

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

In this issue:

Internationalism and patriotism

—Z. Komocsin

Notes from Hanoi

—Ib Norlund

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35 CENTS

In this issue we publish contributions by the following internationally prominent Communist leaders who attended the Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as fraternal delegates: Max Reimann, First Secretary, Communist Party of Germany; Henry Winston, Communist Party U.S.A.; Victorio Codovilla, Chairman, Communist Party of Argentina; Kostas Koliyannis, First Secretary, Communist Party of Greece; William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada; Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary, Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People; Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, First Secretary, Mexican Communist Party; José Santos, Member of the Central Committee, Brazilian Communist Party; Edgar Woog, General Secretary, Swiss Party of Labor; Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary, Communist Party of Ceylon; Ali Yata, First Secretary, Moroccan Communist Party; Mohammed Harmel, Secretary, Tunisian Communist Party, and Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary, Communist Party of Spain.

Other contributors include Jesus Faria, General Secretary, Communist Party of Venezuela; Armand Nicolas, General Secretary, Communist Party of Martinique; Zoltan Komocsin, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Jacques Duclos, Member of the Political Bureau, French Communist Party; Ib Norlund, Member of the Executive Committee, Communist Party of Denmark; Alfred Ruschitzka, Member of the Political Bureau, Communist Party of Austria; Jean Vincent, Secretary, Swiss Party of Labor; Stanislaw Tomaszewski, Member of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party and First Secretary of the Olsztyn Regional Committee of the Party; Alvo Fontani, Member of the Central Committee, Italian Communist Party; Georges Batal, Alternate Member of the Central Committee, Lebanese Communist Party; Hubert Goerlich, Secretary of a District Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and Gunther Kohlmey, Economist, German Democratic Republic.

- 3 Signal contribution to the struggle for unity, peace and communism**
 IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL SUPPORTERS OF PEACE
 UNITY—SUPREME NEED OF THE MOMENT
 THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE MASSES IN THE
 REVOLUTION AND IN THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM
- M. REIMANN
 H. WINSTON
 V. CODOVILLA
 K. KOLIYANNIS
 W. KASHTAN
 E. PAPAIOANNOU
 A. VERDUGO
 J. SANTOS
 E. WOOG
 P. KEUNEMAN
 A. YATA
 M. HARMEL
 S. CARRILLO
- 33 Theory and practice of building socialism**
 PATRIOTISM, NATIONAL INTERESTS,
 INTERNATIONALISM
 COMRADELY RELATIONSHIPS ARE THE
 LAW OF SOCIALISM
 WORLD ECONOMIC STRUCTURES AND
 INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST DIVISION OF LABOR
- Z. KOMOCSIN
 S. TOMASZEWSKI
 G. KOHLMEY
- 51 Class battles against imperialism**
 AFTER THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS IN VENEZUELA
 THE PEOPLE OF MARTINIQUE WILL NOT
 BE FORCED TO THEIR KNEES!
 IN DEFENSE OF SWISS WORKING PEOPLE'S INTERESTS
- H. FARIA
 A. NICOLAS
 J. VINCENT
- 60 In the communist and workers' parties**
 COMMUNIQUE OF CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OF EUROPEAN CAPITALIST
 COUNTRIES
 COMMUNIST MUNICIPALITIES AND THEIR WORK
 ON BEHALF OF THE PUBLIC
 LONG-RANGE PLANNING OF PARTY WORK
 COOPERATION OF TWO PARTIES
 THE WAY TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
 EMANCIPATION IN LEBANON
- J. DUCLOS
 H. GOERLICH
 A. FONTANI
 G. BATAL
- 72 The war in Vietnam**
 NOTES FROM HANOI
 BASES FOR U.S. AGGRESSION
- IB. NORLUND
 JAN PRAZSKY
- 81 Heroes of the struggle for communism**
 A LIFE DEDICATED TO LOFTY IDEALS
- L. FERRETO
- 83 Our forum**
 AUSTRIA AND WEST-EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
- A. RUSCHITZKA
- 85 Reviews**
 FROM FEUDALISM TO SOCIALISM
- L. SANZHAA
- 87 Against the persecution of democrats**
 THE MURDERERS OF ALBERTO LOVERA
 SHALL BE PUNISHED!
- J. CARRERA

WORKERS OF ALL
 COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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CONTENTS

1. Introduction	1
2. Theoretical Framework	10
3. Methodology	25
4. Data Collection	35
5. Results	45
6. Discussion	60
7. Conclusion	75
8. References	85
9. Appendix	95
10. Glossary	105
11. Index	115
12. Bibliography	125
13. Acknowledgments	135
14. About the Author	145
15. Contact Information	155
16. Disclaimer	165
17. Copyright Notice	175
18. Privacy Policy	185
19. Terms of Service	195
20. Final Remarks	205

A signal contribution to the struggle for unity, peace and communism

THE TWENTY-THIRD Congress of the CPSU met at an important time in Soviet history, a time when the people and their Party, in line with the policy laid down by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses, are laying the foundations of communism, perfecting social relations accordingly, and carrying out a far-reaching scientific and technological revolution, correct and thorough assessment of which is of prime importance for the USSR and the entire socialist world system, for the working-class and national liberation movements, in a word, for all the forces fighting against imperialism and capitalism and for peace, national freedom, democracy and social progress, for the advance of all mankind towards socialism.

The historical offensive of world socialism against world capitalism embraces all areas of life, political, economic cultural and ideological alike. Its present stage is distinguished by two basic trends which have asserted themselves with particular force in recent years. On the one hand, there is the steady growth of world socialism and of the national liberation and working-class movements. On the other, the imperialists are stepping up their activity, and this aggravates international tension and increases the danger of a world nuclear war. But is this activization of imperialism a sign that the world balance has shifted in its favor? The Twenty-Third Congress gave a clear answer to this question. Imperialism has become more aggressive but not stronger. Its growing aggressiveness is due, on the one hand, to the increasing contradictions and difficulties encountered by the capitalist world system, to its fear of the growing forces of social progress. On the

other hand, the accentuation of the reckless, bellicose nature of imperialist policy is partly explained by the differences in the socialist community and in the international Communist movement.

Congress noted the steady strengthening of the socialist system and gave the lie to the prognostication of world reaction and dealt a serious blow to its hopes that the contradictions in the Communist world would grow more acute. Congress raised higher the banner of struggle for unity in the world Communist movement, among all the revolutionary forces.

Fraternal delegates from the overwhelming majority of Communist parties from all continents and from a number of national-democratic and Left Socialist parties spoke from the Congress rostrum about the situation in their countries and voiced their views on the great problems of our time. Their speeches, which enriched Marxist thought, showed that the decisive feature of the world Communist movement is its cohesion on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, and that the solidarity of the core of the anti-imperialist forces is an historical necessity.

The unanimity displayed by the leaders of the world Communist movement at the Congress is proof of the reality and strength of the unity trend, of the fact that the international Communist movement is consolidating its positions as the most influential political force of our time.

In his message to the Congress on behalf of the Communist Party of the USA, Gus Hall correctly pointed out:

"At this point in world affairs, at this

stage in history, if one is to choose one key concept, one cardinal thought, one essential factor that more than any other will determine all matters related to social progress, without question that concept would be summed up in one word: *unity*. Unity in struggle. Unity of all anti-imperialist forces, unity of the world's forces for peace, unity in the ranks of the countries of socialism, unity in the world's Marxist parties, unity in the ranks of the working class. All experiences of struggle, the successes and the failures all cry for unity. This is the supreme need of the moment. The moulding of such unity is the most revolutionary task of this crucial hour."

Many fraternal delegates from other Marxist-Leninist parties stressed that even when there are differences on some ideological, theoretical or political problems it is necessary and possible to achieve unity of action among the Communist parties of all countries in struggle against internationally organized capitalism. Today there are Communist parties on all continents and in nearly all countries. The conditions in which they work differ, as do in many respects the immediate tasks confronting them. Yet, for all this diversity of tasks, the unity of the world Communist movement rests on a solid foundation: all of its national contingents have one goal—communism; one enemy—capitalism; one theory—Marxism-Leninism, which is their guide to action in all areas, in all conditions, and at all stages of the struggle.

"We stand for the independence of the Communist and Workers' parties inasmuch as they must define their own policy in accordance with the concrete conditions in their countries and their particular position," Waldeck Rochet told the Congress. "But at the same time, we believe that for successful struggle against imperialism, for peace, for national independence, for democracy, socialism and communism, the entire world Communist movement should have a common general line based on Marxism-Leninism."

The unity and solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries is a powerful factor of success in the anti-imperialist struggle. The relations between these parties represent a new stage of socialist internationalism, new forms of international solidarity founded on community of socio-economic systems, Marxist-Leninist ideology, equality of the parties, respect for their independence and non-interference in their internal affairs.

As the struggle against world capitalism gains scope and as socialism and communism

are built, the Communist parties of the socialist countries are faced with new problems demanding joint examination and joint solution, new tasks in the sphere of strengthening political, economic and military cooperation. Comradely exchange of experience becomes increasingly vital. All this reinforces the trend towards unity which is asserting itself, all the difficulties and contradictions notwithstanding. Speaking of the need to strengthen the unity of the Communist parties, Leonid Brezhnev said: "Our Party and the Soviet people sincerely want friendship with People's China and its Communist Party."

The Communist parties of the capitalist countries have taken new and important steps towards strengthening unity. These steps are already bearing fruit.

The Congress documents and the speeches of the representatives of the other Marxist-Leninist parties emphasized that, for the world Communist movement to move on to new successes and to cement its unity, dogmatism and revisionism must be overcome and a determined effort made to combat narrow nationalistic views tending to erode the foundations of proletarian internationalism. Creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, bold analysis and generalization of new phenomena of social life are the prerequisites for success.

Observance by the parties of jointly elaborated standards of inter-party relations—complete equality and the independence of each, non-interference in the internal affairs of one another, mutual support and international solidarity—all are indispensable for unity. The CPSU, like the other fraternal parties, is resolutely opposed to any hegemonism whatsoever in the world Communist movement.

In the course of the anti-imperialist class struggle new forms of international contact and Communist solidarity are evolved. Communists attach much importance to bilateral and multi-lateral meetings of the fraternal parties as a means of cementing the world movement. An effective way of ensuring international Communist unity is by holding conferences of the parties when conditions warrant it.

Congress highlighted the need for unity of the world Communist movement, for united action by it in support of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, now subjected to criminal aggression by U.S. imperialism. The firm resolve of the Communists of all countries to render every assistance to the valiant people of Vietnam is an expression of practical joint action which strengthens

their unity. In their greetings to the Congress, the Central Committee of the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam generously praised the aid rendered embattled Vietnam by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. Congress adopted a statement warning the U.S. aggressors that in escalating the war they will have to reckon with the steadily growing support of Vietnam by the Soviet Union and its other friends and brothers.

The imperialists are offering desperate resistance to the mounting national-liberation movement, seeking by force of arms to preserve the surviving fragments of their colonial possessions and to impose on the newly-free peoples reactionary and corrupt regimes, to shackle the newly-independent states with new economic and political fetters.

The need to heighten revolutionary vigilance in the face of the intrigues of imperialism and internal reaction was underscored. In recent times reactionaries, supported by world imperialism, have managed to deal a number of blows at the national-liberation movement in some Asian and African countries; this is neo-colonialism in action, struggle against which progressives everywhere regard as one of their vital tasks.

Its active support for the steadily rising national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America strengthens the cohesion of the world Communist movement. It resolutely sides with the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, and the movements for unity among the Arab peoples, for the unity of the peoples of Africa, for the liberation of the Latin American peoples, and for solidarity among the peoples of the three continents. Congress recorded that the CPSU sees its internationalist duty in doing everything in its power to support the people's fight for final emancipation from colonial and neo-colonial oppression.

The overwhelming majority of the Communist parties attach particular importance to strengthening their contacts with the Soviet Communist Party. Their declarations concerning the need to strengthen ties with the CPSU and to uphold the USSR against all attacks are a powerful blow at the anti-Communist and anti-Sovietes who vaunt their aversion for and even hostility to the first socialist country which stands, as always, as a forepost of the world revolutionary forces; at those who see in anti-communism and anti-Sovietism something little short of a historical imperative.

Speaking of the importance of international

support of the CPSU, Luigi Longo noted that the presence of the representatives of so many fraternal parties at the Congress offered "eloquent testimony to the high appraisal given to the policy of the Soviet Union and the solidarity it enjoys in many countries."

"There never was and never will be such a thing as anti-Soviet communism," Janos Kadar said. These are weighty words. The attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU is a criterion of proletarian internationalism, a striking manifestation of the unity of the world Communist movement. On its part, Congress reaffirmed the dedication of the CPSU to its internationalist duty, the need to strengthen Communist unity, to work tirelessly to reinforce the worldwide anti-imperialist front of the peoples, to extend contacts with the Communist and revolutionary democratic parties of the newly-emerged national states.

Communists are at one in their striving to safeguard peace and to prevent the nuclear annihilation of nations. They keep a watchful eye on the imperialist aggressors. The sentiment of the Communists and peace supporters found expression in the stern warning issued by the Congress to the warmongers, including those who would put nuclear weapons in the hands of West Germany, which has become a highly perilous seat of war danger since the formation of the Washington-Bonn bloc. This warning to the West German militarists, who are pressing forward with their policy of revenge and intensifying their military build-up, helps to heighten the vigilance of the peoples.

Unity of action of the world Communist movement, the international working class and the national-liberation movement and the strengthening of the socialist world system are a powerful barrier in the way of the imperialist aggressors wherever they intensify their activity, be it in Asia, Africa, Europe or Latin America.

Unity of the world Communist movement is likewise furthered by a correct, Marxist-Leninist understanding of the substance of peaceful coexistence, of the tasks involved in the fight for peace, all of which are issues impinging on the vital interests of people everywhere. The CPSU regards the policy of peaceful coexistence as a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism and considers it necessary to exert every effort to compel the capitalist countries to pursue this policy. It stands for peaceful relations with the capitalist countries, for the solution of outstanding inter-state issues by negotiation, without interference in the internal

affairs of other countries and respecting their sovereignty and territorial integrity. At the same time the principle of peaceful coexistence is not applicable to the internal processes of class or national liberation struggle, for the oppressors and the oppressed, the colonialists and the victims of colonial oppression cannot coexist peacefully.

Congress threw added light on the principles underlying the policy of peaceful coexistence, which rules out any "appeasement" of imperialism and presupposes a vigorous rebuff to each of its aggressive moves. Even some imperialists are beginning to understand this. Consistent struggle for peaceful coexistence implies exposure of the imperialist policy of provocation and aggression, aid to peoples fighting for national and social emancipation. These aims are served by the strengthening of the Soviet Union's defense capability, the need for which was underscored by the Congress.

Congress decisions set forth a program of foreign policy measures which the CPSU considers essential for ensuring peace at the present time. First and foremost it is essential to stop the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and to enable the people of that country to settle their affairs themselves; to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons and to exert every effort to ban and destroy these weapons, and to resolve the problems of European security. These demands accord with the fundamental interests of the Soviet people, of all the socialist countries and of working people throughout the world.

This peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU was warmly endorsed by the representatives of the fraternal parties. And the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany declared: "The proposals put forward in the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU with a view to improving the international climate correspond to the vital interests of all peoples and represent a concrete program of action for all peace-loving forces in the world."

Congress decisions concerning problems of building communism are likewise of international significance. They made it clear that the Soviet people regard the building of communism not only as their internal, national affair but also as their paramount internationalist duty, as a form of active participation in combating imperialism and aggression, as a factor advancing and deepening the world revolutionary process. "The example of the victorious working class following the path of socialism and communism is one of the key factors furthering the

development of the world revolutionary process," Alexei Kosygin said at the Congress. "We have every ground to say that our economic plans and successes are the best possible publicity and propaganda for socialism and communism among the millions of working peoples of all countries."

Indeed, progressives everywhere want to see the Soviet people advance towards communism and carry out their economic plans. For the economic and political achievements of the USSR directly and indirectly accelerate historical progress, the development of the revolutionary liberation movement.

"The pace at which the Soviet Union is advancing," Rodney Arismendi said in his speech, "strengthens world peace, reinforces its might, which is a protective shield for the newly-free peoples, increases the fraternal aid rendered to peoples waging a heroic struggle for liberation, and accelerates the spread of our ideas to the majority of mankind. Each figure in your plan is a hammer blow at imperialism, a lodestar for the working class and all the oppressed of the world; it multiplies the successes of democracy, national liberation and socialism."

Summing up past performances, Congress reviewed the accomplishments of the Soviet Union in economic and cultural upbuilding. The basic tasks of the seven-year plan had been fulfilled. Industrial output had risen by 84 per cent. Notable results were also registered in the spheres of culture, science and technology, in space exploration, and in raising the living standard.

At the same time, Congress criticized shortcomings and mistakes in economic management, thereby demonstrating once again the principled approach of the Party to its work and its ability to face the truth squarely, soberly to assess the path traversed. Attention was focussed on the fact that development rates were affected by shortcomings in management and planning, underestimation of economic methods, and violation of the principles of material and moral incentives. Some mistakes and miscalculations stemming from a voluntarist approach to complex economic problems were made also in drawing up the seven-year plan. A negative effect was exerted on economic growth rates and especially on the rate of improvement of the living standard by the poor harvests of 1963 and 1965. The deterioration of the international situation, caused by U.S. imperialism, which compelled the Soviet Union to increase its defense spending also played its part.

The CPSU has launched an extensive program of work to improve economic relations.

New principles of economic policy have been elaborated. Guidelines provide for enhancing the role of economic methods, for incentives, radical improvement of planning, more independence and initiative for the enterprises, greater responsibility of production collectives for their showing.

The directives adopted by the Congress enrich the experience of socialist construction. They call for:

- maintenance over a prolonged period of a rapid rate of economic development ensuring a substantial growth of output;

- substantial increase of the returns from socialist production through organic combination of continued industrialization with the scientific and technological revolution;

- overcoming, through technical re-equipment of all branches of production, disproportions between industry and agriculture and between industry producing capital goods and that producing consumer goods, with priority accorded branches of decisive importance from the standpoint of technological progress;

- improvement of social relations, full implementation of the new principles of economic policy;

- a substantial rise in the well-being and cultural standards of the people, and reduction of working hours, which will make the endeavors of the individual more creative and ensure his harmonious development.

In 1966-70 industrial output is to increase roughly by 50 per cent and agricultural production by 25 per cent. The new five-year plan period will see a rapid rise in the standard of living. Real income of the population is scheduled to increase 1.3-fold, average wages are to go up 20 per cent and income of collective farmers from their common economy in money and in kind is expected to increase by 35-40 per cent. Besides increased remuneration for labor, there is to be a 40 per cent increase in money grants and allowances to the population from public funds. This will find reflection in more attention on the part of the state to the welfare of the rising generation, in improved medical services and pensions, and further development of social insurance, public services and housing. In the process of building communism a new type of workingman will emerge.

"The Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU," *Nowe Drogi*, journal of the Polish United Workers' Party, commented, "supplied the answers to many questions in the spirit of Leninist principles, underscoring that the socialist state is strong by virtue of the activity and political consciousness of its

people, that the socialist system demonstrates and should demonstrate its superiority over capitalism not only by its greater economic potential, not only by surpassing capitalism in technology and productivity of labor, but by its genuine democracy. This line of the Congress is a creative continuation of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU."

Congress charted ways and means of deepening and extending socialist democracy in all areas of social life, underscoring the importance of steps in this direction both for the USSR and for the struggle waged by world socialism against world capitalism.

The rights and responsibilities of the Soviets—these instruments of genuine government by the people—are being broadened. With greater independence accorded the enterprises and state and collective farms as one of the basic features of the economic reform now under way, the role of their collectives as centers of economic and social life is heightened. Congress especially underscored the growing role of the trade unions in this respect.

Much attention was paid to the development of all the national republics and regions. Reflecting the constant concern of the CPSU for the interests of all peoples of the Soviet Union, Congress indicated the way to the solution of the new political, economic and cultural problems confronting the Soviet nations at the present stage of development..

Congress also focussed attention on improving the methods of Party work, stressing the need for scientific guidance of society. Theory is called upon to pave the way to practice, especially at the present time when life is posing new problems the solution of which is of the greatest significance for the continued development of the new social system. The Congress resolution states that "a scientific approach, teamwork and efficiency in directing communist construction and in pursuing the home and foreign policy of the Soviet state, which have become an established method of the Central Committee, should continue to underlie its activities."

Congress documents point out that the growing role of the Party, which is guided by Marxist-Leninist science, rests on inner-Party democracy, on criticism and self-criticism, and at the same time presupposes a conscious and strict observance of Party discipline and a high sense of duty on the part of every member, regardless of his post.

The decisions of the Congress rally the masses to the fulfilment of important tasks in the building of communism. Fulfilment of

these tasks will add to the strength of the USSR and the entire socialist community. "The Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU will no doubt be of great significance for the development of Soviet society, for the building of the material and technological base of communism, the creation of which will have an immense influence on world development, on the triumph of progress, peace and socialism," Antonin Novotny said.

The Twenty-Third Congress, an important landmark in the advance of Soviet society towards communism, demonstrated the continuity and deepening of the political founda-

tions of the Party's work laid down at the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses; it provided an example of the scientific approach to urgent economic and political tasks, and made a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of home and international problems in their integral interrelation.

The proceedings and decisions of the Congress strengthens the positions of socialism in the modern world, influence the class waged by labor against capital, and contribute to the success of the national-liberation movement and the advance of the world revolutionary process as a whole.

In the interests of all supporters of peace

MAX REIMANN

THE TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS of the CPSU and its results are an important contribution to the fight for peace, for European and international security. The assessment made by Comrade Brezhnev in his report to the Congress that imperialism is powerless to halt the march of history and that the world balance continues to change in favor of peace, socialism and national liberation, is of very great significance and strengthens the confidence of all the peace forces in their victory.

At the same time the Congress warned the peoples about the grave dangers to peace and security that emanate from the growing aggressiveness of imperialism. These dangers are exemplified above all in the war by U.S. imperialism against the people of Vietnam. The imperialists are meddling in the internal affairs of other peoples, exacerbating international tensions, and trying more and more often to find a way out in military gambles.

In the war against the Vietnamese people fighting for freedom and independence, the U.S. aggressors are aided and abetted by the arms monopolies and government of the Federal Republic. No other government in Europe has sided so eagerly with Washington in the war against the Vietnamese people as the FRG government. West German imperialism is acting as the chief ally of U.S. imperialism.

It was stated quite correctly at the Twenty-Third Congress that after Vietnam, the Federal Republic, because of the aggressive policy of its rulers and their collusion with the U.S. imperialists, has become the most dangerous center of international tension and war danger. This danger is seen in the desire of the West German imperialists and militarists to gain access to atomic weapons. The appetite

to become an atomic power signifies an immediate, direct and extremely serious heightening of the war danger in Europe. The Bonn rulers insist on revising the outcome of the Second World War, restoring the 1937 borders and incorporating the GDR into the Federal Republic. They are striving to achieve for themselves the dominant position in Europe.

