, including six of the largest. The conference resolved to concentrate on getting the Wilson government to stop supporting the foreign policy of the U.S. government. Trade unions in Cyprus, the FRG, Belgium, Finland, Sweden and other European countries have likewise demonstrated their solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

In the Asian countries, too, the solidarity movement is growing. Particularly significant for the Vietnamese people is the struggle presently being waged by the working people in Japan. The General Council of Japanese Trade Unions (SOHIO), which unites over four million people, links the workers' fight for their demands with the fight against the U.S. war in Indo-China. The chief political slogan of the present spring campaign, expressive not only of class but of general national interests as well, is the collection of 40 million signatures against the aggression in Vietnam. Defining the tasks of the campaign, the resolution adopted by the SOHIO Congress states: "We protest against the use by the aggressor of military bases on Japanese soil, against U.S. nuclear warships entering Japanese ports . . . We demand that the Vietnam question be settled by the Vietnamese people on the basis of the principle of self-determination." Over a million people, more than 200,000 in Tokyo alone, marched in demonstrations held all over Japan in March under the auspices of SOHIO and other democratic organizations.

The All-India Congress of Trade Unions, representing a total of one and a half million workers, has also come out resolutely in support of Vietnam. Together with other democratic organizations, the unions are holding street demonstrations and meetings. The just struggle of their Vietnamese brothers is vigorously supported by the members of Ceylon trade unions.

Australian workers and their unions are vigorously opposed to their country's participation in the war. The recent decision of the government to send more soldiers to South Vietnam evoked an immediate protest from the working class. A resolution adopted unanimously by the T.U. Council of New South Wales, one of the biggest labor federations in Australia, condemned the government's decision and called on the workers to launch a big

campaign of protest throughout the country. The Seamen's Union, the building workers', locomotive engineers' and other unions are taking an active part in protest meetings and demonstrations, chiefly in the movement organized by the Peace in Vietnam Committee and by the "Save our Sons" and "Youth Against the Draft" movements.

Workers and trade unions in Latin America who combine their action in support of Vietnam with efforts to combat the U.S. imperialist aggressive actions against Cuba, the Dominican Republic and other Latin American countries, are demanding the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

The General Confederation of Argentine Workers, in a resolution of solidarity with Vietnam, called on the government to issue an official statement recognizing the right of all nations to self-determination. The government's plans to establish diplomatic relations with the Saigon regime evoked a new wave of mass protest. The United Center of Labor in Venezuela organized a week of solidarity with Vietnam. Mexican unions, specifically the General Union of Workers and Peasants and other centers, held mass meetings, regional conferences and national congresses at which full support was expressed for the struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people. The United Trade Union Center of Chile proclaimed the struggle of the Vietnam people as their own struggle and has helped in setting up a national solidarity front with Vietnam and a Chile-Vietnam institute of culture and friendship. The Colombian trade unionists at their annual congress denounced the U.S. interventionists and their use of the "scorched earth" tactic—napalm, poison chemicals and gases.

Fighting Vietnam has the full support of the workers and trade unions of African and Arab countries. The U.S. aggression in Indochina has been sharply condemned by such large trade union centers as the All-African Trade Union Federation and the Confederation of Arab Trade Unions. The trade unions in Algeria, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Somali, Senegal, Tanzania, Aden, the UAR, Syria and other countries have expressed full solidarity with the Vietnamese patriots.

In the United States, too, each day adds new thousands to the ranks of the opponents of the aggression. Although the AFL-CIO officially supports Johnson's aggressive policy in Vietnam, voices condemning that policy are making themselves heard among the rank and file membership. At the AFL-CIO congress held in San Francisco last December this policy was sharply criticized by E. Mazey of the automobile workers' union, by P. Randolph, Vice-Chairman of the AFL-CIO, and by other delegates. In February the executive of the Garment Workers' Union, with a membership of 250,000, issued a statement condemning the policy of escalating the war in Vietnam. A

conference of 300 union officials in Michigan held in March this year founded a Trade Unionists for Peace movement which has joined in the national campaign against the Vietnam war. "It is in the best interests of the labor movement and the peoples of the world," the conference declared, "that organized labor use its strength to bring an end to that war," and urged that trade union committees against the war in Vietnam be set up at all levels.

The movement of the workers and trade unions in solidarity with Vietnam is part of the great and ever more united struggle of the working class of the world for peace, national independence, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for democratic freedoms and social progress. The trade union movement

has become a great organized force of the working class and all working people. The steady consolidation of this unity and solidarity on an international scale multiplies the strength of this movement which is an important social factor in the present-day world.

On the eve of May Day the World Federation of Trade Unions, conscious of its responsibility for the future of the people of Vietnam, appealed to all trade union organizations throughout the world to make May Day the occasion for an impressive demonstration of the might and will of the working class and all working people, who have the power to halt the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and in other parts of the world.

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*Section of the Presidium of the
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