As in the days of Hitler, when the monopolies and militarists concentrated Germany's entire potential on the preparation for war under the slogan of the "community of the people," the same aim is pursued in the Federal Republic today by invoking the "established society." The design for the "established society" proclaimed by Federal Chancellor Erhard provides for a completely unified public life and for a system of rule with clearly expressed neo-fascist features. In this way they seek to maintain the domination of the big monopolies and direct all efforts towards realizing the aim of revenge. At the same time they need some kind of justification for their dominance in Western Europe and, moreover, for their neo-colonialist policy. Thus, Erhard, who is also Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union—the party of the monopolies—declared: "... on this basis (the basis of the "established society") the model of a united Europe can be moulded. It embodies, moreover, the guiding idea of a new organization of our part of the world. . . . This process includes the further development of our relations with the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. These countries are looking for an example which they could follow. . ."

This is the cynical program with which West German imperialism intends to work for its old aims in Europe and throughout the world.

Along with claiming access to atomic weapons, Bonn has declared unequivocally that it intends to procure these or, failing this, will make its own atomic weapons. As is clear from recent press reports, the nuclear reactors in the FRG today can produce annually the plutonium needed to make 186 atom bombs of the type dropped on Nagasaki. Simultaneously the West German arms monopolies are working on the methods of producing uranium-235 used in making the H-bomb. To this should be added that the Bundeswehr already has U.S.-made missile launching installations of various types designed for the delivery of nuclear weapons. Moreover, the influence wielded by the West German generals as regards use of NATO tactical atomic arms in Europe is growing, as can be seen from the considerable number of key posts occupied by these generals in the NATO command.

Hence the demand that the West German imperialists and militarists must not have access to atomic weapons, and the growing struggle against granting atomic arms to the FRG serve the cause of European security and world peace.

To suggest that the people in the Federal Republic should discuss the idea of a system of European security in which all the countries of the continent would participate, that the people should demand with growing insistence that the FRG take steps in the direction of establishing such a system of European security.

The main content and essence of our Party's policy are determined by the need to prevent an atomic war of revenge starting from the territory of the FRG. And we are doing our utmost to unite the working class and all the peace-loving and democratic forces of the country, to rally them for action. In this we see the great responsibility of our Party, the working class and all the peace-loving forces of the FRG.

The policy of revenge and atomic war pursued by the German monopolies leads to a sharpening of all contradictions in the country as well as the contradictions with other countries. That more and more West Germans are becoming aware of the dangers emanating from Bonn policy could be seen from this year's Easter marches against atomic armament of the Federal Republic (in which 145,000 people took part), from the fight of the metal workers for higher wages and actions against the Vietnam war and for repeal of the "state-of-emergency" laws.

The West German government seems to be aware that it is being increasingly isolated as

a result of its policy. This is clear from the attempt made by Bonn to screen its real intentions by the so-called Peace Note, which avoids all the basic issues of guaranteeing peace. The fact that the Note did not mention renunciation of access to atomic weapons or renunciation of any revision of the state borders (some countries were approached with a proposal to conclude non-aggression pacts with the understanding that the proposal did not apply to the German Democratic Republic) underscores the aggressive, revenge-seeking attitude of the Bonn government. This policy is both unrealistic and illusory, and hence extremely dangerous for our people and for all the people of Europe.

Through the press and other mass media the monopolies are trying to instil the venom of anti-communism, to divert the people from the struggle for their interests. The people still tend to underestimate the real danger to peace arising from West German imperialism and militarism. Hence the task is constantly to expose the secret preparation for war, and to heighten among the people the sense of responsibility for peace.

We Communists support all the efforts aimed at pursuing a new policy of peace and security, at frustrating the reckless and dangerous line of the Bonn rulers. Therefore the proposals for ensuring peace in Europe made at the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU have the full support of our Party and of many democrats and peace supporters in the FRG. In order to ensure peace in Europe the following is necessary:

- recognition of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries;

- a treaty on non-proliferation of atomic weapons;

- renunciation by the Federal Republic of atomic armament in any form and of the right to access to atomic weapons;

- a nuclear-free zone in Europe;

- no revision of borders;

- recognition of the existence of the two Germanys and normalizing relations between the two states;

- a peace settlement in Germany in keeping with the demands of the peoples for peace and security and by getting rid of the last vestiges of the Second World War in Europe;

- steps to strengthen European security.

These measures proposed by the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU for consolidating peace and international security are in the interests not only of the Soviet people but also of our people and of all peace supporters.

Unity—supreme need of the moment

HENRY WINSTON

THE RULING imperialists of my country have defiled the nation's proud traditions in the dirt of a war of barbarous aggression against the people of Vietnam. Even at this moment, the defoliation-gas bombs are turning once green rice paddies into deserts, napalm bombs are turning homes into ashes, and warm, wonderful people who love life and who have reverence for the rights of others, into corpses. The reactionary aim of these imperialist circles clashes with the democratic traditions and strivings of the people of the United States in general and its youth in particular. The hopes and dreams of the flower of our youth—the same as the youth of Vietnam — are trampled underfoot. They are used as imperialist cannon fodder to prevent fulfilment of the just aims of the Vietnamese people. These crimes of aggression which the U.S. imperialists so brazenly commit against Vietnam today, they committed against the Dominican Republic yesterday, and against Cuba the day before. They had a hand in the strangulation of the Congo, and the dagger in Ghana's heart has Washington's fingerprints on the handle.

We declare to our brothers and sisters of North and South Vietnam that we hold their struggle and our struggle to be parts of a single front against a common enemy.

The escalation of aggressive intervention against the national integrity and human rights of peoples in all corners of the earth has sharpened the dangers of the outbreak of the kind of war without bounds, the fear of which so haunts the peoples everywhere. "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad." The madness of U.S. imperialism consists in its attempting the impossible. Increasingly the peace and freedom-loving peoples are coming to understand the truth in what Comrade L. Brezhnev said at the Twenty-Third Congress — that colonialism,

neo-colonialism, the stationing of invasion armies in other people's lands, all are against the judgement of history. All such practices are doomed to disappear now, in our times, from the world. Imperialism has no reprieve from this judgement — its practices are doomed.

Is there evidence that such a conclusion is sound? There is. Not only is it seen in the never-to-be-forgotten patriotism and heroism of the gallant people of Vietnam shedding their life-blood defending their homeland against the locust-plague of Green Berets; it is seen in the fact that U.S. imperialism is left alone — even by its bought-and-paid-for allies—to its military follies. No one of real substance stands with the U.S. imperialists in their napalm and defoliation war of genocide against the Vietnamese. But all men and women and youth in every land manifest sympathy and support in their hearts for the just cause of the people of Vietnam. What is needed is a mightier unity of action on a world scale and in each country in opposition to the aggressive thrusts of U.S. imperialism in order to compel the aggressors to get out of that country which they have so ravished.

As the Vietnam aggression that has added to the war tension in the relations between my country and all peace-loving nations worsens, so in the United States itself the struggles of the widest masses of the people sharpen against the administration policies responsible for this dishonorable destruction. Recently some 60,000 people paraded through the streets of New York in a militant demonstration to end the war in Vietnam, while in the country as a whole more than 200,000 demonstrated in the streets. There have also been days of public hearings, seen on television, which reflected the pressure of the people's peace movement expressed in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, headed

by Senator Fullbright, becoming a forum and a dialogue embracing millions, expressed in people's deepest commitment to the cause of seeking a way to get the troops back home from Vietnam and halt the war there. Women in America first unfurled the banner of struggle against the Government's war policies. Now trade unionists by the thousands are coming out actively for an end to the war in Vietnam. The great Negro freedom movement, through its outstanding personalities in leadership — the Rev. Martin Luther King, Nobel Peace Prize winner, State Representative-elect Julian Bond—has joined with the militant and widespread student movement in combined struggle for freedom from racist oppression and for peace in Vietnam.

In the midst of these currents our Party, the Communist Party of the USA, gives its support to, and participates in, the building of the broadest unity of all strata to stop the war in Vietnam. The Party at the same time develops many-sided independent activities in defense of peace. Amidst the swirling currents of the people's action against the war and against the economic sacrifices and political reaction that are its consequences at home, the Communists are actively engaged in the widening socialist current born of the struggle for peace, freedom, democratic rights and economic security.

The policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are policies in tune with the requirements of history. They are policies which will find a heartening welcome and response among all who seek for world peace and the progress of all peoples. What was so profoundly set forth in the Report of the Central Committee presented by Comrade L. Brezhnev was also expressed in a slogan by Comrade Gus Hall when he said: "The struggle for unity can end only in a unity of struggle." We believe such stress on unity as Comrade Hall sloganized in these words, and which the Congress also stressed, is the key to unlock the door to victory for peace, progress, and socialism.

The unity of the people of the world can bring victory to the cause of peace and national liberation. But peoples' unity can be built only on the basis of working-class — and above all — Communist unity, in accordance with the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. Real proletarian internationalism, meaningful and effective unity, presupposes solidarity and friendship with the great Soviet people and the Party of Lenin.

In his message to the Twenty-Third Congress, Comrade Hall expressed the essence of

proletarian internationalism today in these words:

"At this point in world affairs, at this stage in history, if one is to choose one key concept, one cardinal thought, one essential factor, that more than any other will determine all matters related to social progress, without question that concept would be summed up in in one word: *unity*. Unity in struggle. Unity of all anti-imperialist forces, unity of the world's forces for peace, unity in the ranks of the countries of socialism, unity in the world's Marxist parties, unity in the ranks of the working class. All experiences of struggle, the successes and the failures, all cry for unity. This is the supreme need of the moment. The moulding of such unity is the most revolutionary task of this crucial hour. Unity in the ranks of the progressive forces has always been important — at this moment it is the critical element. Unity has always added a new quality to struggle. In the context of the present world relationship of forces, unity will add a new, compounding qualitative leap to the forces of revolutionary transition.

"That which unites the ranks of the working class, the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces, the ranks of world Marxism, the ranks of world socialism, is basic, is everlasting. That which creates disunity in our ranks can only be transient.

"There are no self-interests of nations, peoples, classes or individuals that are in contradiction to the overall need of this moment — unity. The interests and progress of all are tied to unity. Unity of struggle is in the best self-interests of all forces of progress.

"Unity is the key to the victory over U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. Unity is the key to national independence for all peoples. Unity is the key to all victories for socialism. Unity is the key to the speediest build-up and industrialization of the countries of socialism. Unity is the key to the struggles of the working class.

"As the balance of forces has shifted against reaction, disunity in the ranks of the forces for progress has become an ever more important weapon for the forces of reaction. Disunity in the ranks of anti-imperialism is now the lethal weapon of imperialism. Disunity in the ranks of world socialism has now become a deadly weapon in the hands of capitalism. Disunity in the ranks of the peace forces greatly encourages wars and aggression. Therefore, the factors weighing on the side of unity have to be carefully nurtured and promoted.

"The experience of struggle, the experien-

ces of life are now increasingly weighted on the side of unity. The successes and the failures have further prepared the soil for new steps toward unity. The experiences of struggle are now developing a political atmosphere that repels all moves and acts of disunity. The struggle for the unity of the forces of progress is a struggle for Marxism-Leninism. Placing obstacles in the path of unity of the forces of anti-imperialism, socialism and progress is a rejection of Marxism-Leninism.

"The struggle for unity is a struggle for proletarian internationalism. A rejection of unity in struggle is a rejection of proletarian internationalism.

"The fighters against imperialism, the fighters for socialism the world over, judge all parties on how they line up on the key question of the struggle for unity.

"New initiatives, new efforts for unity, must be never-ending. The struggle for unity can end only in a unity of struggle."

A feature of politics in the U.S. today is the massive and multiform developments which are challenging U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The forms of struggle involve parades, demonstrations, mass meetings, picket lines, delegations, petitions, public hearings, polls, teach-ins, read-ins, television, radio, and many others. A depth of feeling is found in all social groupings. There are some who feel they can arouse the conscience of the nation

by applying a match to a kerosene-soaked body. Some burn draft cards, and still others go on hunger strikes. The slogans vary, and are many, but the sum total can be summarized in the following way:

Get out and stay out of Vietnam!

Get out and stay out of the Dominican Republic!

Stop intervention in Cuba and Latin America, in Africa and Asia!

The Communist Party helps in the creation of maximum unity against U.S. aggression. This is at the same time an integral part of the struggle against the danger of a nuclear war. That is why it devotes its full energies to widening and deepening unity. This is the road to the promotion of the welfare, democratic liberties and the true national interests of our people.

The lofty aims of our people, unlike those of U.S. imperialism, are the same as those of the people of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and all oppressed humanity fighting against U.S. imperialism. That is why the peace movement in the U.S. extends the hand of brotherhood and fraternity to those engaged in a just struggle for national liberation from imperialist enslavement and for peace. The strengthening and consolidation of international Communist unity can help speed the day of victory for all mankind.

The Communist Parties and the masses in the revolution and in the building of communism

VICTORIO CODOVILLA

IT CAN BE SAID with truth that each Congress of the CPSU, marking a new stage in building communist society, enriches with its experience (and by developing theory in the light of this experience) the common treasure-house of theory and practice of all the Marx-

ist-Leninist parties, enabling them to prosecute with renewed vigor the fight for national liberation, democracy, peace and socialism, and to fight more effectively. And this holds true for the Twenty-Third Congress which summed up the results of the progress made

and endorsed the new five-year plan which envisages an even greater advance. Comrade Brezhnev's report to the Congress and the speeches made by delegates sound like a paean to the Party and its historic role.

In our view the progress made by the CPSU and the Soviet state is the outstanding contribution of the Soviet people to the fight of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries for freedom and independence, to the struggle of the international working class for democracy and socialism, to the efforts of all peoples for world peace, to the cause of unity of the socialist camp and of the international Communist movement.

Indeed, irrespective of how the revolution develops, the people are at all times the motive force of the deep-going changes brought about by this revolution. And the living example of the economic, political, social and cultural achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries acts as a stimulus in rallying and organizing the fight of the people for national independence, democracy and socialism.

We are conscious of this in Argentina where the new Soviet five-year plan has evoked keen interest. Our people realize that the steady advance of the Soviet economy and the growth of the USSR's defense potential not only strengthen the socialist world community but also greatly enhance the influence of Soviet foreign policy aimed at peaceful coexistence and delivering mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe (as was recently demonstrated by the Tashkent Conference). The progress made by the Soviet people will make it possible to add to the growing aid rendered by the Soviet Union both to the peoples who have already won independence and who are now building a new life and to those who, like ours, are fighting for national and social emancipation.

Comrade Brezhnev's report mentioned the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Western Europe. At present the main center of war created by the Pentagon is in Vietnam. For this reason we believe it will be correct to regard solidarity with Vietnam as the burning issue of the day. And all who stand for freedom and national independence and who are contributing to the solidarity with Vietnam are also deeply grateful to the CPSU and the Soviet government for their all-round aid to the valiant freedom fighters in Vietnam.

Our Party, which regards solidarity with embattled Vietnam not only as a matter of honor for the Party but also for our entire people, is developing a mass movement for aid to Vietnam. A broad united movement

has been launched, in which Communists, Peronists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, Radicals and representatives of other political and social forces are taking part.

This movement, along with the aid in the shape of a hospital which we shall present to the Vietnamese people (in May the collection of the first million pesos for this purpose should be completed), is campaigning to prevent the government from giving any support to the aggressor, in particular soldiers and food supplies.

A number of influential mass organizations is taking part in the campaign. Dockers have refused to load wheat for shipment to South Vietnam, and the Congress of Agricultural Workers with a membership of about one million condemned the U.S. aggression and voiced solidarity with the people of Vietnam. The Congress spoke emphatically against sending Argentine troops to Vietnam and hailed the dockers' decision not to load a single grain of wheat for the aggressors.

The North American imperialists are pressing our government to send soldiers to Vietnam. However, the Argentine working class and the people generally have glorious traditions of combating complicity in intervention. In the 1950's this struggle prevented the sending of Argentine soldiers to Korea. And last year the action of workers, students and the public generally frustrated the plan to send soldiers to the Dominican Republic. There can be no doubt whatever that now, as in the past, joint action will prevent the sending of Argentine troops to Vietnam.

The aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and the frenzied activity of the home reactionaries have not broken the resistance of the masses, nor have they halted the struggle of the peoples for their vital demands, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. On the contrary, this struggle is growing steadily, proof of which was the recent Tricontinental Solidarity Conference.

We share the view expressed by Comrade Brezhnev that in the present international situation, in the conditions of the growing aggressiveness of imperialism and the increasing struggle of the masses all over the world, the unity of the international Communist movement is more essential than ever. We cannot understand how people who call themselves Marxist-Leninists can refuse to contribute to the solution of this task. As for us, Argentine Communists, we support the consistent policy of the CPSU aimed at eliminating the differences in the socialist camp and in the international Communist movement, which our common enemy is trying to exploit. With a view to overcoming the dif-

ferences and avoiding their disastrous consequences we are for holding another international meeting, which should be thoroughly prepared and to which all parties should be invited. It would be desirable, of course, that all the parties take part in this meeting. But if for one reason or another some do not wish to do so we still think the meeting should be held. On our part, we shall do whatever we can to restore and consolidate unity.

Two features stand out in the present situation in Argentina. On the one hand, there is the growing offensive of the landowner oligarchy, foreign monopolies, primarily North American, and the big bourgeoisie against the standard of living and the conditions of the working people, against the few remaining democratic rights and the country's economic and political independence. On the other hand, there is the steady growing struggle of the masses for their economic and social demands, national liberation and peace.

The class struggle in our country is becoming increasingly more acute. In 1965, about eight million working people took part in strikes and other actions. More than once they were subjected to police repressions. The list of killed and wounded has grown. The workers have demonstrated their growing will to fight and win. It should be stressed that the aims of the struggle often had more than a purely economic character. Political demands were often advanced. In the course of strikes, peasant and student actions a united front of Communists, Peronists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, Radicals and representatives of other political trends is taking shape on initiative from below and in many cases also from the top.

Alarmed by these developments, the imperialist monopolies and the home reactionaries are trying to divide the mass organizations and, especially, to preserve or deepen the split in the trade union movement. They realize that a working class united on class principles and rallying around it the peasants and other democratic and progressive movements will put an end to the domination of imperialism and landowner oligarchy in Argentina.

Hence our Party is concentrating on attaining working-class unity and is doing its utmost to help the working people play a bigger role in the political life of the country.

One way of attaining this aim is to wrest the workers from the influence of bourgeois-nationalist ideology embodied in Peronism. Our Party, educating the working class in the spirit of proletarian ideology, is printing and circulating the classics of Marxism-Lenin-

ism. For the first time we have published Lenin's Complete Works in Spanish translation.

Our Party, paying particular attention to the policy of unity, is helping to organize and develop working-class and popular movements and striving to merge them into a single stream of struggle against imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, against the landowner oligarchy and the associated big bourgeoisie. Proceeding from the objective interests of the various democratic and national groupings, we are heading towards the fusion of the trade union, peasant and student movements, the popular parties and various mass movements in a powerful national-democratic front against the oligarchy, against imperialism and for peace. We know that this front will not be created overnight, but in the course of the struggle both for elementary and immediate demands and for political demands of the highest order. This struggle will develop into broad mass actions leading to the formation of a genuinely democratic people's government with the national-democratic front as its foundation.

This is the purport of the slogan endorsed by our Twelfth Congress: "Through mass actions to the conquest of power!" We are not tying our hands in advance on the issue of choosing between peaceful and non-peaceful forms of the struggle. We have declared repeatedly and reaffirmed at the last meeting of the Central Committee of our Party that "although our aim is to win power by peaceful means, this does not mean that, in the event of North American or any other imperialism and also the home reactionaries and 'gorillas' barring this road, we shall not take the non-peaceful way. . . . The non-peaceful way may be decisive in the event of a reactionary coup. In this case the slogans of our Party must be put into effect. We are resolutely opposed to any reactionary coup and call on the working class and all democrats to rally and unite in order to prevent it from taking place. But whether or not a coup occurs does not depend on us and on the other democratic forces; therefore, already today we urge the workers and the people generally to come out into the streets in the event of a coup being essayed in order to frustrate it and secure the democratic rights and the formation of a genuinely democratic people's government."*

In the meantime we are doing our best to develop the mass movements since we know that, whatever way the Argentine re-

*"How to Halt the Drive of International and Local Reaction"—Report of the CC, Communist Party of Argentina, February 26-27, 1966.

volution takes, the main thing is that it should develop on the basis of the mass movement.

We are confident (and we are striving to educate the working class and the people as a whole in the spirit of this confidence) that the steady growth of the Party, its organizational consolidation and higher political level of its membership constitute the earnest of victory for this movement. In this respect we are guided by Lenin's words about the Party and its role in the revolution. We are combating subjectivism and voluntarism and reject the anti-Leninist views of some petty-bourgeois people who deny or belittle the role of the Party.

Such in general is our political line which, of course, we do not regard as binding on other fraternal parties. In Latin America, along with the common essential features

inherent in all countries fighting against imperialism, there are considerable economic, political, cultural and historical distinctions which the Marxist-Leninist parties should take into account in elaborating their policy and tactics. Thus, the tactics and forms of struggle cannot be the same for all Latin American countries. They can be correctly elaborated only by the Marxist-Leninist party in each country. The decisive thing is to preserve and consolidate, on the basis of the unity of principles and ultimate goals, the solidarity and mutual assistance of the fraternal parties, and the living practice of the sacred principles of proletarian internationalism. The glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always been a remarkable example of this, an example demonstrated anew by its Twenty-Third Congress.

The people of Greece will foil the plans of reaction!

KOSTAS KOLIYANNIS

THE ACUTE political crisis which came to head in Greece as a result of the palace coup in July 1965 continues. The Stephanopoulos government appointed by the King is in a precarious state and has little prestige among the people, who are resolutely demanding the normalization of political life through free elections.

The mass movement against the coup which embraced all sections of the people and which attracted the interest and sympathy of world public opinion represents a complex, highly specific and critical phase of the difficult and grim struggle waged by our people; the purpose of this struggle was to bring to an end the regime of terror imposed after the war as a result of imperialist intervention, to take our country onto the highway of free democratic development. Although this phase is fraught with danger, the possibilities are there for averting the danger.

The people of Greece, who never resigned themselves to this regime, have waged a steady struggle which already in 1963 brought down the Karamanlis government and marked a definite turn towards restoring normal democratic life.

This success, which was most important for the political life of our country as confirmed by the general elections held in November 1963 and in February 1964, was the result mainly of the extra-parliamentary mass struggle which reached a peak after the murder of Grigorios Lambrakis, peace fighter and Left-wing MP.

This success reinforced the people's faith in their strength and gave added impulse to the popular struggle and paved the way to still bigger victories. Conditions were created for taking concrete measures to restore genuine democracy through purging the administration of fascist elements, dissolving pro-

fascist terrorist organizations and repealing the "emergency measures" of the civil war period.

However, the Center Union government formed by Papandreou after the February 1964 election failed to utilize the favorable situation created by the election. Its policy was inconsistent, falling short even of its pre-election declarations. It vacillated and made deals with the Right, trying to win the trust of the foreign and local plutocratic oligarchy. This policy enabled the reactionaries, who had suffered defeat at the hands of the people but who had never resigned themselves to this defeat, to overcome the confusion in their ranks, to reorganize, launch a counteroffensive and overthrow the Papandreou government by staging a palace coup (July 1965) with the aim of depriving the people of their victory.

The coup was directly related to the aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism. Above all, it was aimed at propping up the positions of the USA and NATO in Greece (the South-east wing of NATO), securing monopoly interests and bolstering the regime of exploitation and oppression, entangling Greece in the Vietnam war (as was the case during the war in Korea), and solving the Cyprus issue in keeping with NATO interests.

To reach these reactionary and anti-national goals, efforts are being made to isolate the Communist Party, the United Democratic Left (EDA)* and the Lefts among other democratic forces and the people, deliver a blow to them and establish a regime even more reactionary than that of Karamanlis. The palace coup was opposed by the Communist Party, EDA, the National Peasant Party (EAK), the big mass organizations of the working class as well as bourgeois-democrats jointly with the Center Union, i.e., indisputably the overwhelming majority of the people. In reply to the palace coup, and to thwart it, a mass movement of the (basically) united front type, the most powerful and militant since the war, has developed in the country. For the first time in the postwar a general strike was held, supported by the peasantry and the urban middle sections. Hundreds of thousands of workers took part in the strike which affected the main industrial centers of the country. Numerous mass meetings and demonstrations were organized in Athens and other towns to foil the designs of the reactionaries and uphold constitutional rights. These actions were combined with strikes and other forms of struggle. In 1965

the number of strikes reached 1.4 million, and in the first three months of 1966 some 300,000 people took part in strikes.

Thanks to this resistance the reactionaries were unable to achieve their aims in bolstering the puppet government appointed by the King. They failed to depict the coup as a mere change of government. The principal architects of the abnormal situation—the USA, the Palace and others—were exposed. Since the coup the reserves of the reactionaries have been largely exhausted and they have been further isolated from the masses. On the other hand, the prestige and influence of the Left, primarily the CP and EDA, have grown. The latter, denouncing the dictatorial plans of the reactionaries and pointing the way out of the present situation (specifically bearing in mind the concrete proposals of EDA), are acting as the most consistent champions of the people, as organizers and inspirers of their struggle. But the reactionaries are trying hard to restore, by terror and violence, the Karamanlis police regime, to intimidate and subdue the people. They are stepping up the drive on the standard of living. The Palace government is introducing onerous taxes and increasingly bartering the country to foreign capital. In 1965 the balance of trade deficit reached, according to some estimates, \$650 million, i.e., 15 per cent of the national revenue, while the budgetary deficit is estimated at \$150 million, mainly due to excessive military spending which in 1965 amounted to \$200 million. Because of redundancy and part-time working, emigration continues.

The situation is grave and complicated. The reactionaries, ensconced in the administration and in the Army, are trying to achieve the aims of the coup. The democratic forces are working to foil reactionary designs. The outcome of this battle, a critical battle for democracy, will depend mainly on the combined resistance and struggle of the masses.

At present the Communist Party is concentrating on rallying the largest possible numbers of democrats and patriots and extending the struggle to thwart the designs of the reactionaries—home and foreign—to defeat the Stephanopoulos government, hold free elections on the basis of proportional representation, and restore normal democratic life. Our Party maintains that genuine democracy is inconceivable when people are denied the right to have their own party—the Communist Party. Especially is this so in view of the universally recognized fact that the Communist Party enjoys considerable prestige. We are confident that the restoration to the Party

*EDA is a broad political organization embracing Communists, Socialists and other genuine democrats.—Author's Note.

of its legal status and the repeal of the "emergency measures" of the civil war period would help more than anything else to put an end to the abnormal past and deprive the reactionaries of their argument justifying their trampling on the rights of the people, and their betrayal of the national interests.

The fight of the democrats to frustrate the sinister plans of the reactionaries and for a democratic way out of the crisis will, of

course, be long and difficult. But the popular movement remains powerful, contrary to the hopes of the architects of the coup.

It is this knowledge plus the international solidarity demonstrated at the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU which gives our Party and other democrats grounds for optimism in assessing the possible outcome of the struggle in which our people are now engaged and the significance of which is so great.

New stage in the fight for peace and socialism

WILLIAM KASHTAN

ONE CANNOT BUT be impressed by the sober and realistic note struck at the Twenty-Third Congress in the report of the Central Committee and by the critical discussion around it, all directed to eliminating road-blocks to more rapid advance in all spheres of Soviet life. Each Congress is, of course, an important milestone in the history of the Party and of the country. This Congress, however, may have a special place in history because of the profound influence it is likely to have on international developments, marking on the one hand, a new and important stage in the offensive of peace and socialism against the forces of imperialism and war, and on the other, accelerating the historic contest between communism and capitalism on a world scale.

The five-year plan of economic development is not only a plan for sustained economic growth, for a continued rise in living standards and the well-being of the people. It is also an integral part of the heroic efforts of the Soviet peoples to construct a communist society in its peaceful challenge to the capitalist world which is itself in the throes of deepening general crisis.

Working people in the capitalist world are bound to note the contrast between the targets set at the Twenty-Third Congress and the growing difficulties they face in their own countries. In the Soviet Union it is proposed

to increase wages and salaries, welfare and pension benefits, real living standards in city and farm while reducing prices of consumer goods. In the capitalist world, however, workers are compelled to strike and sacrifice to win improvements in their living standards, or just keep even with rising prices and taxes. Moreover, today the danger of inflation is being used as a weapon by monopoly to impose wage restraints and wage freezes. In a number of capitalist countries workers are given the alternative of either accepting such restraints or being faced with unemployment on an ever rising scale.

In the Soviet Union a planned economy and democratic management is directed towards building the economy to provide ever more of the good things of life to the people. In the capitalist world, however, economic planning and programming is primarily a means of subordinating the economy to monopoly capital and other countries to the U.S. monopolists, undermining their independence and gearing them more and more to the U.S. war machine.

In the Soviet Union increased production as a result of technological and scientific progress will lead to abundance and more leisure for the people. In the capitalist world, however, technological advance and automation is bringing the fear of displacement and unemployment to working people. It is this fear

of insecurity which is compelling the working class to wage some of the sharpest struggles of the recent period around the issue of job security—the right to a job and a living wage.

The Twenty-Third Congress is equally a demonstration of democracy in action. Where in the capitalist world has the whole population taken part in formulating and deciding what the country must do in every field of endeavor, what industries to build, by how much to increase the production of every branch of industry and agriculture, how to distribute the goods among the people in higher wages and other ways, how to increase the health services, educational facilities, in fact all aspects of life? Certainly this is not the case in the capitalist world. No matter how democratic, it is the monopolies and their governments who decide these questions, and their decisions are for the sake of profits, not the interests of the country and the people.

Objectively therefore the program advanced by the Twenty-Third Congress serves also the working class in the capitalist world in its struggle against monopoly and for democratic advance.

There is a direct relationship between the home policy of a capitalist government and its external policies. We can see this by how the "great society" in the USA is disappearing in the flames of U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Here, too, the world cannot but contrast the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of different social systems advanced by the Twenty-Third Congress, a policy based on confidence and strength, and the aggressive actions of imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular, evidenced in the U.S. Government's decision to spend \$13 billion for purposes of escalating its criminal war against the people of Vietnam. The Twenty-Third Congress by its calm, reasoned and sober estimate of international

developments and the policies it advanced, directed to strengthening peace, curbing imperialist aggression and aiding all peoples striving for their independence, has shown a high sense of responsibility to mankind. All the progressive forces of the world welcomed the clear and forthright statement by the CPSU that the Soviet Union will continue to spare no efforts to help the people of Vietnam defeat the aggressor and achieve their national independence and freedom.

This is true internationalism, not empty words. There is no doubt that the consistent struggle of the Soviet Union for peace and its growing economic strength will have a profound effect on that struggle.

It is in relationship to the struggle against imperialist aggression that the Twenty-Third Congress renewed its appeal for unity of action of all Communist and Workers' parties and of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world. It is to the credit of the CPSU that it did not allow itself to be sidetracked by those who wish to perpetuate division, and instead, in principled fashion and on the basis of principle, continues the struggle to bring about such unity. Needless to say, those in the capitalist world who thought the Congress would mark an irrevocable split in the world Communist movement, have been disappointed.

For Canada this Congress has particular significance. It is sometimes forgotten that Canada and the USSR are neighbors. What is important is that they become good neighbors, friendly neighbors. The consistent and principled fight of the Soviet Union for peace and peaceful coexistence of different social systems assists that process and at the same time constitutes an important element in strengthening all those forces in Canada who seek a new course in Canadian foreign policy free of U.S. dictation and control, and a new economic policy directed to strengthening the sovereignty and genuine independence of the country.

The key to freedom, peace and human happiness

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU

THE Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is truly an historic Congress. The Soviet people led by the party of Lenin have achieved signal success, both on earth and in outer space, successes that have perceptibly raised the standard of living of the Soviet people and have furthered the struggle of the peoples for peace, national freedom, democracy, social progress and socialism. In the space of 50 years during which it had to go through the civil war and foreign intervention and then the Second World War with all their catastrophic consequences, the land of socialism has accomplished what it took the capitalist states hundreds of years to accomplish.

By adopting the directives for the new five-year plan, the Twenty-Third Congress will help to accelerate the growth and improve the means needed for building a higher society—communist society—in which each will work according to his ability and receive according to his needs.

Symbolic of the new rate of growth was the historic announcement made at the Congress that Luna-10, the man-made satellite, was orbiting the Earth's natural satellite. The inspiration and delight with which the delegates, rising to their feet, heard the Internationale, the anthem of the international working class, transmitted from Luna-10 will convey an idea of the enthusiasm with which the party of Lenin and the Soviet people will tackle their new tasks.

True to the behests of the immortal Lenin, the Twenty-Third Congress raised higher the glorious banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin beneath which the Soviet people have won outstanding victories. It raised higher the invincible banner of unity of all the Communist, Socialist, progressive and anti-im-

perialist forces in the effort to save the world from the horrors of a nuclear holocaust, to end the war waged by the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, to secure lasting peace, and the freedom and happiness of man.

A message of unity, optimism and indomitable faith in, and devotion to, lofty ideals, a message of faith in a supreme civilization for all, a civilization which will know no poverty, privation, backwardness, oppression, war and hatred among peoples, a civilization in which man will live a genuinely free life, a life rich in every respect—such are the ideas proclaimed by the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU.

The imperialists are seizing upon the differences in the socialist camp and in the international Communist movement to step up their aggressive activities. The unity of our movement will frustrate all the aggressive and subversive designs of the imperialists. The forces of socialism, peace and anti-imperialism are far stronger than the forces of imperialism and war. All that is needed is that these forces be united and act in unison.

For 28 months now the numerically small Cypriot people have been waging a grim and uncompromising liberation struggle against Anglo-American imperialism and its NATO satellites. They are fighting for complete liberation, sovereignty, territorial integrity, for the closing of foreign bases on their soil, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the ending of all intervention from outside so that they themselves can decide their future on the basis of their inalienable right to self-determination.

Thanks to their unity—the unity of the people, army and government—the Cypriot people have been able, with international aid and support, particularly the uncondi-

tional aid and support of the Soviet Union, successfully to resist the diabolical designs of the imperialists.

Our people, who value so highly the aid and support of the Soviet Union, welcomed the recent joint communique of the meeting of representatives of the CPSU and AKEL, in which the Cypriot question was touched upon, as fresh proof of the Soviet Union's firm support for the liberation struggle of the Cypriots.

The Anglo-American imperialists, far from renouncing their schemes of enslavement, have of late stepped up their subversive actions with a view to imposing their solution of the Cyprus question. They have resumed their efforts to divide the Cypriot people and abolish the Cypriot state. They want to do this through the notorious method of conspiracy.

Their purpose is to turn Cyprus into a base for aggression, for espionage against the Arab and the socialist countries. They want Cyprus as a base for the oil monopolies in the Middle East, a base for a nuclear holocaust.

But the people of Cyprus have shed too much blood and too many tears to let their country be turned into a colony and bastion of the imperialists. They have no intention

of ceding a single inch of soil either to the Anglo-American imperialists or to the Turkish reactionaries in Ankara or to any other foreigner. Forging a still stronger unity of the people, army and government, they will fight to defeat and foil all the imperialist designs to dismember and enslave Cyprus. Ready for any sacrifice, they will fight until they gain full independence and the inalienable right themselves freely to decide their future.

Cyprus shall never be a base for aggression and death; it shall be a base for peace, freedom and friendship of the peoples.

With international support, particularly with the support of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist and non-aligned countries, the liberation struggle of the Cypriots will be crowned with success.

The unity of the international Communist and anti-imperialist movement is at present the supreme task of each Communist and each anti-imperialist. As a result of unity and joint action against imperialism, the latter will be forced to retreat, and will ultimately be erased from the face of the earth. We need unity for the freedom of the peoples, to avert war and assert peace throughout the world. We need it to secure the victory of the people of Vietnam, to ensure man's freedom, happiness, social progress and the highest civilization for mankind.

The perspectives are clearer

ARNOLD-MARTINEZ VERDUGO

FOR MANY REASONS the Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an outstanding event in the history of the international revolutionary movement. Not only did it chart the main lines of development of Soviet society and thus usher in a new stage in the struggle to build communism in the USSR, which in itself is of exceptional international significance. It at the same time became in effect a worldwide forum of Communists, a representative assembly of the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties

of the world and hence a step forward along the road to the unity of our movement.

The Twenty-Third Congress will, then, have a profound impact on the struggle of the international working class and of all peoples against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

The Congress approved the directives for the new five-year plan, fulfilment of which will further increase the economic and military might of the USSR and raise the standard of living of the people. The entire socialist camp, the international working class and the national-liberation movement of the

peoples oppressed by imperialism are vitally interested in the building of communism in the USSR. It is also in the best interest of the Latin American peoples who realize even more clearly that the success of their struggle depends in large measure on the changes in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism and on international solidarity aimed at foiling imperialist intervention in countries whose people are rising in revolution.

In Latin America, as in other parts of the world, the people are stepping up their revolutionary struggle against imperialism and against the forces supporting it in each country. Despite U.S. intervention the national-liberation movement is making headway in most Latin American countries. The working class headed by the Communist parties is asserting itself increasingly as a force capable of heading the nation, rallying around it all the democratic and anti-imperialist movements of the continent and leading them.

The proceedings of the Twenty-Third Congress have shown us that the issues discussed are directly linked up with the problems confronting those battling against imperialism the world over, for genuine independence and social progress.

This was particularly forcefully expressed in the stand taken by the Congress with regard to the heroic struggle waged by the people of Vietnam against the U.S. aggressors. With unanimous approval of the delegates it declared that the Soviet Union will render Vietnam growing aid in its struggle, and that no one will ever succeed in extinguishing the torch of socialism in North Vietnam. The sessions of the Congress were a brilliant demonstration of the fraternity and unity of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples.

It can be said with full justification that the speeches of the delegates, in which they expressed determination to give every support to embattled Vietnam, added renewed strength to the principles of proletarian internationalism and made them much more active.

The decisions of the Congress will, therefore, be a new stimulus strengthening the solidarity of other peoples with the just cause of the patriots of Vietnam. In Mexico the movement of solidarity with Vietnam, which unites ever growing sections of the population, is becoming a mass anti-imperialist movement and a factor making for the unity of the various political forces.

The significance of the Twenty-Third Congress and its merit are that it made an invaluable contribution to the fight for unity of the views in the Communist and Workers' parties on the cardinal issues of the day and in the international Communist movement.

As everyone knows, the imperialists, anxious to launch a counteroffensive, have seized on the difficulties in the movement to intensify their aggression and intervention in various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. And although they will never regain what they have lost, they are greatly hindering the struggle of the peoples.

The Congress showed quite clearly how to overcome the negative phenomena in the international Communist movement. What is needed is to act in accordance with the general line laid down by the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties, adhere to the jointly drawn-up principles of relations between the parties, and achieve unity of action by Communists in all countries in the interests of the fight against imperialism.

The support accorded the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by representatives of the 86 Communist, Workers', National-Democratic and Socialist parties who attended the Congress brought out most clearly that gaining the upper hand is awareness that unity of action by all contingents of the revolutionary movement is their internationalist duty.

The speeches made by representatives of the Communist parties showed that the overwhelming majority of Communists are marching in step in the fight for the basic aims of the working class and the people—against imperialism, for peace and socialism. They showed that the international Communist movement sees in the unity of its ranks the earnest of victory over imperialism.

During the Congress the Communist movement reinforced its solidarity. It has gained in strength and the perspectives of the struggle have become clearer.

For Mexican Communists the decisions of the Congress will be a stimulus in their fight for the vital interests of the working people, for unity of action by all the forces opposed to imperialism and working for pressing revolutionary reconstruction.

The twenty-third congress of the CPSU and the force of example

JOSE SANTOS

WE COMMUNISTS, who came to the Soviet Union from the farthest parts of the world, regard the Twenty-Third Congress, a creative continuation of the road mapped by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU, as an event of immense importance for the destiny of man. The Communists in Brazil realize that the success of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the force of their example, are decisive for resolving the basic contradiction of our time; they contribute in large measure to the worldwide victory of socialism and communism, to ending oppression and the exploitation of man by man, and to accomplishing the transition from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

The Twenty-Third Congress is further proof of the complete unity of the people of this great multinational state and its glorious Party—the party of Lenin—unity engendered by endeavor and struggle. Comrade Brezhnev's report mirrors the far-reaching processes currently under way in the USSR, and the steady advance of the Soviet people towards communism. The achievements in the economic, social and cultural spheres and the gigantic advance in science and technology accomplished under the leadership of the CPSU and its Central Committee justify the boldest hopes of the people of the world, hopes associated with the Soviet Union and its socialist system—a model of the new social order charted by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Vain and inglorious are the efforts of those who reject the socialist reality of the USSR and its advance to communism. This reality itself utterly disposes of all fabrications—from the crudest to the most refined. Those who describe the steady rise in the standard

of living of the Soviet people as a return to capitalism, merely show by their abusive and ridiculous statements that they surrender to capitalism and completely reject all that comprises the very essence of socialism. By making these claims they in effect preach the absurd idea that a high standard of living will always be the sole privilege of the exploiting minority.

Our people, who are suffering privations under capitalist exploitation and imperialist brigandage, know that they can achieve prosperity and a happy life for all and end the age-old backwardness of their countries only under socialism, whose aim is not equalization of poverty but a system which, as Lenin said, will ensure that only the very best is good enough for the working people.

In all parts of Brazil, which is oppressed by the reactionary military dictatorship—an instrument of imperialist domination—millions of workers, peasants, intellectuals and people in all walks of life turn their eyes to the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU and associate their cherished hopes with its decisions. But it is not only the oppressed and the exploited who turn their gaze to the Soviet Union, the homeland of working people. The reactionaries, filled with fear and impotent hatred, also know how the decisions of the Twenty-Third Congress will contribute to the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation movements and all the oppressed and downtrodden. Our enemies are aware that a fresh stimulus will now be given to the national, democratic and revolutionary struggle led (even if indirectly at times) by the working class. And the new advance of the liberation struggle will bring nearer the end of the brutal gambles of the imperialists, above all the U.S. imperialists,

like the war in Vietnam, the naked military intervention in the Dominican Republic, the illegal blockade of and numberless provocations against our beloved revolutionary Cuba, and the coups, whose victims have been our people and the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

The firmness with which the CPSU, aware of the historic responsibility devolving upon it, has charted at its remarkable Congress the basic lines of home and foreign policy, are of tremendous educational value to us. We are deeply grateful for the opportunity afforded us to acquire this valuable experience. Despite the dangers and difficulties engendered by the conditions of underground struggle, despite the unceasing persecution, we left our country to represent our Party at the Twenty-Third Congress. This is an honor for our delegation and for our entire Party. We shall return to convey to the Communists and people of Brazil the faith and enthusiasm with which our hearts have been filled. We shall return inspired by the example of the great Soviet people, their Communist Party and its Marxist-Leninist Central Committee.

As stressed in the message of greetings signed on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party by General Secretary Comrade Luis Carlos Prestes, we support the unflagging struggle waged by the CPSU for the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles set forth in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. We Brazilian Communists regard the struggle for this unity as our internationalist duty.

The solidarity of the Communist movement is the cornerstone of the international solidarity of the working class which is indispensable for the triumph of peace and social progress, a victory which is of vital concern for all mankind. Deep awareness of this reinforces the support given by our Party to the unitary stand of the CPSU demonstrated anew at its Twenty-Third Congress. This Congress has reaffirmed that the Soviet Union is the bulwark of the socialist world system and of the struggle of the peoples of the world for national liberation, democracy, socialism and communism.

A milestone on the road to communism

EDGAR WOOG

UP TO 1917 THE congresses of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party were milestones on the road to the proletarian revolution, to the conquest of power by the working class. Since 1917 congresses of the Bolshevik Party have been landmarks on the road to building socialism. And today congresses of the CPSU can be said to be landmarks on the highway to communism.

There have been many epochs of great change in the history of mankind, epochs marked by the heroic deeds of individuals and of nations. But no previous epoch witnessed changes and exploits on the scale of those in our time—the epoch of imperialist

wars, proletarian revolutions and national-liberation struggle, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, of building socialism and communism.

The Second World War was an attempt by the ultra-reactionary wing of the international bourgeoisie, the out-and-out anti-communists to reverse the wheel of history, to overthrow Soviet rule—the first rule by workers and peasants—and erase socialism from the face of the earth. They planned a redivision of the world, a redivision in which the German and Japanese imperialists hoped to seize the richest spoils.

But things turned out otherwise. The new

rule, the rule of the workers and peasants, which the imperialists sought to destroy, proved strong enough not only to withstand the onslaught but also to retaliate and to crush the aggressor. Guided by the most advanced ideology in the world — scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism — the Soviet Union overcame all the difficulties and emerged the victor. Simultaneously there arose the socialist world. In Asia and Africa new states appeared, liberated from imperialist oppression and now exploring their own, non-capitalist, ways of development.

The twenty odd years since the war have witnessed a determined and ceaseless struggle of the Soviet Union, the socialist world, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the working class of the capitalist countries to consolidate their positions to strike a new balance, and form the great worldwide camp of peace which, thanks to its economic, political and military might and thanks to its energy and determination, can secure a ban on atomic testing, prevent another world war and ensure peace.

This struggle has been and continues to be headed by the Soviet Union. Its policy, efforts and achievements have influenced and continue to influence the march of history and show how to deliver human society from war, unemployment, hunger and poverty.

But the bourgeoisie has not been idle either. Having recovered from the shock of the immediate postwar years, it has again consolidated its positions, has helped German and Japanese imperialism to rise to its feet, and has made another attempt to isolate and encircle the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries through political, economic and military blocs. The bourgeoisie is waging a struggle also on the ideological front. It is doing its utmost to remove the wartime anti-Hitler coalition from memory, to belittle the significance of the heroic struggle of the Soviet people, their strenuous efforts and great sacrifices, to discredit the building of socialism, and is ascribing to the Soviet Union its own aggressive designs. It uses every occasion and every opportunity to exert ideological pressure on the people, to sow uncertainty and confusion among them, to lead them astray, to imbue them with hostility to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Here and there the bourgeoisie achieved results, although not to the extent it hoped, since it itself is experiencing hard times. It has to contend with difficulties in its own ranks. Not all the partners are willing to submit to the hegemonistic claim of the USA

and West Germany. They place their national interests first, and begin to follow their own ways. People no longer believe everything told them from the top. Anti-communism is losing its potency, and the legs of the lies about the Soviet Union are becoming shorter and shorter.

But, as in the past, we are still confronted with the task of enlightening the people, of giving them an ideological grounding, reinforcing their class consciousness and their democratic awareness, rallying them against war and the danger of war, of convincing them that war is not inevitable, that it can be averted.

In these conditions the unity of the world Communist movement is of immense importance. A further deepening of the differences, the formation of factional groups in some parties and the divisions in other parties, and also the attempt to divide the international Communist movement—these are weakening the struggle for peace and strengthening the positions of the imperialist military and fascist warmongers. All who cherish unity and peace welcome the statement in Comrade Brezhnev's report at the Twenty-Third Congress that the Central Committee of the CPSU is ready "at any time, jointly with the leadership of the Communist Party of China, to re-examine the differences with a view to finding ways of surmounting them on the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

It will not be easy to cope with this task. Each country, naturally, has its own history, its own economic and political features, its own forms and methods of struggle, its peculiarities and its own specific problems, and each party should take due account of this, of the concrete conditions and specific problems.

But our world outlook, that of Marxism-Leninism, is indivisible. The teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin—scientific socialism—is all-embracing and international. There is no special Asian, Arab, African, Latin American or any other nationally restricted Marxism-Leninism. Those who arbitrarily adapt Marxism-Leninism to their narrow requirements, who cut it according to their own figure, receive a spoiled garment and a spoiled theory which no longer has anything in common with Marxism-Leninism.

The test of each garment is how it fits, and each theory is tested by practice. For nearly fifty years now Marxism-Leninism has been successfully tested in the practice of the world's first socialist state—the Soviet Union. Despite all the obstacles and difficulties, and aware of their responsibility to the

international working class and all mankind, the Russian workers and peasants led by the Party of Lenin created the first socialist state, built socialism and are now engaged in building communism.

They did not have, nor do they have now, a ready-made recipe for this. Other countries, too, did not have, do not have and will not have ready-made prescriptions. But the Russian workers and peasants made the first breach, staunchly and fearlessly paved the way to socialism and gained enormous experience. By this alone they have rendered an inestimable service to the revolutionary working-class movement and to all mankind.

The Twenty-Third Congress summed up the results of the work carried out by the Party and government and set the tasks for the years to come. Communism is the goal for which the best and noblest representatives, and, with them, thousands of people, fought, gave all their strength and sacrificed their lives throughout history.

The Soviet Union will be the first to reach

the goal, while the name of Lenin and the party of Lenin will be etched forever in history and in the struggle for communism.

It will be recalled that during Lenin's years of emigration and during the First World War he lived in Switzerland. In the central library in Zurich he gathered the material for his "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," and from Zurich he guided the activity of the Bolshevik Party in 1916 and during the first months of 1917. However, along with this immense work he found the time to examine the problems of Switzerland and the Swiss working class. With his inherent passion he exposed the "civic peace" policy pursued by the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland and gave theoretical equipment to the nascent Left. Thus, the history of the working class movement in Switzerland is closely associated with Lenin's name. And to this day the Swiss Party of Labor feels itself in unity with the CPSU, the party of Lenin, and nothing and nobody can shatter this unity.

In the vanguard of the world front of revolutionary forces

PIETER KEUNEMAN

ALL WE HAVE seen and heard at the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU has convinced us that this Congress will be yet another memorable landmark in the victorious advance of the Soviet people to communist society. This Congress will strengthen still further the Soviet Union's outstanding contribution to the fight for peace and national liberation, to the success of the world revolutionary process.

We have been most impressed by the spirit that pervaded the work of the Congress. The approach to important problems of communist construction was business-like and realistic. Justified pride in great achievements was coupled with frank and sober examination of shortcomings. Revolutionary zeal was com-

bined with respect for the objective laws of social development.

No honest person can help feeling even more indignant than ever at those who, without any respect for fact or truth, accuse the CPSU of a lack of revolutionary spirit and determination. The Congress has demonstrated once again the CPSU's unswerving devotion to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, its deep and abiding consciousness of its revolutionary duty, and its determination to spare nothing in order to fulfil this duty.

The Twenty-Third Congress has shown how baseless and shameful is this stupid slander against the great party of Lenin which stands,

as it has always stood, in the vanguard of the world front of revolutionary forces.

The new five-year plan is a real and practical answer to the absurd theories about an imaginary "crisis" of Soviet economy and an alleged restoration of certain forms of capitalist relations in the USSR. It is indeed a funny kind of "crisis" that can produce the substantial increase in production and human welfare envisaged in the targets in this plan! And it defies all known principles of logic to understand how capitalist relations are being restored by a plan that will lay the material and technical base for communist society!

The realization of the aims of the five-year plan will have great significance not only in the USSR, but in the international field as well. It will further undermine the positions of imperialism and capitalism, enhance the prestige and strength of socialism, and help forward the cause of peace, national liberation and social progress everywhere.

The new five-year plan and other decisions of the Twenty-Third Congress will have a special significance for the peoples and the fraternal parties of the new national states who face difficult and complicated problems in a new stage of the national-liberation movement.

Our Party and all the progressive forces in Ceylon greatly appreciate the many-sided assistance that the Soviet Union renders to our people and to other peoples of the Asian continent.

We value highly the Soviet Union's aid to the heroic people of Vietnam in their just and noble struggle against American imperialist aggression. The wise and constructive policy of the Soviet Union at the recent Tashkent Conference has helped to normalize relations between two major Asian states and to reduce tensions and inter-state conflicts of which imperialism took full advantage. Soviet economic and technical assistance has been a major factor helping the people of the new states to resist neo-colonialism and build a new life for themselves.

In alliance with reactionary domestic forces, imperialism has in recent times launched a major counteroffensive in many new states of Asia and Africa whose policies were not to their liking. The overthrow of many progressive and anti-imperialist governments has been engineered by all sort of plots and conspiracies, including reactionary military coups. Unbridled terror has been unleashed against Communists and other progressive forces and widespread repression has been launched against the democratic mass organizations.

The sharpness of the struggles that have developed in such new states reflect how acute

is the need to solve a vital question that life itself has posed for the national-liberation movement, namely, whether the peoples of the new states will submit to neo-colonialism and the agonies of so-called capitalist development or undertake an independent and progressive development along a non-capitalist road with the aid of the socialist countries. It is no accident that imperialism and domestic reactionaries were often able to gain temporary successes and to take the upper hand by demagogic use of vacillations, weaknesses and mistakes in the building and management of the national economy and in raising the living standards of the people.

The new five-year plan and the successes of communist construction in the USSR are an example and powerful stimulus to help the peoples of the new states to solve this problem in the correct way. They will enable the Soviet Union to increase its all-round aid to the peoples of these new states in their fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism, teach them how to combine political stimulus with correct economic management in the further development of the national-liberation revolution and convince them that the non-capitalist road is the most advantageous.

One reason why imperialism has become more bold and aggressive is the differences that have arisen in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement. Our Party fully supports the inspiring call made in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee for the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement in the struggle against our common enemy, imperialism. We agree with the steps proposed in the Report to restore such unity and value highly the patient and principled way in which the CPSU has worked to re-establish unity. It is not difficult now for anyone to see who is for unity and who is not. The presence of so many fraternal parties at the Twenty-Third Congress is a tribute to the prestige that the CPSU enjoys in this matter as in others.

It is now the duty of all fraternal parties to seek out all the possible concrete forms of cooperation and matters around which we can unite and act together. That is why we strongly support the proposal for united action by the socialist camp and the fraternal parties in support of and solidarity with our valiant comrades in Vietnam. Their struggle has become a rallying point for all progressive forces of the world similar to the struggle of the Spanish people in the 1930s.

Our Party will always stand side by side with you to implement the general line of our Communist movement worked out at the 1957 and 1960 Meetings.

The revolutionary experience of the CPSU and the modern age

ALI YATA

SINCE THE END of the Second World War there have been few Party congresses the opening of which was awaited with such impatience as the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU. From the moment of its opening the attention of millions throughout the world, friends and enemies of the USSR alike, was focussed on the Congress hall. All sections and classes of society in Africa and elsewhere closely followed the Congress proceedings.

The Twenty-Third Congress heralded a new stage in laying the foundations of communist society. Fulfilment of the new five-year plan will greatly strengthen not only the Soviet Union, but the socialist world system as a whole. The Congress summed up the experience, exceedingly rich and entirely new in many respects, which is of the utmost value to all the forces building the new society.

The Twenty-Third Congress attracted worldwide attention also because this is one of the most critical moments of the postwar. The international situation, deteriorating and becoming increasingly complex, is fraught with the danger of nuclear war, a danger that should not be underestimated.

The growing aggressiveness of the imperialists is clearly expressed in the flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the United States, in its monstrous war in South Vietnam and in the cold-blooded slaughter of Vietnamese people.

Moroccan Communists voice their indignation at these crimes of the aggressors, as reminiscent of the crimes perpetrated by Hitler during the Second World War. They extend their deep respect, admiration and gratitude to the courageous people of Vietnam who are a model of staunchness and fearlessness. They assure the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Libera-

tion Front of their full and effective solidarity.

The aggressiveness of imperialism is manifested not only in Vietnam. In Western Europe the U.S. imperialists give every encouragement to the revival of German militarism and revanchism. In Latin America they intervene in the internal affairs of the peoples, not stopping at armed intervention, as was the case recently in the Dominican Republic.

In Africa, Washington resorts to the same policy of violence, the policy of violating international obligations and meddling in the internal affairs of other countries. An example of this is afforded by their aggression in the Congo (Leopoldville) committed with the connivance of the Belgian colonialists. In their struggle against the forces of progress they resort to coups, overthrowing progressive and independent governments and placing in power obedient puppets. A number of coups has been carried out on their orders and under their guidance in Africa recently, and a skein of plots is now being woven against Algeria which has remained loyal to her choice, against the United Arab Republic, Guinea and Mali who are upholding their independence and taking their society along the non-capitalist path.

The imperialists are implanting their agents in the ranks of Africa's freedom fighters, trying to divide them, to make them abandon their struggle.

It would be foolish to close one's eyes to the fact that in Africa the imperialists have to a certain extent succeeded in their designs, while the revolutionary movement has had temporarily to retreat. We must seriously analyze the causes of this retreat, overcome its adverse consequences and show the way to a fresh advance of the anti-imperialist movement for national and social liberation.

The growing aggressiveness of imperialism by no means implies that the world balance of forces has changed in its favor. It is beyond all doubt that the world balance has changed, and that the change in favor of progress and peace is an irreversible process.

The steady growth of the might of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, the march of the national-liberation movement increasingly gravitating in the direction of socialism, the intensified struggle of the working class and other democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions—all tend to impel the imperialists to reverse the wheels of history. And so we find them trying to exploit the discord which in recent years has shaken the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international Communist movement. They seize eagerly on any weakening of the bonds of solidarity uniting the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and the world Communist movement.

But the revolutionary forces of the world are strong enough to bar the way to imperialist aggression; they are strong enough to stay the hand of imperialism in Vietnam, to repel its offensive in the countries of the "third world" and to ensure conditions for a still more powerful advance of the national-liberation movement and also to prevent another world war and establish lasting peace. But the revolutionary forces will succeed only by combining their actions and creating a united and invincible worldwide anti-imperialist front.

The task of every Communist party is to bend every effort, to display maximum initiative and a high sense of responsibility so that the world Communist movement may regain its unity and adopt a common general strategic line, with each party acting independently and on the basis of equality, and taking into account the specific conditions of its own country. Similar efforts must be exerted to strengthen the ties between the national-liberation movement and the international working class movement so that their cooperation yields maximum benefit.

The national, progressive and revolutionary forces in Africa must find, mainly in their own midst, the means with which to withstand the trials, although they too can always count on international solidarity. Political realism demands that these forces exercise the greatest vigilance, unite more closely still on the basis of community of interests and aims, and pool their efforts to foil all the reactionary plots. Only in this way will they

be able to give a crushing rebuff to the aggressors, to regain the lost positions, recover the initiative and create prerequisites for attaining the unity and complete liberation of Africa.

The revolutionary movement in Africa needs neither ultra-revolutionary talk, empty chatter about socialism, nor political romanticism. What it needs much more is constructive realism and well-thought-out and organized action relying on all the patriotic forces of the people. Today the need is not dictatorial methods, but democratic institutions and greater confidence in revolutionary elements loyal to scientific socialism.

African Communists belong to peoples whose development has been retarded by centuries of colonial and feudal domination. The African proletariat is still young and has no deep-rooted revolutionary traditions. Hence the vital thing for the African Communists is to enter into the closest possible relations with other progressive and revolutionary forces, irrespective of the diversity of forms generated by concrete conditions, combining firmness in applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism with exceptional flexibility in tactics. Otherwise they run the risk of being for a long time in the position of reliable but inadequately effective militant detachments, which, lacking the means to influence the course of events, will not be able to carry out their historic role.

Moreover, at a time when the revolutionary movement in Africa is taking its first steps, it is essential also to guard against adventurism which is encouraged and utilized by imperialism and reaction and can doom to failure even the most broadly-based forces, the biggest and most active parties.

It is from these premises that the Moroccan Communist Party proceeds in its activity. Morocco is now witnessing an aggravation of contradictions between France, which is trying to preserve her economic, political and strategic positions, and the United States, which wants to impose on our country its influence and even its tutelage in an attempt to convert it into a bridgehead for expansion on the African continent. Both France and the United States would be quite willing to cash in on the grave economic and social crisis which has hit our country where semi-colonial and semi-feudal conditions still prevail notwithstanding the independence won ten years ago.

Hence the task of the day is to preserve and strengthen our national independence, to ensure for the country an administration based on democratic principles. This is a task not

only for the Communists but also for all patriots and all progressives. For this reason the Communists are working to unite the efforts of all who want to live in a free, independent and democratic Morocco. They are striving for cooperation and alliance with all the forces anxious for the welfare of the country.

Thanks to their efforts in this direction the Communists have to a certain extent overcome the difficulties which arose as a result

of the unlawful ban on the Party in 1960. They have displayed initiative, have extended the influence wielded by the Party and have augmented its ranks. The Party is now a force to be reckoned with.

The Communists are deeply aware that they owe their successes largely to the experience they have borrowed, and continue to borrow, from the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This experience will be enriched by the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU.

The inspiring achievements of the USSR

MOHAMMED HARMEL

THE Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU is rich with lessons not only for Communists but for all progressives, especially in countries which have recently won independence. These countries, faced with the complex problems of economic development, are searching for the best means and shortest ways of overcoming economic backwardness. Of special significance for our countries is the new five-year plan which occupied the central place in the work of the Congress.

Like the preceding plans, it generalizes and complements the exceptionally rich experience of economic upbuilding in the USSR. Thanks to socialism, thanks to the road charted by Marx and Lenin, the land of the Soviets has become a great industrial power. The world is filled with admiration for its scientific, technological and social achievements. The Soviet republics of Central Asia, which before the October revolution were almost as backward as the underdeveloped countries of our time, have made a gigantic leap forward. In a relatively brief space of time they have risen to the level of advanced modern countries. Therein lies one of the chief lessons of the economic construction in the USSR and its brilliant success, which account for the growing appeal of socialism among the peoples of Asia and Africa. Bearing in mind the specific features of their countries and borrowing the

experience of the numerous and varied transitional ways, our peoples will, in their turn, come to socialism.

The capitalist way of development leads to a dead end. In our time, which is the time of transition to socialism on the world scale, with the USSR and the entire socialist community playing the leading role, the countries of the "third world" have received an opportunity to take the non-capitalist way. For them it is the sole alternative to capitalism, a preparation for the transition to socialism, the best means of launching effective struggle against economic backwardness. By taking this path—even before they reach the stage of building socialism—they can utilize the experience of the Soviet Union, in all spheres, and above all in the field of industrialization, training personnel, etc.

The national-liberation movement today is resisting the imperialist and reactionary onslaught, the aim of which is to prevent the peoples from winning genuine independence and to retard the advance of national and democratic revolutions. By its very existence, its inspiring example, its disinterested aid and its support, the Soviet Union has contributed to the disintegration of the colonial system and to the consolidation of the independence of the new states in Africa and Asia. The strengthening of the USSR, envisaged by the

five-year plan, will create still more favorable international conditions which will enable the national-liberation movement to wage a victorious struggle against the intrigues of imperialism and its economic oppression, and to develop the economies of the young countries. It can be said that the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU and the perspectives opened up by it will have great repercussions in the national-liberation movement.

Another lesson which can be drawn from the Twenty-Third Congress is the ability of the CPSU closely to link up Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Charting the ways and means of building the material and technological base of communism and expressing the indomitable will to defend their labor and their gains, delegates to the Congress realized that in this way they were fulfilling their patriotic and internationalist duty, upholding the interests of the USSR and of all peoples. The Congress was a brilliant expression of proletarian internationalism. The friendly welcome accorded the representatives of the fraternal parties, and especially the delegation from the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the delegation of the National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the profound solidarity with the Vietnamese people—victim of the U.S. aggression—and the determination to render them ever more effec-

tive aid were really touching features.

Another valuable lesson of the Congress is that it was able to give effect to the remarkable connection between revolutionary enthusiasm and genuinely scientific analysis. Delegates who came from all parts of the Soviet country—industrial workers, collective farmers, scientists and engineers of all nationalities—enthusiastically summed up the results of the achievements of their country and approved the general line of the Party aimed at consolidating the material and technical base of communism and preserving world peace. In a scientific way and with a sense of realism they set about solving new problems of economic development and examined the targets of another five-year plan the purpose of which is to improve the guidance and management of the economy now fully on the upgrade, more rationally to utilize the productive forces and, consequently, to ensure a more rapid rise in the standard of living.

These and other lessons of the Twenty-Third Congress are bound to attract the attention of all progressives in the newly-free countries, including our country which should take the path of accomplishing the democratic and social tasks of the Tunisian revolution, build an independent and prosperous economy, and raise the standard of living of its people.

Demonstration of loyalty to Marxsim-Leninism

SANTIAGO CARRILLO

APART FROM THAT unforgettable moment when the stirring strains of the *internationale* reached the Congress delegates from near-Lunar space, nothing "spectacular" occurred at the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU. The sensation-seekers were disappointed. But it is precisely the calm and business-like atmosphere of the Twenty-Third Congress, the concreteness and precision of its work and its decisions that constitute one of its most positive aspects.

The consolidation of socialism and the advance to communism pose many new, hitherto unforeseen problems which call for an entirely novel approach. This applies chiefly to economic matters, and until these are solved it will be extremely difficult to proceed to a more comprehensive solution of the other problems. Experience shows that every economic problem that has not yet been solved (or that has been solved unsatisfactorily) gives imperialism additional opportunities not only

for direct struggle against us but also for aggravating the contradictions in our own camp.

It was therefore highly gratifying that the Twenty-Third Congress concentrated on economic issues—the new method of planning and management, and the new five-year plan.

The CPSU is pursuing a wise and judicious policy. In the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, the accelerated development of the means of production, and the economic competition between socialism and capitalism, an essential condition for success is the application to the socialist economy of criteria of profitability, recognition of the basic economic laws and total rejection of subjectivism. Bourgeois propaganda notwithstanding, this is not a matter of capitalist profits, but of profits for the whole of society. It is a matter of the optimal utilization of the productive forces in order to ensure more rapid progress and achieve better socio-economic results. We Communists who are fighting in the capitalist countries welcome the steps taken in this direction by the comrades from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We fully appreciate the importance and the revolutionary significance on a world scale of the Soviet Union's successes in the sphere of economy, science and technology.

The new methods of planning and management are linked with realization of the current five-year plan, the realism of which has evoked approval all over the world. A feature of this plan testifying to the level of development already achieved by the USSR is that it provides for an approximation of rate of development in agriculture and industry and that output of consumer goods is to increase at almost the same rate as the output of heavy industry. This harmony of growth will, undoubtedly, be of major significance for economic advance in general inasmuch as it will provide the material stimuli essential for this advance.

With all their realism, the five-year plan targets endorsed by the Congress impress one by their magnitude, and made me, a Spanish Communist, think what my own country could be like if it had the same social system as the USSR. An idea of the grand scale of the plan is afforded by these two figures: 63,000 km. of paved highways (one and a half times the circumference of the globe) to be built and 37,000 km. of oil and gas pipelines laid in five years. Such is the scale of the five-year plan which is nevertheless considered quite moderate and feasible!

In the sphere of politics the Twenty-Third Congress stressed the leading role of the Party

in the building of communism. It is from this standpoint, in my opinion, that the changes in the names of the leading bodies of the CPSU should be viewed. Those who talk about this being "a step back" have a poor understanding of the processes now under way in Soviet society.

At the same time, international developments, the danger created by the United States' escalation of the war in Vietnam, undoubtedly laid their imprint on the work of the Congress. This explains the heightened vigilance of the Soviet people, who are constantly on guard against threats to peace. This is manifested in various forms and very concretely in the resolute stand taken by the USSR in support of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnamese patriots. The U.S. aggression in Vietnam naturally adds to the political tensions and aggravates the political situation.

The Twenty-Third Congress again demonstrated the lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism and the dedication to Marxism-Leninism that are characteristic of the CPSU. When the party of Lenin, replying to the wild, unjustified and irresponsible attacks, does not descend to the level of these sallies and urges the healing of the split, arguing that what unites us is far more important than that which divides us, its example is deserving of the highest praise.

Representatives of 86 Communist and Workers' parties and other progressive parties attended the Congress. Never before (even at the 1960 Meeting) has there been such a large gathering of revolutionary parties. The Twenty-Third Congress thus became an international meeting of unique significance. It proved that representatives of the Communist parties can get together and discuss their problems and, despite differences, work out common positions on many vital issues. Congress showed, too, that a meeting of Communist parties at which some of their number would not be represented need not necessarily become a tribunal for recriminations against the absentees.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the decisions and indeed the entire proceedings of the Twenty-Third Congress were a new contribution by the CPSU to the cause of the liberation of nations, to the fight for socialism and communism on a world scale. The Twenty-Third Congress was a powerful call to restore and consolidate the unity of the Communist movement. Sooner or later this appeal is bound to be heard by those who have so far turned a deaf ear to it.

Patriotism, national interests, internationalism

ZOLTAN KOMOCSIN

I.

HUNGARY, HAVING LAID the foundations of socialism, is now working to complete its construction. This is the groundwork on which the content and principal features of our socialist patriotism and our national interests are being shaped. Our national sentiment and national pride are inseparably linked with the radical socio-economic changes of the past two decades, with the cultural revolution that has taken place in our country. These, and naturally the revolutionary, progressive traditions in our history, the examples of our national heroes, the finest sons of the nation, are the wellsprings of our socialist patriotism.

The evolution of our national feeling, our patriotic consciousness, is intertwined with the socialist revolution and the laying of the foundations of the new society. The millions of working men and women, the oppressed and exploited of old Hungary, have in these twenty years become the masters of their land and are finding fulfilment in dedicated effort to build up their country and to enrich its culture. Patriotic exploits have always been associated with a struggle against the reactionary classes for a better life for the people. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, also signified the victorious culmination of this historical struggle; thanks to it the working people to whom the country always owed its every achievement but who formerly were denied the opportunity to benefit from these achievements, are now the beneficiaries of every step forward taken by the country and its socialist society and hence regard these achievements and successes as their own.

The Communists, being true patriots, are proud that the reins of power in Hungary are held by the working class and that our people now live better than ever before. Our national consciousness is being reinforced by the fact that as the building of socialism proceeds the working classes become new, socialist classes. The proletariat, once exploited, oppressed and persecuted, has developed into a conscious, organized ruling class capably guiding the nation's destiny. Instead of a disunited small peasantry which suffered from constant want and was rent by internal contradictions, we now have a class of socialist peasants whose political unity is steadily growing and who are forging ahead in both the economic and cultural respects. Moreover, the workers and peasants not only have experienced a rebirth themselves. They have produced an intelligentsia of their own with which the old intelligentsia is increasingly uniting.

The comprehensive building of socialism calls for conscious efforts to resolve the tasks facing us. Unquestionably the man who works conscientiously helps to expand the productive forces of socialism even if he is not yet politically conscious. His endeavors, too, are patriotic. But this is not yet socialist patriotism. Socialist patriotism is incompatible with a political and ideological "uncommitted freedom" in relation to the class struggle either at home in the country or on the international arena. Some people take one attitude towards socialism and another towards the nation, considering themselves true patriots although they do not go beyond mere recognition of socialism as a *fait accompli* or passive acceptance of it. The continued progress of the country, however, increasingly

demands genuine awareness that we can achieve our national goals only under socialism, that the nation cannot prosper without socialism.

In the early fifties we were often carried away by "daily victories" so much so that we lost touch with reality and failed to observe the precepts of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Today we find people tending at times to take all the achievements for granted, and to feel that only mistakes, negative phenomena and unsolved problems are worth talking about.

Clearly, we reject both the sceptical approach and the sheer, starry-eyed enthusiasm of the past and take a realistic view of our accomplishments while soberly examining the reasons for the present shortcomings and difficulties. What indeed should hearten and gratify the worker, the peasant, the intellectual, artist or scientist, or even the small bourgeois who lives by his own labor, if not the realization of a job well done and the knowledge that our socialist society is making headway, forging ahead despite the obstacles and registering successes of international significance? By drawing on the reality, on things as they are, we can evoke patriotic sentiment and awaken a socialist national consciousness.

The main feature of socialist patriotism is its identifying the future of the nation and the country with socialism, with the strengthening of the socialist system. Socialist patriotism implies the recognition that active participation in building the new socialist society is the supreme form of all-out effort to promote the national interest. Its most important manifestation is conscious work on the part of the people to perform socialist duties in all areas of life—in production and in the political, cultural and social spheres. In other words, socialist patriotism is a line of political, ideological, moral and emotional behavior which prompts the individual to identify himself with the true interests of the nation.

Thanks to our revolutionary accomplishments in socialist construction, the establishment of workers' rule, abolition of exploitation, crystallization of socialist production relations, and the far-reaching results of the cultural revolution, ours is essentially a society of working people. And this makes it possible and imperative to work for national unity embracing practically the entire population. National unity on a socialist basis is a new feature of our history which serves as a source of socialist patriotism. Since the exploiting classes are rent by irreconcilable

contradictions, no society where they exist can achieve genuine national unity. In our society, on the contrary, cohesion and unity fortify the civic consciousness of every citizen as well as faith in his own strength and in the potential of the nation.

All our past history bore the imprint of oppressive, tragic brooding over the nation's destiny and the feeling of being lost in a hostile wilderness, a feeling which found reflection in the works of our greatest poets. Today, on the contrary, one of the sources of socialist national consciousness is the knowledge that by creating a state of the working people, by building a new society and forging ahead from success to success, our people have emerged from the wilderness of isolation onto the world arena. Our People's Republic is now a respected, equal member of the community of socialist states and plays an active, if perhaps modest, role in international political life.

II.

By abolishing exploitation, oppression and irreconcilable class contradictions, the socialist society also abolishes the material basis for the realization by one people of their national interests at the expense of or ignoring the interests of other peoples. Just as it makes unity within each country imperative, so does socialism make it necessary to achieve unity and community of ideas and interests among the socialist countries on an international scale. The national interests of each call for the implementation on the international plane of the principle "each for all and all for each." This is served by bilateral and multilateral agreements of an economic, political, cultural or scientific order. The European socialist countries established the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and the Warsaw Treaty organization precisely for this purpose. On the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements and cooperation between socialist countries, international relations of a kind without precedent in history have been established, relations which serve both the national and international interests of the countries concerned. Hungary's participation in this system accords wholly with our national interests and hence is a powerful factor strengthening patriotic consciousness. The fact that we belong to the socialist commonwealth ensures the growth of our strength.

The sovereignty of the socialist countries is a question of fundamental political importance. For nearly 400 years Hungary's finest sons fought for national independence—

against Turkish pashas, against the Hapsburgs and, lastly, against Hitler. This bitter and costly struggle ended in victory on April 4, 1945.

Since then our people have been free and independent in the full sense of the word. And there is no force in the world capable of depriving them of their gains. An earnest of this is the economic, political and military strength of the socialist community. Moreover, our people know full well the value of independence.

Sovereignty and its realization vary according to time and place. In the capitalist world interdependence and restrictions imposed on nations by mutual obligations may outweigh their sovereignty. In view of the power wielded by international monopoly capital and especially the economic, ideological and political influence of U.S. imperialism, no capitalist country can be considered a fully independent and sovereign state.

The community of socialist countries and the Warsaw Treaty organization, on the contrary, are associations of sovereign states for which mutual links and mutual obligations are a vital necessity. Moreover, the defense and consolidation of their sovereignty make it imperative for them to have an alliance on which they can rely, and this in turn presupposes allied obligations. It should be noted moreover, that also for countries outside this alliance its existence creates a set of circumstances which can hardly be ignored.

Our Party is against all nationalist tendencies to elevate sovereignty to the level of an absolute principle, and is equally against the concept of non-alignment and neutrality under socialism.

The economic, social and military strength of the socialist world system is the mainstay of the world forces of peace and socialism. This strength is reinforced by the unity of the socialist countries and by the potential contained in the system of mutual obligations. Strengthening the unity of these countries and their system of mutual commitments signifies strengthening the worldwide front of peace and socialism, making the preservation of peace and the triumph of socialism more certain. Anything tending to operate in the opposite direction can but weaken the world front of peace and socialism.

This, of course, in no way detracts from the importance of the stand taken in the international political arena by the neutral, non-aligned, non-socialist countries. But it is a fact that the main line of the struggle is drawn between capitalism and socialism. Indeed, it is the struggle between the two

diametrically opposed world systems that determines the main content of our epoch. And it is the constant strengthening of socialism, the growth of the progressive forces and the steady shrinking of the imperialist sphere of influence that ensure the possibility of avoiding a world nuclear war. In the case of the socialist countries non-alignment is unacceptable from both the ideological and political standpoints.

In assessing the slogan "rely on one's own forces" Hungarian Communists are guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism. It goes without saying that countries building socialism should draw primarily on their own economic potential and social resources in order to provide the conditions necessary for building the new society.

The mistake, however, in the absolutization of the meaning and possibility of building socialism solely with "one's own forces" lies in the fact that this concept has anti-Soviet nationalist undertones. To counterpose at this time the attitude of relying solely on one's own forces to the immense potential inherent in the cohesion and unity of the socialist countries runs counter to historical experience and common sense. One-sided emphasis on one's own forces is an instance of nationalistic overestimation of one's success which sows illusions among the people, and, on the other hand, of underestimation of joint effort and the aid rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Soviet Union has been building a socialist society for nearly half a century, and the other fraternal countries for twenty years or less. Historically speaking, socialism as a practical form of development of human society emerged only recently. It is mainly for this reason that the various socialist countries taken separately and all of them together are encountering, and, evidently, will encounter in the future, a multitude of practical obstacles to cooperation and unity. Nor should it be forgotten that so far socialism has been victorious mostly in countries which at the time of the proletarian revolution lagged economically behind the advanced countries. This historically conditioned lag could not be overcome at once. It can be overcome only through prolonged effort, at a higher level of development. We believe that the Communist Party, government and the people in every country building socialism should, steadfastly abiding by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, display both firmness and patience. Only in this way can ultimate success be fully ensured.

Differences, and, at times, contradictions

arise between the socialist countries. And the significance of Marxist-Leninist principles is that they enable us to resolve the contradictions. Although basically the interests and aims of the socialist countries are identical, sometimes one or another of them may, in upholding its national interests, find itself in conflict to some extent or other with the common interests of others. In such cases conflict can be avoided and the contradictions resolved given mutual understanding and the readiness to help one another. In the final analysis conflict of interests can be eliminated and genuine national interests safeguarded only if principles are not jettisoned, if cooperation is not rejected and if imaginary or short-term advantages are not allowed to outweigh the fundamental considerations. No matter how complex the problems may be, they can be solved in accordance with the genuine national interests if principled policies are adhered to and momentary interests are not allowed to eclipse the long-term national and international interests.

III.

Communists are proletarian internationalists and patriots. Only the proletarian internationalist can be a consistent socialist patriot.

Ever since 1917 the touchstone of proletarian internationalism has been fraternal solidarity with the first socialist state, our elder and most experienced brother, the Soviet Union. Our proletarian internationalist unity with the Soviet Union is based on the durable facts of history, on the objective realities of the socialist revolution and the present international situation. By its birth the Soviet Union ushered in the division of the world into a society based on exploitation and a society without exploitation. In the course of a half-century the people of the Soviet Union not only defeated attacks by armies sent against them by the exploiting classes. At the cost of heavy sacrifice, they created the external conditions for that momentous turn in history as a result of which socialism is now being built in fourteen countries. Ever since the October Revolution the Soviet people have made greater sacrifices than any other in the interests of the triumph of socialism throughout the world. This is to their everlasting credit.

International imperialism looks on the Soviet Union as its main enemy. It dreads the USSR more than anything else, even though it is fully aware that the Soviet Union is the greatest and most dependable bastion

of the working class people striving for world peace, democracy, independence and socialism.

Ever since the Soviet Union came into being, nationalism in our country has been accomplished by anti-Sovietism. The Horthy fascist regime pursued from its very inception an anti-Soviet policy and conducted anti-Soviet propaganda. Today the imperialist tactics of "fragmentation" are designed to undermine relations between the USSR and Hungary, to erode the respect, gratitude and truly fraternal feelings of our people towards the Soviet Union. The object is to whip up anti-Soviet sentiment in order to find an opening for ideological and political forays and thereby weaken the national unity of the Hungarian people. In our work to affirm and implement Soviet-Hungarian friendship a big role is played by a truthful portrayal of the economic, social, cultural and military accomplishments of the Soviet Union.

The countries which have embarked on building socialism are bound to experience a regeneration of national sentiment and patriotic consciousness. The epoch-making achievements of the socialist revolution logically lead to a growth of patriotic feeling among the people. But it would be bad if this growth of national pride were not combined with a growing sense of proletarian internationalism, and if nationalistic, anti-Soviet manifestations were allowed to emerge. From this standpoint it is imperative to heighten the people's ideological staunchness, general knowledge and sense of political responsibility.

Fraternal solidarity with the Soviet Union is an historical necessity of our time, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism. This does not contradict the fact that the concept of proletarian internationalism as such and its implications have become broader. Besides fraternal solidarity with the Soviet Union, solidarity with the community of socialist countries is now its criterion. Cohesion of the socialist commonwealth is an ideological, political and historical imperative which the present differences in the international Communist movement can neither eclipse nor abolish.

The discussion in which we Hungarian Communists have taken part from the very beginning has not changed and cannot change our proletarian internationalist views or our attitude to the Communists, the working class and people generally of the countries with whose Communist parties we are not in agreement. The importance of proletarian internationalism is in no way diminished by

differences which, historically speaking, are a transient phenomenon. Internationalism has prevailed over differences in views in the past and will surely do so in the future. Whether a party places differences above proletarian internationalism or not is now the yardstick of its dedication to Marxism-Leninism.

No Communist Party can allow differences of opinion and controversies to overshadow proletarian internationalism in the thinking and mood of its members and the working classes following its lead. Despite the difficulties facing the parties, ours included, we are convinced that this is the only correct internationalist line, a line which the future will surely fully confirm.

IV.

Our Party attaches much importance to struggle against survivals of the "traditional" Hungarian nationalism, which has long since become thoroughly reactionary, as well as against the new forms of nationalism and cosmopolitanism smuggled in from the West. The "traditional" nationalism combines an anti-Soviet spirit with hatred for neighboring peoples, territorial claims, and so on.

From our national as well as from the international standpoint the important thing is the entirely new historical situation that emerged after the Second World War when the people of Hungary and their neighbors, with the exception of Austria, took the road of socialist revolution. Since then all aspects of the relationships between our fraternal peoples and independent states, including the national question, have been subordinated to the building of socialism.

In the past twenty years relations of friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation have been established and consolidated with the neighboring socialist countries. In all these countries determined efforts have been made to resolve the national question in the Leninist spirit. It goes without saying, however, that twenty years is not enough fully to resolve this age-old problem. Survivals of nationalism are extremely tenacious. Guided by Leninist principles, we seek above all to combat our own nationalism in order fully to resolve the national question in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The predominance of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism notwithstanding, survivals of the fascist race theory and anti-semitism still make themselves felt in our country. There still are people among us who have not completely broken with their fascist past and who at times still manage to

pass on their perverted thinking to the youth. Unrelenting ideological and political struggle is imperative against such fascist, anti-semitic manifestations, and radical administrative measures, too, must be invoked to this end.

Western politicians, diplomats and ideologists make no secret of the fact that they repose great hopes in the survivals of nationalism still to be found in the socialist countries. In point of fact, the imperialist policy of subversion seeks above all to cash in on these survivals. One of the main devices in this respect is the tremendous effort put in to hold up in the wrong light the fact that economically the foremost capitalist countries are as yet ahead of the socialist countries; while lauding the capitalist way of life and its standard of living, the imperialist propagandists shamelessly conceal the seamy sides of capitalist society.

The people of the socialist countries are told that our lag is not a legacy of the past, that the reasons for it can be traced to socialism, that the capitalist system affords far greater opportunities, and so on. The aim is a triple one. First, to cultivate a national insularity, and to insinuate the idea of breaking with the socialist camp. Second, to turn the working people against socialism also in the capitalist countries by invoking national interests seen in a distorted light. That we have not yet succeeded in completely extirpating the survivals of nationalism becomes patent each time the situation is complicated by internal or external factors. Third, the imperialists seek to cultivate a cosmopolitan reverence of the West by exalting imaginary advantages which, they claim, the people of the socialist countries would gain by throwing in their lot with it. In this the imperialists rely heavily on defectors to the imperialist camp, including the Hungarian defectors who have betrayed their country.

The imperialists, then, put their stake on the nationalism still existing in the socialist countries despite the growth of socialist patriotism. It would be a mistake to underestimate the enemy's efforts. Beginning with radio broadcasting and in particular the U.S.-financed Radio Free Europe, there are numerous channels through which imperialist ideological and political influences and nationalistic and cosmopolitan sentiment are infiltrating into our country. A part in this is played also by tourist traffic and official contacts. Needless to say, we have no fears for Marxist-Leninist ideology, for the effectiveness of our policy, for the national and proletarian internationalist consciousness of

the Hungarian people; still, it is imperative to enhance ideological and political vigilance in all areas of life.

The socio-economic tasks facing the Hungarian people at home, the present international situation and the problems of the international working-class movements make it more imperative than ever to deepen the sentiment of patriotism and proletarian internationalism among our working people.

The revolutionary tasks posed by our time can be solved only by a conscious patriotic, proletarian internationalist approach to them. Precisely because of this we see one of our prime tasks of socialist construction in completely freeing the thinking of our people of the survivals of nationalism which act as a brake on progress, in strengthening the patriotic, proletarian internationalist convictions of the people.

Comradely relationships are the law of socialism

STANISLAV TOMASZEWSKI

THE TWENTY YEARS since the birth of people's Poland have witnessed radical changes in every aspect of its life. Solid achievements have been registered in building up the productive forces, in science and technology, improving well-being and raising cultural standards. These are successes of which our people are justly proud. They see in them a reflection of the advantages of the new social system which has opened unlimited opportunities for rapid all-round development.

In the course of these years socialist production relations have been consolidated and have become predominant; deep-going changes have taken place in the people's mode of thinking. Socialism, by abolishing exploitation, opened the way for new relationships between people in public and private life, relationships based on full equality, comradeship, friendship and mutual aid. As a result, a new man, the conscious builder of socialism and communism, is being moulded.

Needless to say, all this is not an automatic process. The shaping of socialist social relations and socialist consciousness is by no means a smooth and simple process. It proceeds in a complex setting. We cannot close our eyes to a number of negative phenomena which are still encountered in the sphere of social relationships. It is an open secret that we still have instances of violation of labor discipline, a careless attitude towards work, of bureaucracy and disregard for public property, infringements of law and norms of behavior in public life. Elimination of these shortcomings is one of the most important tasks confronting our Party.

It would be a mistake to see the improvement of socialist relationships merely as a matter of teaching people to display more con-

sideration for others, to respect public order or to be civil in addressing one another. We see it as a complex process embracing the transformation of the material conditions of life, the mode of thinking, the outlook and moral make-up of people. Hence the wide range of tasks confronting us—further expanding the productive forces, ensuring greater productivity, improving the methods of planning and economic management, consolidating socialist democracy and legality, observance of definite standards of social behavior, cementing the ties of comradeship, strengthening patriotic and internationalist sentiment and the cohesion of all the popular forces in a united front under the ideological leadership of the United Workers' Party.

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In view of the importance of these problems the Olsztyn regional Party organization is working to improve our socialist social relationships and their basic component—the relations between people. Our watchword is: "For socialist, comradely relations."

The first step in this direction was the organization of theoretical conferences for Party functionaries at which the question was thoroughly examined from the standpoint of its ideological and social connotations. The problems involved were included in our Party study curricula. The corresponding departments of the regional and district committees are working on them, and the district committees have held meetings to discuss the subject.

Aided by local Party and trade union organizations and district Party functionaries, subcommittees of the Regional Committee conducted surveys at a number of industrial en-

terprises and state-owned farms. The subcommittee handling public complaints, assisted by the People's Councils, trade union committees and the newspaper *Głos Olsztynski* (organ of the Regional Party Committee), examined complaints lodged by the public and what action had been taken on them. The Prosecutor's Office, the Regional Court and the Arbitration Board provided us with data on the conflicts between individual workers and enterprises they had dealt with.

An analysis of this material shows that there still are cases of violation of the socialist rules and standards of social relationships. It was found, for instance, that critical comments by the public concerned chiefly bureaucratic attitudes and nepotism in various institutions (often traceable to a striving for personal gain), waste, and abnormalities in everyday life (in relations with neighbors and within families).

From this wide range of questions we chose for discussion in the Regional Committee primarily those with a bearing on *relations between people at the point of production as well as relations between state institutions and governmental bodies, on the one hand, and the public, on the other*. These are the questions with the most far-reaching socio-political implications. For one thing, they affect the largest number of people. Moreover, it is in this area that the Party organizations are best able to exert an influence.

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In analyzing the findings of our survey we sought to ascertain the reasons for the negative phenomena and to work out ways and means of counteracting them, in particular through more consistent enlistment of the Party organizations in what might be called "preventive" activity and in resolving outstanding issues.

That the organizational, technological and physical conditions of labor and the relationships between people on the job are interlinked is common knowledge. Working conditions, organization of production, degree of mechanization, supply of materials, proper allocation of jobs, precise definition of duties and responsibilities, rational control and correct assessment of the results of labor combined with adequate industrial safety and hygiene provision and public services — all help to shape a person's attitude towards his work, stimulate productivity of labor, have a favorable effect on the relationships between individual workers as well as between the management and the working collective as a whole. The absence of favorable conditions, shortcomings

in the production process as a whole or at its various stages, tend, on the contrary, to discourage people from working well, to cause annoyance and irritation, to disrupt the harmony of the labor process and give rise to hitches, reducing productivity and resulting in mutual recrimination. And this is reflected not only in production but also in the attitude of people towards one another.

Our enterprises present a far from uniform picture. Besides modern, well-equipped plants where production proceeds smoothly, we have many with old processes and equipment and with a less efficient organization of labor. Clearly, then, the optimal conditions of work depend on both objective and subjective factors, on the rate of development of our production facilities as well as on the attitude of individual workers.

We are now working to modernize enterprises and entire branches of industry, introducing the latest achievements of science and technology, improving planning and management and assessment of the performance of enterprises, making higher demands on workers' skills, and greater use of incentives. This creates better conditions for raising our socialist production relations to a higher plane and improving the relations between individual workers as well as between the management and the working collective.

In working on this program we are also concentrating on the subjective factors, on all those aspects which involve work among the people. The essential thing here is to enlist the active participation of both the managements of enterprises and the workers' organizations.

We have an advanced machinery ensuring the democratic participation by the workers in the economic as well as other spheres. At all factories and state farms we have workers' self-administration, the backbone of which is the Party organization, with executive functions vested in the workers' council. Local trade union committees exist everywhere. Observance of labor laws is ensured by the local arbitration boards. In recent times we have established public arbitration committees to deal with conflicts arising between individuals. In a word, we have an extensive public machinery of administration, control and arbitration whose work is of decisive importance from the standpoint of creating a favorable climate for proper relations between workers and management and also between workers.

Our surveys have proved the value of workers' self-administration in this sphere. But for all that it is still not in a position to prevent negative features from cropping up.

Questions examined by the Regional Committee included labor relations. In 1964 the district courts heard 640 cases of this order and in 1965, 592, and the arbitration boards 560 and 274 respectively. Although the number of such cases is decreasing and the share of cases dismissed as groundless is increasing, we feel that the total is still too great, and that the ratio between cases heard by courts and the arbitration boards is unsatisfactory.

Examining the reasons for violations of the labor laws we arrived at the conclusion that the legislation is too cumbersome. There are too many enactments, and this only complicates things for managements, trade unions and arbitration boards. It is necessary to speed up the unification and codification of labor laws.

From this we have drawn a number of conclusions concerning the functioning of the Party branches in the enterprises. We consider it necessary to strengthen the links between the management and representative bodies, on the one hand, and the factory workers on the other, in particular by making it a practice to inform the workers more often and in greater detail of the state of affairs in the enterprises, thus keeping them posted on the suggestions that have been made and how they have been realized. Production conferences are a form of strengthening these links, a forum for criticism and public airing of the factory's affairs. In the bigger factories there are in addition question-and-answer boxes.

Relations between people leave most to desire in enterprises which suffer from fluctuation of personnel. Consequently it is essential to pay more attention to stabilizing working collectives, promoting friendly intercourse and mutual aid between new workers and old-timers, and making flexible use of incentives. Educational activity among the workers is now an inseparable part of the movement for exemplary performance among enterprises and working teams. A great deal is being done in this respect by the Socialist Youth League branches and self-administration bodies. It should also be the duty of the managements and engineering personnel. More attention should be paid to awakening in the young workers a feeling of professional pride, a desire to work well and to improve their skills, a sense of responsibility for the work of the work team, shop and enterprise.

The trade union committees in particular should make a closer study of the personal requirements of the workers, give them advice and help, especially in the sphere of recreation and amusement. The base for this type

of activity (clubs, recreation centers, etc.) is being expanded from year to year.

* * *

From the standpoint of the general social climate as well as of the individual, the relationships between governmental bodies and the citizen are highly important. Our Party, the Sejm and the government devote much attention to improving these relations, and a good deal has already been achieved. The Fourth Congress of the United Workers' Party, for instance, stressed the need to observe socialist legality. The scope of the legislative activity of the Sejm is being expanded. The system of management is being decentralized. The powers of the People's Councils at all levels have been broadened. The part played by representative bodies in the work of the Councils and their sub-committees is growing. At the same time the ideological level and professional skills of the clerical staff of the People's Councils are being raised. This helps to make the work of our democratic system of administration more fruitful and efficient. The functioning of the administrative machinery has also improved as a result of the new Administrative-Procedural Code. Suggestions made by the public during election campaigns are now attended to far more quickly than before. In general the administration is handling current business with greater dispatch.

Nevertheless complaints concerning the functioning of government bodies including the clerical staff of the local councils are still common. The reasons for this are mainly of an objective order: the Councils are still not able to satisfy all requirements or to carry out all suggestions made. For example, 30 per cent of the proposals advanced during the last election campaign relate to projects the realization of which would require an outlay of more than 2,700 million zloty. Although most of the suggestions are very much in place, we will be able to carry out only about half of them by 1970. Roughly the same applies to suggestions and requests concerning housing.

There are also many subjective reasons for complaints on the part of the public. For one thing, we still have far too many rules and regulations. Frequently countless consultations between various bodies are needed before one or another question can be settled. Or too much paperwork is involved. Besides, we still have not overcome the tendency on the part of some officials to "play safe"; only too often they seek to evade personal responsibility and to hide behind the backs of the collective. This, naturally, tends to detract from the

efficiency of the administrative and managerial bodies.

On the basis of a thorough study of the situation we have drawn up a program for doing away with the shortcomings. Above all we are striving to improve our system of representation, to strengthen the authority of the Sejm, the People's Councils and their subcommittees as well as other elected bodies. We are likewise seeking to strengthen the link between the representative bodies and the public, to organize more frequent meetings of members of the Sejm and the People's Councils with the public generally, to heighten the responsibility of the deputies and enhance their role in resolving matters brought to their attention.

Realization of this largely depends on the attitude of the administration to the representatives of the public and the elected bodies generally. It is therefore the task of the Party branches in the various institutions and of the Party members employed in the administrative machinery to play a more active part in shaping these relationships. At the same time we are out to improve the functioning of the administration, to heighten the professional skills and responsibility of office holders and to make them see that they are public servants.

On the other hand the public should be better informed of the laws and regulations. This work should be conducted in popular forms and on a wider scale by lawyers, deputies to the Sejm and People's Councils and people's assessors, and also the institutions concerned. There is still much to be done to

ensure that all administrative officials treat the public as they should, keep the people properly informed and provide them with courteous and efficient service.

* * *

Thanks to our surveys we now have a better idea of the state of affairs. The Party organizations and committees have realized that work in this sphere is an essential element of the building of the economic base of socialism, that these questions are interlinked and mutually conditioned, that it is not a matter of a short term campaign but of a continuous process requiring hard work and aimed at educating the new man, at shaping the new, socialist outlook. It is likewise clear that success will depend primarily on our Party, since its members are the backbone of the administrative machinery, on organization, which is the basic driving force of our social life.

Another important conclusion is that in many cases we simply have to be more demanding. Our members are now held more strictly responsible for the state of affairs in their particular spheres of work. We have also laid greater emphasis on Party control in the sphere of relationships between people in factory and office, and on the supervisory functions of the Party branches in their respective institutions. The branches now take a more active part in resolving conflicts.

In this way we have taken another step forward in promoting socialist relations in our society. Our progress in this respect is a measure of the extent to which we are fulfilling our duty to socialism, an expression of socialist humanism.

World economic structures and international socialist division of labor

G. KOHLMHEY

THE MODERN revolution in science and technology and the rapid expansion of the productive forces have engendered important changes in the economic processes taking place in the world. Listed among these are:

—a rapid internationalization of economic life;

—a concentration of the international division of labor on the latest kinds of finished products, especially means of production, accompanied by the priority growth of the share of these groups of goods in world trade.

The two processes are bound up with the socio-economic changes taking place in the world: growth and consolidation of the socialist world system, the onward march of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist liberation movements and, lastly, the growing state-monopoly and integration processes taking place in that part of the world economy dominated by the imperialists. Hence the influence exerted by the expansion of the productive forces and the economic processes in the world is materialized in totally different and partially opposed political and economic conditions, in differing socio-economic forms and with different results.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF ECONOMIC LIFE

Modern industry is becoming increasingly unified, mechanized, automated and large-scale, producing lines of goods in vast quantities and of uniform standard. Necessitating extensive markets for purchasing and marketing, modern production is increasingly reach-

ing out beyond the national boundaries of the separate countries.

By virtue of its volume alone this kind of production requires heavy investment. Moreover, in an era of rapid scientific and technological change, turnover of assets is speeded up, and this too, calling for considerable outlays of capital, tends to spill over national boundaries.

Yet another factor is the growing share of research and design in the entire productive labor of society. And here again the national forces and opportunities are found wanting. The rulers of the U.S. have evolved an elaborate system of importing both scientific discoveries and scientists. Man's need, however, is not a monopoly-militarist accumulation of scientific knowledge but international cooperation in research and design in the interests of peace, social security and cultural progress. Needless to say, the newly emerged countries should be drawn into this system.

The socialist countries long ago elaborated multilateral and bilateral systems of international cooperation in science and technology. These could be extended along the following lines, as is already being done in part:

—concentration of effort on the latest achievements;

—joint international research and the establishment of joint scientific centers;

—contacts through investment, production, agreements and arrangements covering cooperation and trade;

—financial stimulation of initiative in the spheres of technology and modernization of production.

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

In recent years rates of industrial growth in the world, while they have been rapid, have also been uneven. For instance, in 1964 as compared with 1958 overall industrial output in the developed capitalist countries showed a 1.47 rise, output of the mining industry 1.17, and of manufacturing industry a 1.48 rise. In the developing countries growth rates were 1.81, 1.86 and 1.53 respectively.

As the above figures indicate, the rates of growth for overall industrial output in the two groups of countries are roughly the same. However, one is struck by the priority growth of mining in the developing countries, whereas in the developed capitalist countries growth in this area was practically negligible. A fuller picture of industrial growth in the capitalist world is provided by an analysis of the share of the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries in gross industrial production.

SHARE IN WORLD CAPITALIST INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (%%)

Year	Industry as a Whole		Including			
	a	b	Mining a	b	Manufacturing a	b
1953	91.9	8.1	80.0	20.0	93.1	6.9
1958	89.6	10.4	74.8	25.2	91.1	8.9
1964	88.7	11.3	65.1	34.9	90.8	9.2

a) developed capitalist countries

b) developing countries

Thus, the capitalist part of the world economy is characterized by the following:

—the share of the developing countries in world industrial output has risen only slightly in recent years;

—industrialization in the developing countries taken as a whole is uneven, the structure of industry remains unsatisfactory, and the share of manufacturing is too small;

—the influence wielded by foreign monopolies on the young national industry of these countries is still strong, although considerable changes have taken place in some branches;

—the principal feature of international capitalist specialization of production is still clearly expressed in the sharp contrast between the industrially developed countries on the one hand and the producers and suppliers of raw materials on the other.

Export of capital and partial integration of the industrial capitalist countries (EEC, EFTA) arrest the process of all-round industrialization of the developing countries through, for

example, price differentials between foreign and home markets and high tariffs on certain kinds of raw materials, foods, semi-finished goods and finished products exported by the developing countries.

Needless to say, the monopolies are no longer in a position to carry out their policy in its "pure" form. The independent economic policy of many of the new states, their co-operation with the socialist countries and even the very export of capital have resulted in definite progress in the industrialization of these countries.*

The socialist countries enable the new states to export more and more semi-finished and finished goods. This is good not only for the latter, since in this case the socialist states can discontinue "anti-import" production, i.e., relinquish in their own countries costly transportation of raw materials and their processing which often involve great outlay. In this way they are able to concentrate on more effective lines of production.

In the socialist world the growth of industrial production, its concentration and specialization are such that the growth rates in the formerly economically backward countries are on the average higher than those in countries with a developed industry. For this reason the levels of economic development are being evened up. This is an important foundation for accelerating specialization of production between the socialist states, promoting their cooperation with the newly emerged states and extending economic relations with the industrially developed capitalist states.

IMPACT OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR ON WORLD TRADE

Internationalization of economic life presupposes a rapid growth of world trade. Whereas prior to the 1950's industrial output on the average grew faster than world trade, in recent years the rates of growth of world trade have outstripped rates of industrial growth. For instance, between 1960 and 1964 world industrial output increased by 29 per cent and world agricultural output by seven per cent, whereas world trade increased by 34 per cent. But this interconnection is understandably manifested differently in the capitalist world and in the socialist world.

*Export of simple finished products (chiefly metals and textiles) from the developing to the industrially developed capitalist countries has increased in recent years. According to the GATT report for 1964, it rose 56 per cent between 1960 and 1964, whereas overall export to the industrialized capitalist countries increased by 25 per cent. The share of finished goods in the above export was in the vicinity of 18 per cent in 1964.

Rates of growth of foreign trade of the developed capitalist countries have been highest in recent years, further proof that modern industry is spilling over national boundaries and calling for internationalization of production. At the same time, although absolute volume of foreign trade of the developing

countries has risen in recent years, their share in world trade has declined. And whereas in the industrial capitalist countries export and import have on the whole risen more rapidly than industrial output, in the developing countries we see a reverse process, due to at least two reasons.

SHARE OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OF COUNTRIES IN WORLD EXPORT 1953-64 (%%)

	Year	Share in world export	Including share in the export of:		
			industrial capitalist countries	developing countries	socialist countries
Industrially developed capitalist countries	1953	58.6	37.1	17.5	1.1
	1960	63.2	41.9	16.3	2.2
	1964	64.8	45.5	14.1	2.5
Developing countries	1953	27.0	19.3	6.7	0.4
	1960	21.8	15.3	4.9	1.0
	1964	20.2	14.4	4.2	1.1
Socialist countries*	1953	10.1	1.5	0.6	8.0
	1960	11.9	2.2	1.0	8.7
	1964	11.8	2.3	1.6	7.9
World as a whole	1953	100.0	61.4	25.4	9.6
	1960	100.0	61.7	22.7	12.0
	1964	100.0	64.6	20.3	11.7

*Excluding Yugoslavia and Cuba.

In the first place this is due to the orientation of the developing countries on producing raw materials; however, in view of the overstocking of the world market with many kinds of raw materials as well as the widespread use of artificial substitutes, there is a tendency, a long-standing one, for prices of raw materials, and the demand for them, to fall. Hence the growth of export of raw materials does not keep pace with the general growth of industrial output.

Moreover, the industrialization process in its initial stage is associated, as a rule, with intensive imports. Subsequently, however, as a result of the growing supply of home-made goods to the home market, intensity of import slackens, which evidently is the case at present in a number of developing countries.

In the socialist world the first reason is nonexistent, but the second is operative. Hence growth of foreign trade has not always surpassed growth of industrial output in the socialist countries.

However, in speaking about industrialization in the socialist countries, mention should be made of some negative phenomena that accompanied this process. Industrialization was insufficiently coordinated between the so-

cialist partners who opened new branches of industry, and primarily between them and the already industrially developed socialist countries. The result was a certain parallelism in production, output in small serial quantities, with high costs and unsatisfactory technological standards, with restricted markets, etc. Moreover, such industrially developed countries as the GDR and Czechoslovakia lagged in readjusting the structure of their industry to meet the demands of scientific and technological progress and the growing international socialist division of labor.

PROGRESSIVE BRANCHES OF PRODUCTION AND THEIR IMPACT ON WORLD TRADE

The basic feature of the structural changes in world production is that output of agriculture (foodstuffs and raw materials) grows more slowly than the output of mineral raw materials and fuels, and output of the latter grows still more slowly compared with output of electric power and finished industrial goods.

The table below contains only the most generalized figures. In reality the development

of particular branches is far more complex. In groups with slow production growth there are also rapidly developing branches, and in groups showing rapid growth there are some laggards. Among the "lethargic" in the sphere of finished industrial goods we find, in particular, products of the textile and clothing industries; in the sphere of raw materials—coal, many kinds of materials needed for the processing of food, textile fibers, and natural rubber. Among the more dynamic lines are oil and natural gas extraction, non-ferrous and ferrous metals, but primarily the power, chemical and engineering industries. Known for their very rapid rates are the electrotech-

nical and especially electronics branches, synthetic materials and means of transportation.

Why does output of finished products grow much more rapidly than that of agriculture and of mining? As the technology of production is being perfected, the consumption of materials diminishes and labor productivity rises. Replacement of steel by aluminum, of metal parts by ceramics, utilization of plastics, microtechnology, the lessening of waste and scrap—all help to produce more from the same quantity of raw materials. At the same time more food is required for the reproduction of labor power, but this growth is slower by far than growth of production of finished goods.

GROWTH OF PRODUCTION IN SOME BRANCHES OF THE CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES 1950-1962

	Capitalist countries		Socialist countries	
	growth in %	place according to rates of growth	growth in %	place according to rates of growth
Electricity, gas	85	1	122	3
Products of metal-working and engineering	74	2	144	1
Oil, rubber, chemicals	70	3	93	6
Paper	57	4	81	8-9
Non-metallic minerals	56	5	128	2
Ores and metals	42	6	101	5
Timber and products of wood-working industry	40	7-8	112	4
Foodstuffs	40	7-8	82	7
Textiles, clothes, leather	36	9	81	8-9

The table shows that in all branches growth rates in the socialist countries were higher than in the capitalist countries. The greatest efforts were made in the iron and steel and metalworking industries, especially engineering. At the same time other important branches (electric power, chemical and paper industries) showed a relative lag in growth. The lag was largely made good in 1960-64. The gap between the chemical industry and metal-working was narrowed, although only partially, it is true, but the gap between the power industry and metal-working was all but closed. When the socialist countries switch over to more profound international specialization and coordination, the successes will be much greater.

The change in the structure of production, naturally, cannot but affect the structure of world trade as well. Needless to say, some branches, for instance, the power industry, are

drawn into the sphere of foreign trade to a lesser extent than others; for example, coal figures less than oil on the foreign market. But on the whole, a clearcut trend stands out in international exchange: trade in foods, agricultural and mineral raw materials, fuel and, lastly, semi-finished goods grows more slowly than trade in finished products.

Whereas in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th the principal feature of world trade was the exchange of raw materials for finished goods, to day it is the growing exchange of finished industrial goods for finished industrial goods. Associated with this is a quite considerable extension of the international exchange of services and the rapidly growing trade in licences.

International exchange naturally is based on deliveries of raw materials for the production of manufactured goods, but the share of finished industrial products, especially mod-

ern items (transport facilities, synthetic materials, electronics, some chemicals and metal products), is growing much faster. Exchange of these items is the dynamic and leading factor in modern trade. This is the course that should be steered, objectively, by all countries anxious to march in step with the modern trends in international trade.

In the capitalist world, too, there is a difference between the industrial and the developing countries as regards trade in finished goods. The share of industrial capitalist countries in trade in manufactures is large and is growing. This process becomes more obvious with the appearance of the latest designs of goods. Thus, the share of industrially developed capitalist countries in the world trade in electronic equipment and synthetic materials is greater than in machines and still greater than in finished goods as a whole.

Despite the fact that in the past some of the European socialist countries were less developed economically, the rate of growth of their foreign trade was on the whole faster than in the industrial capitalist countries, with priority being given to trade in finished goods. Between 1959 and 1963 the export of machines, it is true, grew somewhat more slowly than export as a whole (39 and 42 per cent respectively), whereas for the industrial capitalist countries the corresponding figures were 50 and 37 per cent. But in the European socialist countries the export of chemical goods (54 per cent) and other finished industrial products (60 per cent) was higher than in the industrially developed capitalist countries for which the respective figures were 40 and 32 per cent.

Stress should be laid on the tendency for the import of chemical products and machines to grow more or less rapidly in both the European socialist countries and in industrial capitalist states. Import growth generally was roughly the same in both groups of countries (40 and 39 per cent), but the import of machines by the European socialist countries rose by 69 per cent (as was the case also with import of chemical products) whereas in the industrial capitalist states it rose by 62 per cent (48 per cent in the case of chemical products).

The above figures indicate that in recent years the share of the European socialist countries in the world import of machines has grown (with an approximately stable share in all world import) whereas their share in the world export of machines has shrunk although it is still higher than the overall share of the European socialist states in world trade (13.5 and 11.1 per cent).

EXPORT OF FINISHED GOODS TO INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The share of finished industrial goods in the export of the socialist countries to industrial capitalist countries is still small. Extension of foreign trade should not be oriented solely on the export of raw materials (which are often in short supply in countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid) and import of the latest plant. It is essential to secure through international socialist specialization and coordination of production—and the objective conditions for this exist and are improving—that more new items, attractive consumer goods and means of production than hitherto be offered industrial capitalist countries so that there should be interdependence and not unilateral dependence in the sphere of exchange of manufactures. This will help establish relations of equality in trade with the developed capitalist countries.

Extending cooperation between the socialist countries in producing goods for export, especially those designed for non-socialist countries, as well as organizing producer cooperation between the socialist and non-socialist countries would be both rational economically and essential politically.

The development of economic contacts between the two world systems is of great importance economically and politically. The unevenness and one-sided character of international division of labor under capitalism make it particularly urgent to solve the export problems of the developing states. On the other hand, the reserves latent in trade between the developed capitalist and the socialist countries are utilized inadequately, to say the least. There are many difficulties, political and economic, in the way of solving these problems. Among the economic difficulties is the disproportion in the balance of payments of the developing countries, the shortage of means with which to pay for their imports, etc.

A contradiction has emerged in world trade which will not be easy to solve. The developed capitalist countries inadequately enlarge their import from the developing countries, thereby retarding the development of the latter. Although the socialist countries are increasing their purchases from the newly-free states, their possibilities are limited, and they cannot replace the whole world as trade partners for the developing countries.

The search for a way out of this dilemma has given rise to the suggestion that the socialist countries, while developing to the maximum trade with the young countries should at the same time do more trade with

developed capitalist states, striving to achieve an active balance of payments and to use the additional means thus gained to buy more from the developing countries.

This suggestion, undoubtedly, deserves the closest scrutiny and, evidently, there are definite possibilities for putting it into effect. However, as we see it, there are other important factors in the world which impede realization of this proposal.

Firstly, the industrial capitalist states protect their home markets by imposing high tariffs on imported industrial goods or generally by strictly limiting their import. Typical in this respect, for example, is the EEC stipulation concerning "traditional imported goods in trade with the East."

Secondly, balance-of-payments problems should also be taken into account in the case of exporting machines and equipment to industrial capitalist states.

Thirdly, currency surpluses that can possibly be obtained by the socialist states in the future are needed not only to buy more from the developing countries but also to reach at least another three aims: themselves to import modern machines (and also foods, raw materials and services), repay credits and, ultimately, grant credits.

Thus, the means obtained in this way will hardly be adequate to solve the problems of the further development of world trade and the productive forces in the vast triangle formed by the three groups of countries.

In all likelihood a way out can be found in extending direct cooperation of the socialist countries with the young states. At present this is often possible only in the course of bilateral trade. In addition, the socialist countries are increasing year by year their direct support to the developing countries in building and consolidating the national industry. This is done through long-term agreements embracing various forms of cooperation: cultural, scientific and technical, trade, credit and transport agreements, agreements on prices and others. As we see it, the further development of all these forms of cooperation can be a firm foundation for building up the economy of the young states and consolidating their positions on the world market.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST DIVISION OF LABOR

a) *Raw materials.* In the socialist world, international trade in raw materials has grown more slowly than trade in finished industrial goods, especially machines and chemical products. Nevertheless, definite contradictions

have arisen between the production of raw materials and the demand for them.

The Soviet Union is the principal supplier of raw materials in the socialist world system. Raw materials and semi-finished goods account for over 50 per cent of its exports. This structure of export by no means corresponds to the structure of export of a modern industrial country, i.e., it is at variance with the level of labor productivity reached in the USSR. Changing the structure of export in the direction of raising the share of finished goods is expedient economically, and hence it is only natural that this aim should be set in the Soviet Union.

As the socialist countries become more industrialized, their consumption of raw materials from home sources has risen and export to other countries has diminished. The need for raw materials is also growing in countries relatively poor in them (for instance, in the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia). All this in the aggregate plus other factors has aggravated the problem of raw materials in the commonwealth of the CMEA countries.

In our opinion, the raw materials problem could be solved along the following lines:

1. Greater output of agricultural and mineral raw materials in some countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. This makes it imperative that the partners concerned take part in investments;

2. Accelerated replacement of rare materials with those more available, and of natural materials with synthetic ones;

3. More rational processing of raw materials (micro-technology, light building structures, reducing waste, etc.);

4. Securing more or less economically and politically reliable supplies of raw materials from the non-socialist countries (with possible participation in investments). These raw materials can be obtained more easily when high-quality finished goods or scientific and technological know-how are offered in exchange;

5. Replacing import of raw materials by import of semi-finished and ready-made goods, which becomes increasingly inevitable in the interests of industrialization in the socialist and non-socialist states and calls for substantial readjustment of the economic structures in the importer countries.

All five points show how essential and timely is the consistent transition from extensive to intensive development of the economy carried out of late in most socialist states.

b) *Specialization of production.* If one bears in mind the trends in the development of the

productive forces, it becomes obvious that the international division of labor and specialization of production between the socialist countries cannot be founded on the principle of some countries producing raw materials and others—manufactured goods. This is so also because of the heavy investments involved in extracting a large part of the mineral raw materials produced in the socialist countries.

As a rule the international division of labor and specialization of production between the socialist countries are so organized that all the partners develop the leading industries and the most dynamic lines of output; specialization and exchange take place within the framework of these branches. Hence one of the basic principles of the international socialist division of labor, approved at a meeting of representatives of the Communist and workers' parties of the CMEA member-countries in June 1962, was formulated as follows: "Combination of the international specialization of production and comprehensive development of the economy of the separate socialist countries."

All theoretical considerations and the entire practical experience show that in the case of international specialization of production, too, the separate socialist countries cannot relinquish developing the basic branches of industry or the production of the main groups of output. Contacts between the various branches of industry are so intense and mutually conditioned that in the economy of any country—provided it is not too small and is sufficiently developed industrially—it would be irrational to build, for example, a chemical industry without machine-building, or an electrotechnical industry without transport machine-building, or a light industry without the food-processing industry. But given the present level of development of the productive forces, and the existence of the socialist world system, it would be senseless to produce too broad a range of means of production, too broad a range of industrial consumer goods, chemical products, etc. In the conditions of today international specialization and national concentration of production are inevitable. And, as experience shows, international specialization is of an inner-branch character, that is, it is carried out inside particular branches: in the power industry, in the manufacture of synthetic materials, in the machine-tool industry, etc.

Since in modern production research and design acquire growing importance, it is with them that international specialization should begin. The CMEA countries have gained con-

siderable experience of multilateral and bilateral cooperation in science and technology. It has turned out, however, that this cooperation should be much more effective and be concentrated primarily on dynamic lines of production and leading branches. It is not enough merely to have international research bodies or to arrange the exchange of documents, licences, specifications, etc. Needed are long-term agreements, and not only on cooperation in research and technology but also on investments, production and the foreign trade that follow from this cooperation. Hitherto these overall solutions have not been practised to a sufficient extent, which explains the difficulties in coordinating production plans and foreign trade.

It is essential for the international specialization of production that we improve the entire system of national long-term planning. In the event of the national plans of the socialist countries correctly reflecting the trends in the development of the productive forces, natural sciences and technology, and should they be soundly balanced, then the conditions for the international coordination of these plans would be greatly improved.

The further development of international specialization between the socialist countries will, in our view, be influenced much more by foreign trade. As we see it, it will not be direct but indirect specialization of production. If, for instance, a country develops the production of new kinds of goods and offers them at international fairs or through other channels, this inevitably makes other partners interested in concluding contracts with this country for the delivery of these goods. Hence the first country will be able to specialize in producing these goods. It goes without saying that at a time of rapid scientific and technological progress and growing scientific exchange the monopoly position of particular countries or particular enterprises in the manufacture of particular goods cannot but be short-lived. No one country can claim the right of monopoly possession of modern production any longer, since the other countries are bound to catch up with it fairly rapidly. Precisely for this reason it is essential constantly to modernize and improve the structure of production in keeping with the demands of scientific and technological progress.

At present it is highly expedient to extend coordination of production between the socialist countries. The advantage of this would be that all the new developments in science and technology, production experience, etc., would be utilized jointly by the countries in manu-

facturing a particular article or a group of articles. And inasmuch as the partners are interested in the end result, this should be an incentive to improve the results of their own production. In this way more developed countries or enterprises can pass on their experience, findings of research, etc., to the less developed countries or enterprises. And this will accelerate the progress of the entire socialist world. Moreover, coordination can help lessen the distinctions between the partners with regard to labor power, raw materials and investments.

Lastly, the socialist mode of production is sufficiently developed and firm to enable the enterprises and their amalgamations in the socialist countries to establish direct contacts to a far greater extent than has been the case hitherto, and also to conclude agreements on coordination, to practice specialization and make joint coordinated investments.

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National structural policy, an important element of the policy of growth and of the overall economic policy of the state, cannot be separated from development in the structures of the world economy. There is a dual connection here. On the one hand, particular socialist countries themselves exert an influence on the structures of the world economy and, on the other, they should adapt themselves to the changes in these structures and pursue a policy of adaptation.

Modern structural policy calls for modern planning. Orientation on progressive lines of production and output necessitates constantly perfecting the entire system of planning and management. It is not fortuitous therefore that most of the socialist countries are now tackling the job of improving both structural policy and the planning and management of the economy as a whole.

After the government crisis in Venezuela

J. FARIA

CHARACTERISTIC OF the present political situation in Venezuela, which is closely connected with its economic situation, is chronic instability over the past few years and increasing signs of an acute and confused political crisis.

The precarious victory of the Democratic Action party (AD), whose candidate Raul Leoni polled only 32 per cent of the vote during the Presidential elections in December 1963 was, in effect, a defeat, since it meant that this party could not form a homogeneous and stable government. Although President Leoni himself speaks of the "stability" of his "broadly-based" government the only indication of this "stability" is that the Opposition have not been able to topple it. Despite the obvious inability of the ruling civil and military, national and foreign groups to improve things for the people, "continuity of power" is preserved.

After five years of the bloodstained Betancourt administration Leoni decided, considering the relative defeat of the Democratic Action party, to form a broadly-based government of "understanding" which meant places in the Cabinet for representatives of the two parties that had opposed the Betancourt government, and of COPEI (the Social-Christian Party).

The Democratic Action party became the axis of the Leoni government and its partners in "understanding" — the National Democratic Front (FND) headed by Uslar Pietri and the Democratic Republican Union (URD), headed by Jovito Villalba.

The government program was a jumble of propositions taken from the programs of the three parties concerned, a collection of political differences pieced together. Needless to say, this so-called program was never carried out.

Despite the efforts of the "Big Three" (Leoni, Villalba and Uslar), the government of "understanding" was unable to make any headway. Elements in the Democratic Action party, led by Betancourt followers, did every-

thing to frustrate the attempts of the three parties to achieve progress and understanding. They used not so much the right to vote as the right to veto. This attitude, coupled with President Leoni's alarming political indecision (especially in the matter of repressions) completely paralyzed the government; nothing was done to resolve the problems of unemployment and the high cost of living.

In the Presidential palace, factions of the ruling classes and their parties were jockeying for power. Naturally, a government of so many conflicting interests could not but become the arena of bitter in-fighting. This is explained by the contradictions between the working people who had voted for these parties and the reactionary "pressure groups" (the military, imperialists and the oligarchy who are entrenched in trade and agriculture). Another factor was the just demands made by the nascent national bourgeoisie, as yet timid and somewhat overwhelmed by the U.S. monopolies whose agents speak Spanish and hold many strategic posts in the economy. The paralysis of the government was overcome when the National Democratic Front (FND), a stout supporter of the bourgeoisie, announced its withdrawal from the Government. Its leaders opted for the role of "moderate opposition," and promised to endorse any legislation that they considered "important for the country," i.e., for the class they represented.

This withdrawal led to the government crisis, which in turn aggravated the crisis in the three ruling parties. Thus, when the decision had to be made whether or not to withdraw from the government, a clash took place between the majority in the National Democratic Front who favored withdrawal and the minority who were utterly opposed to such action. This situation in the FND is explained by the fact that it is a kind of federation of parties and leaders who during the last election campaign skillfully played on the discontent of the people. After the elections Uslar Pietri and his sup-

porters, contrary to all expectations, made a deal with the "hated enemies" in the Democratic Action party, betrayed their voters and took office in one of the most brutal governments in the history of Venezuela. Differences arose when the more farsighted of the FND leaders objected to the repressions, preferring so to speak "legal repressions." The people then witnessed the paradoxical situation of the FND and its leaders voluntarily joining the government in order to justify a policy of criminal repressions with which they themselves did not agree.

After withdrawal from the government there is only one thing left for the FND if it still hopes to play a role and this is, firmly to oppose all that is rotten and criminal in the activity of the Leoni government. As for Uslar Pietri and his followers they at most can look forward to a role of repentant sinners. The people might be ready to forget the shady past, the clumsy maneuvers of the FND in the event of it supporting their demand for justice, for a democratic government and measures to combat hunger and misery. We, for our part, are well aware of the ultimate aims of this party. It has already demonstrated that it is not, and cannot be, a consistently democratic party, that it is the party of that section of the bourgeoisie which is mortally afraid of any deepening of the popular struggle. Whenever it becomes necessary to choose between the people and the enemies of the people, the FND will act as it did in March 1964—it will join forces with the enemies of the people. It will do so because its leaders are afraid of what they call a "leap into the dark."

Apart from the fact that the National Democratic Front has repeatedly shown a monstrous inconsistency with respect to its electors, apart from the fact that it will come into conflict with its former partners in the government, it is bound to clash also with COPEI. Although one can expect anything at all from the FND after its turnabout in 1964, it would be strange indeed if it decided on an electoral pact with COPEI. True, from the ideological point of view much less divides these two parties than unites them. Both have close relations with the oligarchy which in its turn is closely associated with the U.S. monopolies. However, the clash of group interests, personal aspirations and the urge for power should not be overlooked. The leaders of both parties believe that their party alone is entitled to represent the interests of the bourgeoisie which is linked with imperialism.

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Soon after the collapse of the government a polemic started in the Democratic Action party between the Betancourt group, headed by Pérez, ex-Minister of Internal Affairs, Dubuc and Mantilla, on the one side, and Paz Galaraga and other anti-Betancourt leaders on the other. The Pérez group, known to the people as the Betancourt "gorillas," maintained that

since the agreement on "understanding" had been broken, the second party in the coalition, the Democratic Republican Union, should likewise withdraw from the government, that if the Democratic Action party needed allies these should be COPEI and the powerful groups of the oligarchy associated with imperialism and with the military. The Betancourt groups wanted an alliance with COPEI and with both home and foreign, civil and military "pressure groups" (including the traditionally corrupt Caracas oligarchy and the U.S. monopolies). Betancourt and the Americans see in this alliance the best way of perpetuating the exploitation of our country and the oppression of our people.

It may well be that things in the old and corrupt Democratic Action party will worsen. The possibility of a third split is not excluded, even though all, or practically all, the leaders of the FND realize that other bourgeois forces might deprive them of power in the next elections. Strictly speaking, only the realization that there is every danger of this happening might keep together in the party the top leaders who bitterly hate each other (their jockeying for positions in the party and the Government is common knowledge in Caracas).

Needless to say, the rank and file of the Democratic Action party bear no responsibility for the crimes of the Government. In point of fact some of them were shot for helping the resistance fighters. The only fault of the members was that they voted first for Betancourt and afterward for Leoni.

Despite the crimes and treachery of the Government, the AD still has a mass following which the people's parties must win over in the fight against the Betancourt "gorillas." There still are leaders and deputies in the AD who do not share the views of the "gorillas" and whom they oppose. The struggle between them, while mainly for key positions, is due also to other reasons. Those opposing Betancourt and his "gorillas" will sooner or later be expelled from the Democratic Action party. This is inevitable, although there are some who deny this and even accuse us of being unrealistic.

We have always considered it necessary to help intensify the contradictions in the AD. And if this was right before (and we are convinced that it was), why should it be less so now? Those who now declare that they are more to the Left than the Communist Party told us at one time that with the withdrawal from Democratic Action of the group which established the Revolutionary Movement of the Left, there were no longer any healthy forces in Democratic Action. There was no longer any sense, they said, in trying to deepen the contradictions in the Betancourt party since all the members support him. Subsequent developments proved that we were right. A new split took place in the AD, resulting in the emergence of the opposition group headed by Ramos Jiminéz.

Later, when the "broadly based" government

of "understanding" was formed, the same people assured us that there were no contradictions in this government, and were very critical of us for trying to find breaches in the "broad base" and to widen them. The subsequent collapse of this government and the withdrawal of the National Democratic Front from it showed that we were right once again. In politics the right conclusions are usually those based on a sober analysis. We are, of course, referring to revolutionaries and Marxists. Our Party holds that we can, and should, work inside the Democratic Action party. We do not believe that its leaders, including those who spent long years in prison with us, have deserted forever. This might be true of some, but not of others. It is not a question of their participating in the revolution, but of supporting, even if timidly and hesitantly, a national policy. This concerns, for example, the oil engineer Pérez Alfonzo, whom we reproach for confining this nationalist fervor to words. At any rate the masses who support the AD might decide to take action to make these words a reality, or they might turn to another party to help them achieve their nationalist aims, and in certain instances to the Communist Party. We realize of course that it is a question of painstaking work the results of which are not always seen. We realize too that in the revolutionary struggle it is not always possible at once to achieve resounding results, that these usually come after long years of retreat and minor gains.

In the tug-of-war to form the "new" Leoni government, the "gorilla" ex-ministers who wanted to prevent the Democratic Republican Union being represented were again defeated. Currently, this party is, together with the Democratic Action, a member of the government of "cooperation," most of whose ministers are "independents." It is said that these "independents" are more dangerous than the Democratic Action members themselves since they secretly support this party. However that may be, both the members and followers of Democratic Action, who also have the backing of the Democratic Republican Union, have done little for the people but much to injure democratic liberties. It seems that some leaders of Democratic Action are unhappy about the way the party has discredited itself. Its hands are stained with the blood of Communists killed in prisons. The people will call it to account for the crimes committed against Luis Emiro Arrieta, Alberto Lovers, Donato Carmona, Carmelo Mendoza and many other leaders. It will do so in the near future if only by voting for other bourgeois parties, and thus preventing the further assassination of hostages.

The bourgeois parties will in all likelihood take advantage of this. This does not mean that they will not repeat the "exploit" of the Democratic Action party which in its time made political capital out of the blood of the party leaders Buiz Pineda, Pinto Salinas, Carnevalli

and others during the Jimenéz dictatorship. Later Democratic Action, shelving its principles and its program and betraying its followers in the working class and other sections of the people, itself sent hundreds to their death. In the seven years this party was in power more people were killed than during the term of office of any other regime. These crimes, committed in cold blood in the name of "representative democracy," will in the long run cost the Democratic Action party its dominant position among the different bourgeois forces jockeying for power; in our view these crimes will cause yet another split in Democratic Action, for the Betancourt forces, who act on instructions from U.S. agents, are not likely to tolerate what the police and "gorillas" entrenched in this party describe as "flirting with extremism." These groups recognize only one policy — the policy of political crimes, of the physical destruction of Communists. And sooner or later this policy will prove fatal to its authors.

* * *

Compared with the Democratic Action party the Democratic Republican Union (URD) finds itself in a different and yet not quite dissimilar position. Like Leoni, Jovito Villalba was at one time president of the Student Federation of Venezuela. In the eyes of the people this was a kind of obligation, an oath of allegiance to progress and democracy. Until 1963 Villalba had never been anti-Communist, had never taken an anti-Soviet stand. For 30 years he was regarded as a liberal, as a man with broad views and friendly towards revolutionaries. (It will not be out of place to mention that Betancourt himself was at one time an ardent Communist, that not a few of the more "militant" members of the Left Revolutionary Movement found their way back to the Democratic Action party and that some of them now function as advisers in police headquarters and are themselves advised by the CIA). Villalba broke with the Communists in 1963. He seized on the Left mistakes (for which we partly are to blame) as a pretext for joining the anti-Communist chorus.

Villalba was defeated in the 1963 election. He not only lost votes but also his self-respect and respect for the people. Immediately after the election he, like the National Democratic Front leaders, made a complete turnabout and joined the government of "understanding," entering into a coalition with the very men who for more than 20 years had publicly abused him. He became a junior partner in this government, sharing the moral responsibility for the political murders and other crimes of the political police against the people.

When the government fell a crisis erupted in the Democratic Republican Union as a result of the conflict between those who wanted to remain in the government unconditionally, or on conditions which they knew would not be carried out, and those who wanted to use the

situation to go over to the opposition. The first trend was headed by Villalba, and the second by Ugarte Pelayo, who was second man in the party after Villalba. The crisis confirmed the rumors about an irreconcilable dispute on tactical questions between Villalba the "teacher," whose influence was on the wane, and the "disciple" who was forging ahead and wanted to surpass his "teacher." But Ugarte Pelayo was defeated by the very nature of things, in other words, by the importance which some politicians attach to lucrative government posts. The argument was: either with the "teacher" and prosperity, or with Ugarte and squalor and unemployment. Our hearts, declared the majority of these leaders, are with Ugarte, but our stomachs are with Villalba.

And so the URD remained in the government. However, indignation against its leaders is growing among the rank and file, among those who voted for this party. Moreover, a sizable group in the leadership is opposed to further participation in the government.

Villalba seems to be making desperate efforts to get President Leoni to do something to bolster the prestige of the URD. But the Leoni government is being undermined by its mediocrity and sheer inability to do the job. Even its decisions are only partly carried out, or not at all.

By remaining in the government the URD is doomed to vegetate, with no perspective whatsoever. It will bump along, like an empty car, in the rear of the Betancourt train and is likely to disappear from the political scene as a leading force. This far from comforting prospect could engender a split in this old and seedy party. It is quite in the cards that Ugarte who still follows his "teacher" will sooner or later go against him.* And should this be so it will be fatal for Villalba for he can hardly anathematize Ugarte as an extremist the way he did with the URD leaders who demonstrated their loyalty to the people in exceedingly difficult conditions. (A case in point is the stand taken by Jose Vicente Rangel in connection with the killing of Communist leaders, and particularly of Alberto Lovera.)

Thus the outlook for the "new" government of "cooperation" appears to be pretty gloomy, since the parties which form it are rent by profound internal contradictions. Apart from a common interest in running the machinery of state, very little unites the Democratic Action party and the Democratic Republican Union. Principles have gone overboard, programs are ignored. The smouldering animosity between the two parties is likely to erupt at any moment. They will probably remember the elections only when the elections draw near in 1968.

The sole clearly-defined aim of the government and the parties in it is somehow or other

to cling to office until the 1968 election comes round.

In this situation, so complex and dramatic for our people when the fight to make the Constitution effective is punishable by death which has been the fate of many leaders of our Party, the Communists pose the question of a broad patriotic front of civilians and military to secure the formation of a government of democratic peace, a progressive change of power. We consider it imperative to promote unity of all the Left nationalist forces if not in one party then at least jointly with other Left forces in a broad front to fight against imperialism, the common enemy of all peoples; to win civil rights and liberties; to fight the high cost of living, the high price of medicines, high rents; to combat unemployment through government investments to create permanent jobs; to press for the restoration of the national sovereignty of our country presently under U.S. State Department tutelage; to return to our people the country's rich petroleum and ore deposits.

We realize of course that imperialism's main aim is to "isolate and segregate" the Communist Party. Although it has failed so far to do this, the threat remains. Until now the unity of the Communists, who have withstood all attacks, has prevented the imperialists from achieving complete victory in our country. It is the maintenance of this unity that is surely the greatest merit of the Venezuelan Communists in their anti-imperialist struggle of more than 35 years.

The Communist Party has allies and is working to win over new forces to the camp of the friends and allies of the people, on the basis of a realistic program which calls for an end to the terror, for a policy of democratic legality. These demands are supported by big sections of the population. The people have loudly raised their voice in protest against the regime of torture, against the assassination of revolutionaries, they are demanding the release of political prisoners, and a policy of peace through a progressive change of power.

The fight for freedom is being waged throughout the country—in the mountains and in the towns, in the countryside and in the factories, in the schools and in the universities. A movement with such deep roots is bound to triumph, whatever form or combination of forms the struggle takes. We are confident of victory. It cannot be otherwise because our people are determined to win.

The Communist Party is fighting on all fronts. And if new fronts should appear tomorrow we will be there, at the head of the masses, alive to the dangers but not afraid of them. It should be noted that the leaders of the resistance in the towns are exposed to the same dangers as those fighting in the mountains. And if the men in the mountains die with arms in hand, the men in prison die in chains, tortured to death by foul murderers and their American advisers.

*After this had gone to the printers it was reported Ugarte Pelayo has been expelled from the Democratic Republican Union. Two weeks later he died in circumstances that are still unclear.—Ed.

We do not conceal the fact that we are confronted with many difficulties. Nor does the Communist Party deny that it has suffered a number of blows. The important thing, however, is that the fight continues, it is spreading and gaining momentum. The men are learning, are rectifying their mistakes and becoming tempered in battle. The failure of imperialism's attempts to smash the guerrilla movement shows the tremendous vitality of the Venezuelan revolution and its power of resistance.

Nobody in the Party would dream of giving up the struggle. And if our enemies resort to intrigue and try to cast aspersions on some of our comrades, this only goes to show that they recognize the strength of the popular movement in general, and that of the Venezuelan Communists in particular. The overwhelming majority of those who have fallen in the struggle were Communists. Among the thousands who passed through prison gates 90 per cent were Communists. And today of the

more than 1,000 political prisoners most are members of the Party or the Communist Youth League.

We will continue to pursue a flexible policy towards the other forces opposing the Government. We will continue to fight in the mountains and in the towns, we shall work in the trade unions and in the schools and universities. In a word, everywhere! We are waging a struggle for freedom, and we will carry on until victory is won. Our country is enslaved by imperialism, the common enemy of all peoples. The Party is everywhere fighting against imperialist rule and for the complete sovereignty of Venezuela. There is not a more just and noble cause than ours. We live for the sake of the struggle to liberate our country, for the sake of upholding it against foreign exploiters. It may be that many of us will perish in this struggle, but it is worth dying for what has always been sacred to us. For the honor of the country. For its liberty and sovereignty.

The people of Martinique will not be forced to their knees!

AT THE BEGINNING of the year some of the organizations working for the liberation of one of the remnants of France's onetime vast colonial empire elected a delegation to the Havana Tri-Continental Conference. The organizations were the Martinique Communist Party, the Progressive Party, the United Socialist Party, the General Confederation of Labor and the Women's Union. For the first time in the island's history these five organizations sent a joint delegation to represent them at an international forum. This is indicative of the processes taking place in the anti-colonial struggle in Martinique. Understandably, the Press, which is dependent on the colonial authorities, with scant regard for the truth, tried to depict the delegation to Havana as representing only the Communist Party.

The Havana Conference adopted a special resolution on the anti-colonial struggle of the peoples of Martinique, French Guinea and Réunion, wholeheartedly supporting the demand of the peoples of these territories that their present status of "overseas departments" be replaced by autonomy. The same resolution condemns the policy of repressions pursued by the colonial authorities.

The people of our country are beginning to realize that the granting of "overseas department" status to Martinique was a maneuver aimed at preserving the colonial regime on the island, a regime which is the cause of the island's backwardness, poverty and unemployment. Therefore, any action by the working people for better conditions and for democracy is action against the colonial regime.

Economically the country has perhaps never been in such a plight as it is today. Recent years have witnessed the closing of five sugar refineries, dozens of enterprises producing spirits and rum, a decline in the production of sugar cane and pineapples, the destruction of large quantities of bananas for which no market could be found, rising unemployment, and a huge deficit in the trade balance. These and many other facts show that the economic crisis, for which the French colonial authorities are responsible, is growing more acute.

The crisis affects primarily the youth; 25,000 young people have no jobs. Thousands of boys and girls cannot continue their studies because

of lack of places in colleges. There is an acute shortage of vocational schools.

This state of affairs is giving rise to anti-colonial sentiment among the youth, a fact which is viewed with alarm by the authorities. Hence the many acts of repression by the colonial administration. It banned, for example, the holding of the first conference of the Martinique youth. In 1963 it staged a provocation as a result of which 18 leaders of the Union of the Martinique Anti-Colonial Youth (among them five Communists) were arrested and thrown into prison. It established a new procedure empowering it to send the youth of conscription age to France for military service. The country has been covered with a network of gendarme barracks. On the pretext of combating unemployment the authorities have organized the wholesale emigration of our young people to the metropolis where they are exploited as cheap labor power.

The authorities, stepping up their offensive on civil rights and democratic liberties (already greatly curtailed), are pursuing a policy of intimidation and repressions, particularly against the Communist Party.

The local capitalists, supported by the French monopolies, are trying to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working people.

In answer to this, industrial and agricultural workers, builders and dockers, office employees and students are holding demonstrations, meetings, strikes. There is hardly a branch of the economy in which big strikes have not taken place in recent years. Last March workers employed in the sugar refineries, on the sugarcane plantations, in the municipal and building organizations, struck work for more than a month. Dockers in Fort de France went on strike and won a wage increase. For two months the employees of the Society for Technical Aid struck in protest against the dismissal of colleagues. These actions have strengthened the unity of the working class. The General Confederation of Labor and the Force Ouvrière signed an agreement on united action. This document for the first time contains demands of a political nature, including demands in defense of civil liberties and the annulment of repressive laws.

The fight of the working people for better conditions is merging with the anti-colonial struggle, with the movement for autonomy.

The slogan of autonomy, advanced by the Second Congress of the Martinique Communist Party in July 1960, was widely supported by the people and was taken up by other political parties and democratic organizations.

Later the Communist Party elaborated a detailed program for autonomy, on the principle that once Martinique is granted the democratic status of autonomy, under popular rule, this would be an important step towards complete liberation from the colonial yoke. In its report to the Third Congress of the Party the Central Committee stated in this connection: "If we are to be understood by the masses, and not isolated and alienated from them the Party must advance slogans that will attract them. We must bear in mind that national sentiment is still not widespread among the people. At present the slogan of autonomy is the political point around which a united front can be established, a front of different anti-colonial forces who are at different levels of understanding of the tasks involved in the anti-colonial struggle.

"The slogan can be changed only when the general conditions of the anti-colonial struggle change."

The autonomy slogan furthers unity of action by all the anti-colonial forces in the country. In the past two or three years success has been achieved on the way to this unity of which the Communist Party is the heart and soul.

In December 1963, for example, during the trial of the 18 young patriots mentioned earlier, twenty-four organizations of Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion issued a manifesto demanding autonomy. Among the signatories of the manifesto were the Communist Party, the Progressive Party of Martinique, the United Socialist Party, the General Confederation of Labor which unites some 80 per cent of the urban and rural workers, the Women's Union, and the Students' Association.

All the anti-colonialist parties and organizations in Martinique took a common stand against the U.S. aggression in Santo Domingo and in Vietnam. The words "Down with American aggression!" appeared on the walls of the capital's buildings. For the first time leaflets with a joint call were distributed, a general meeting was held in Fort de France, and demonstrations held in solidarity with the Dominican and Vietnam people.

The success of the united action alarmed the colonialists. They retaliated with a new wave of repressions against progressives and especially against the Communist Party. Meetings and demonstrations are dispersed, booklets and appeals published by the democratic forces are confiscated, provocations are organized and in some cases arms resorted to. The leaders of the Communist Party and other democrats are thrown into prison, deprived of civil and political rights, and heavily fined. The authorities have stepped up the persecutions since the presidential election. In October 1965, during big demonstrations in the capital protesting against the brutality of the French gendarmes, one man was killed and many wounded. In January 1966, 40 persons were arrested, including Guy Dufond, member of the Central Committee of the Party, and Abel Théotiseet, a progressive teacher. They were kept in prison for a month. The authorities hoped by imprisoning Guy Dufond to compromise the Communist Party. But nothing came of this provocation. Under pressure of a countrywide protest movement and the protests of international public opinion the authorities were compelled to release Dufond, Théotiseet and others.

No repressions can force the Martinique people to their knees, can suppress the anti-colonial liberation movement in the country. They can but give greater impetus to our struggle which is supported by progressive public opinion in all parts of the world.

A. NICOLAS

In defense of the Swiss working people's interests

BEHIND THE OUTWARD signs of affluence in Switzerland with its high level of business activity and political stability there are strong undercurrents of uncertainty and anxiety and at times discontent.

The big capitalists have made the most of the boom. But while "importing" 700,000 foreign workers, they have largely neglected the modernization of industry, in particular automation, bent as they are on netting immediate and, what is more, maximum profits.

That Switzerland is lagging in a number of spheres is patent, and the knowledge is beginning to disturb people at the top. Scientific research, some areas of applied research, higher education, construction of state highways, measures to combat water pollution, the search for new power sources (since the hydro-power resources will soon be harnessed to the limit), and salary increases for government employees — these are problems that should have been tackled long ago.

Now they have to be resolved all at once. This necessitates tax reform (both national and local) which is not a simple matter. For military spending continues to swallow one-third of the Confederation budget, running up to 1,650 million Swiss francs. Armed neutrality is an expensive proposition indeed.

Swiss neutrality is a constant subject for discussion. At present it boils down to a "wait-and-see" policy in regard to the so-called European organizations and the United Nations.

There is no unity among either governmental bodies or the public on the basic issue of economic development. As a result, the decrees designed to combat economic fluctuation through reduction of credits were prolonged for only one year, and by a tiny majority. Timid attempts at government intervention and regulation in the economy come up against the orthodox economic liberalism. The growing competitive struggle, internationalization of production and expansion of markets pose increasingly difficult problems before the big bourgeoisie and its government.

For a long time the ruling circles tried to evade these issues. They assumed that they had found a "magic formula" in the coalition government consisting of two Radicals, two Catholics, two Socialists and one Agrarian.

This, however, could not check mass actions. The working class and other sections of the population evinced dissatisfaction with the rapidly rising cost of living (five per cent in one year), the growing taxes (communal, cantonal and federal), the housing shortage and high rents, inadequate social legislation concerning old age and family allowances, sick benefits and grants to mothers (the last three are not federal measures).

The only opposition party is the Swiss Party of Labor. Although still weak on the national plane, the elections held during the past year show that its influence is growing, especially in French Switzerland, and that the working-class Left and the popular forces generally are coming to the fore.

In the cantonal elections held in April 1965 in Neuchâtel, center of the watchmaking industry, the Party of Labor, which functions here as the People's Labor Party, increased its vote by nearly 1,000, and its seats in the Legislative Assembly from 6 to 10. The Socialists gained two seats and now have 42 out of a total of 105. In the election of the Central government (Council), generally held on the same day, a second ballot was taken in one of the electoral districts which returned another Socialist who got, in addition to the Socialist vote and the votes of 5,000 supporters of the People's Labor Party, some 4,000 new votes thanks to the agreement reached among the workers on the basis of a common program. A joint demonstration was held to celebrate this victory.

In the elections in Geneva canton in October the Party of Labor won an additional 800 votes and two seats, bringing its representation in the Cantonal Assembly to 16 out of a total of 100. The coalition of the three bourgeois parties lost 11,000 votes and 15 seats. A new Right-wing grouping — the Vigilance Committee—got 10 seats, and the Socialists increased their representation from 18 to 20.

Still bigger gains were made a month later during the election of the cantonal government. The combination of the three capitalist parties anticipated winning six of the seven seats in the Geneva Cantonal Council. The Socialists nominated two candidates and the Party of Labor, one.

The Party of Labor polled 16,871 votes, considerably more than the other parties. The Socialist Party polled 13,986 votes, the Radical Party, 12,696, the Christian Social Party, 10,731, and the Liberals, 9,413. The Party of Labor candidate polled 33 per cent of the total vote.

In response to the appeal of the Party of Labor, 80 per cent of its electoral following wrote on their ballot papers the name of two Socialist candidates, thereby ensuring the election of one of them and the defeat of the employers' candidate nominated by the bourgeois coalition and supported by the reactionaries generally.

The municipal elections in the Vaud canton held at the same time were another major gain for our Party. In Lausanne it increased its vote by 42 per cent over the previous elections and its representation by six from 14 to 20. In Nyon, a small town between Geneva and Lausanne, the Party increased its vote by 40 per cent and gained six seats.

In Lausanne the Socialists won 29 seats, three more than in the previous election. This gave the Left 49 seats against the bourgeois majority of 51. In Nyon our Party now has the same number of seats in the municipal council as the Socialists. The same is true of some other localities in the Vaud canton.

It should be mentioned that in these three French-speaking cantons women, too, have the right to vote, which is not the case elsewhere in Switzerland.

The March 1966 elections added to the gains of the Party of Labor. In the Cantonal parliament in Vaud it increased its representation from 10 to 16. Polling nearly 24 per cent of the vote in Lausanne, it was well ahead of the capitalist parties and second only to the Socialists. The Party's vote rose in all localities.

In the voting for the Cantonal government on March 27, our candidate polled 22,484 votes (25 per cent) as against 10,614 in 1962, i.e., a twofold increase.

In the municipal elections on March 6 in Zurich, where we failed to obtain a single seat on the local council in the previous election, we won two seats and were only a little short of gaining a third.

We are fully aware that our electoral success is only relative. It was not accompanied by any appreciable growth of the Party's membership or increase in the circulation of its press. The anxiety and discontent have not as yet developed into a resolve to effect a political change. It is imperative to improve our organizational work, all the more so since only half of the electorate bother to go to the polls.

Nevertheless our electoral gains (especially in French-speaking Switzerland) testify to the defeat of anti-communism. The fact that so many Socialists and Democrats generally voted for our candidates, despite the attacks levelled against them as Communists, speaks for itself.

Condemning war and the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and supporting the peace policy of the Soviet Union, a policy which found con-

crete embodiment in the Tashkent Conference, public opinion has been moving in the right direction. The movement against the war in Vietnam and for aid to the people of that country is embracing growing sections of the population, the intellectuals in particular.

Needless to say, the growth of confidence in our Party is due to its policy of working-class and people's unity. At first it alone fought against military appropriations (which are as onerous as they are unnecessary) and against the idea of nuclear armament. Later it was joined by some Socialist deputies and recently by part of the Socialist grouping and Catholics associated with the Christian Social Party.

The masses are beginning to see that the Party of Labor is the best champion of their interests. It has upheld the popular demands with varying degrees of success in every area of life. It has worked for increased old age allowance, disability insurance, bigger family allowances, paid, and longer vacations, democratic education, tax reform and lower taxes, and to protect tenants. It has played an active part in both national and cantonal political life.

The Party has made extensive use of direct democracy, i.e., the right of initiative and plebiscite stipulated in the Constitutions of both the Federation and the cantons, working for the repeal of undemocratic laws and submitting more progressive Bills.

Lastly, it has consistently advocated a policy of alliance and unity of all sections of the working people. The results of the Geneva Cantonal election mentioned above show that the Party's policy and actions have been understood by the working class and the people generally.

It is noteworthy that the anti-communist exhortations to prevent a "return to the Popular Front" proved futile, as has been conceded by the press and can be seen from the facts cited above.

The Party of Labor is well aware that its successes are only the first steps and that if it wishes to achieve radical changes, structural reforms, if it wants to fight to put an end to the rule of big capital, the monopolies and the trusts, it must work for a broader regrouping of all the popular forces, especially those in the Christian trade unions and the Left-wing of the Radical Party. It must win over the middle sections, making use of the democratic institutions.

In order to secure the election of a progressive government supported by the majority of the people, a government that would end the domination of the monopolies, take steps toward nationalization and control of investments and credits, introduce a progressive system of social insurance and thus pave the way to socialism, this broad-based regrouping of the popular forces must become a reality.

The Party of Labor assumes this important and difficult task. It aims at a regenerated democracy based on socialism, retaining all that is best in the traditions and history of the

country—federalism and regional autonomy—and the sources of our cultural wealth. The Party wants Switzerland to feel once again that

it is worthy of its past, and to safeguard its future.

Jean VINCENT

WMR

in the communist and workers parties

Communique of the conference of representatives of the communist parties of European capitalist countries

A CONFERENCE OF THE Communist parties of European capitalist countries met from May 9 to 11 in Vienna. The meeting issued the following communique:

"Representatives of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe met in Vienna on May 9-11 at the invitation of the Communist Party of Austria. The agenda included an exchange of views on the new opportunities for building the unity of the working class and the democratic forces in the fight against monopoly, for democracy and social progress. Delegations were present from the parties of Belgium, Denmark, FRG, Finland, France, Greece, Italy, Luxemburg, Norway, Austria, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, West Berlin and Cyprus. The Portuguese Communist Party submitted its views in written form.

"In the course of the discussion the results of the social and political struggle in the various countries were summed up. The progress made in this struggle facilitates the building of a broad mass movement uniting the working class with the other anti-monopoly forces. The conference considers that this alliance can be further broadened so as to effect reforms essential for restricting the political and economic power of the monopolies, introducing genuine democracy in social life, and paving the way to socialism.

"The participants note that in the different countries positive trends are in evidence in a

wide range of issues—in the struggle for social demands, for the defense and extension of democratic freedoms, for the preservation of peace, and also for the establishing of new relations between Communists and Socialists and other anti-monopoly forces, first and foremost in the trade unions. Conference also expressed satisfaction at the signs of mutual understanding being achieved with a considerable part of the Catholic world and its representatives. Political and ideological differences should not be an obstacle to the opening of new areas of mutual understanding and joint effort.

"Conference recognized the value of initiatives towards cooperation and joint effort of the Communist parties and other democratic anti-monopoly forces arising from the new conditions that have developed — the crisis of NATO and the EEC, and the U.S. monopoly penetration into the economy of European capitalist countries — the complexity of which has become patent to many.

"The Communist parties are advancing constructive proposals, and are striving to achieve understanding in their realization. They lay particular emphasis on the possibility of genuine economic cooperation between countries as an alternative to monopoly integration, as well as on the need for new relations between the countries of our continent based on a system of European security which would

facilitate solution of complex world problems. In the same spirit, the conference underlined the need for the unity of all the peace-loving forces against the threat to peace engendered by the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the claims of German imperialism.

"The cordial and fraternal atmosphere that prevailed at the conference was indicative of the feeling of solidarity uniting the Communist parties despite the different conditions obtaining in their particular countries."

Communist municipalities and their work on behalf of the public

THE PEOPLE OF France highly value municipal rights, for they see in the local authorities a form of democracy close to the citizen enabling him concretely to assess the work of his elected representatives.

Freedom in matters of local government is a tradition which can be traced back to the Middle Ages. True, the medieval communes, in which the bourgeoisie and craftsmen combined against the feudal lords, differed greatly from those of today; for one thing they were greatly restricted by royal prerogative. The revolution of 1789, however, proclaimed equal status for all communes and first gave them the rights they now enjoy.

Since then these rights have gone through a multitude of mutations owing to political changes. It should be noted that each time democratic freedoms have been assailed municipal rights have come under direct attack.

This is the case today, too. The one-man regime is raising obstacle after obstacle in the way of the local authorities, shifting to the municipal budgets the financial burden which the state should bear and denying the local councils the funds needed to meet the requirements of the working people.

These problems were posed before the public during the 1965 local elections, which the gaullist candidates failed to win. The Communist councils, on the contrary, were re-elected with few exceptions, and Communist majorities were won in the important municipalities of Le Havre, Nimes and Ales.

This was due to the high appraisal given by the public to the work of the Communist councillors, who consider it their duty to serve the interests of all sections of the working people. As a rule, the Communist municipalities were able to show an impressive record of measures carried out despite the obstacles raised by the central authorities.

The obstacles, far from becoming fewer, are increasing, and this demands, and will demand in the future, much effort and initiative on the part of the Communist councillors as well as

their close contact with the people. It is imperative to extend the activities of the Communist municipalities to give effect to measures meeting the needs of the population and to keep the public informed of the difficulties created for the municipalities by the government.

LACK OF FUNDS

One of the pressing problems of local government is that of finances, on which the fulfilment of plans directly depends.

In this connection it should be noted first and foremost that the government is shifting onto the local budgets expenditures it should cover itself, such as expenditure on the police, which is a matter purely for the state, and on school building, although it is the central government which should provide the facilities for compulsory education.

Moreover, the government is bent on curtailing the funds available to the communes by appropriating tax revenue due to the latter in order to compel the councils to increase local taxation. The object is to increase the tax burden and to shift the responsibility for this onto the local councils.

As a rule the local revenue suffices to cover only current expenditure, which means that municipal investments must be financed by subsidies and loans, repayment of which is a heavy burden on the local budget. And since the state is steadily cutting subsidies, loans are bound to play a growing role.

Loans, then, occupy an important place in local finances. Without them the councils would be hamstrung. Although proper management of municipal affairs by no means rules out borrowing, this in no way justifies the steady reduction of government subsidies. True, in the case of long-term loans, annual payments on principal are made in money which tends to grow cheaper owing to devaluation. Short-term loans are another matter; here the annual payments tend to increase the tax burden.

In this connection mention should be made of the new system of municipal taxation which the government has decided to introduce. It does away with the old local tax, which, even though it was an indirect one, was an important source of revenue for many communes. We do not, of course, seek to justify this type of tax as such, for we are opposed to indirect taxation of citizens since it places a heavier burden on the poor than on the rich. Direct taxation could, on the contrary, be used to hit at big incomes and big fortunes, but this, of course, is something that does not happen under capitalism.

As it is, the government has replaced the indirect local tax with another indirect levy—the tax on newly-created value. But whereas the former went to the local treasury and made up a substantial part of the councils' revenue, the new tax will go to the state.

To compensate the local budgets the government proposes to give the communes a subsidy amounting to five-sixths of the five per cent tax on the employers' wage fund. During the first year of the new system the guaranteed per capita minimum will exceed the present level, but thereafter things will change. Since the subsidies will be distributed in proportion to the revenue from the municipal taxes on households, the councils will be forced to increase these taxes in order to qualify for bigger subsidies. Once this is done, the government is certain to accuse the municipalities of imposing excessive taxation although the responsibility actually rests with it.

By cutting municipal funds the government is clearly seeking to prevent implementation of social measures the people want. In this way, and also by compelling the councils to increase local taxes, the government of the monopolies is out to create the impression that the elected representatives of the people are incapable of managing communal affairs.

The government has taken this line because it is planning to replace the elected councillors with technocrats in the employ of the monopolies. Technocrat-managed communes would not present any obstacle to the realization of the banks' and big enterprises' extensive plans for highly profitable investment guaranteed by the public funds of the state, the departments and the communes.

These plans must be combated, and the Communist Party has launched two campaigns in which all the municipal councils and in the first place the councils with Communist majorities are directly interested. One of these campaigns is for a reduction of the tax burden and the other concerns housing.

REDUCTION OF STATE TAXES

The number of people paying income tax rose from 5,054,000 in 1959 to 7,500,000 in 1963 and to more than 10,500,000 at present.

The minimum taxable income, which was 220,000 old francs in 1953, was increased only

slightly, to 240,000 old francs, in 1965, and in the 1966 budget the figure is set at 250,000 which for all practical purposes leaves the picture unchanged.

While the wage-earners' tax is being increased both in absolute and relative terms, capitalist firms are allowed to deduct repayment of credits and investments from taxable profits.

Moreover, in 1965 legislative acts passed which amounted to a gift of 74,000 million old francs to joint stock companies and their shareholders. Add to this the plums envisaged in the Bill submitted to parliament by the present Minister of the Economy and Finance. Needless to say, this drain on budget revenue will have to be compensated for at the expense of the small and medium taxpayer.

To these injustices should be added the indirect taxes which amount to more than two-thirds of the government's tax revenue and are mainly borne by consumers.

By and large the state tax on goods accounts for 20 to 30 per cent of the sale price, and in some cases even more. In the case of petrol, for instance, the tax amounts to 70 per cent of the price.

The finance department of the General Confederation of Labor, which is well informed as regards the tax exemptions granted to the capitalist companies and which is calling for a fairer tax policy, has put forward proposals to ease the burden on the small and medium taxpayers. On its initiative a Provisional Liaison Committee working for tax reduction was formed.

A campaign was started in which the Communist Party took an active part and which played a definite role in securing the 1966 increase in the minimum taxable income from 240,000 to 250,000 old francs.

Apart from other demands in which the various groups of taxpayers were interested, the people were urged to unite on the following basis:

1. Raising the minimum income subject to the personal income tax to 500,000 old francs and revision of the tax scale.

2. Reduction of indirect taxes on food and consumer goods (footwear, clothing, goods needed by farmers, petrol, pharmaceutical items, etc.).

The municipalities, for which the 1966 budget created grave financial difficulties and which are well aware of the implications of the new measures prepared by the government, should also make their weight felt in this campaign.

Many Communist municipalities collected signatures from taxpayers to petitions in support of these demands.

The question was taken up and put to the vote at public sessions of the local councils on which there are Communist majorities. Meetings of various groups of taxpayers were held and other measures organized by the Communist councillors who, exposing the reactionary nature of the government's tax policy,

underscore the difficulties caused by it for the communes.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM

Housing is an exceptionally pressing problem which directly affects the municipalities. More than a million applications for moderate-cost flats have already piled up, and many more would have put their names on the waiting list had they not lost all hope of getting a flat.

It is the policy of the government steadily to cut allocations for public, moderate-cost housing. This is all the more painful since building costs are constantly rising.

Originally the system of financing low-cost housing envisaged the coverage of 85 per cent of the cost by a 45-year loan at one per cent interest, the remainder to be financed by the State Deposit Fund.

In 1961, however, the loan was limited to 50 or 60 per cent of the building costs. The fund could not cover the balance fully, and the money had to be borrowed from private finance organizations at exorbitant interest rates.

Since January 1 this year 85 per cent of the building cost is covered by 40-year loans at 2.6 per cent interest, which, of course, is far too high. Moreover, the size of the loans is geared to the official building cost index which has little in common with the actual cost, and this in the final analysis tends to reduce the amount thus obtained and to compel the local authorities to look for high-interest credits which add to construction costs.

In this way the government seeks to narrow the gap between the cost of moderate-priced housing and the prices charged by the real estate companies acting as a front for the big banks.

Government policy, then, leads to costlier housing, all the more so since the price paid for land is rising steadily.

The cost of building lots has increased by anything from 900 to 1,000 per cent in 10 years, but this did not seem to bother the former Minister of Construction who, speaking in Limoges in 1965, said that it was "natural that the cost of land, just as of ancient stones, should go up."

The Communist Party advocates the municipalization of land in residential areas so as to put an end to speculation in housing lots, which should be made available primarily for moderate-cost projects.

In conducting the housing campaign the Communist local authorities are working in close contact with other municipalities, demanding that public low-cost housing boards be set up in the towns and intercommunal public boards in the smaller communities, and exposing the government's efforts to prevent the establishment of such organizations.

Furthermore, the Communist municipalities in localities where such boards do not exist are doing everything they can to set up building societies with both public and private ca-

pital as well as cooperatives, and, when necessary, concluding agreements with building firms on the construction of housing with a rent ceiling set in advance.

The Communist municipalities are also playing an important role in sponsoring local conferences on housing. These could serve as a point of departure for similar conferences on a national scale with a view to implementing the following measures:

- construction of 500,000 apartments a year, 300,000 of them in houses with moderate rentals;

- considerable increase in credits for moderate-cost housing as well as homes for sale to the public;

- establishment of a rent ceiling.

In other words, more emphasis should be placed on housing at a reasonable cost. This, however, runs counter to government policy.

The government is evincing satisfaction over the fact that the number of apartments built annually has increased from 240,000 to 360,000, or by 50 per cent. Yet the number of low-cost flats built annually between 1959 and 1964 for sale increased from 100,900 to 117,500, or only by 16 per cent, and the number offered for rent, from 82,000 to 92,600, or 11 per cent.

All this shows that housing for families with modest means is not the prime concern of the government. Yet it is one of the principal demands both of those who are looking for accommodation and those who have flats but cannot afford the rents charged.

On the pretext of facilitating private home-buying, the government promulgated a law entitling tenants of low-rent flats to buy these flats provided the house had been occupied for at least ten years and that they themselves have lived there not less than five.

It should be pointed out that private home-buying could be stimulated if the cooperative societies building moderate-cost housing for sale were given bigger credits.

The fact is, however, that the size of the down payment on moderate-cost flats is steadily rising, often running to 1,500,000 or 2,000,000 old francs as against 500,000-600,000 a few years ago.

In view of the attention paid by our Party to the new middle classes (engineers, administrative workers, technicians and professionals generally) who have means of their own and can obtain loans from professional and other organizations, local authorities with Communist majorities help them to build their own homes by providing suitable plots wherever possible. This is done without the commune making any profit whatsoever.

The local authorities make a point of keeping the public posted on the difficulties encountered. They publicize their plans and the reasons why these cannot be carried out, popularize the Party's proposals concerning the financing of moderate-cost housing construction, and conduct campaigns to demand that funds be provided for such construction by drawing on

the one per cent housing tax paid by employers. We advocate raising this tax to two per cent in the case of the enterprises employing more than 100 workers.

All this highlights the importance of our Central Committee's decision to recommend that local conferences be convened to make a thorough examination of the housing problems and to organize mass actions which could eventually be developed on a national scale.

SOCIAL MEASURES

In this sphere the Communist municipalities are working to make the services of dispensaries and health centers available to the greatest possible number of people, to organize the medical examination of the population with a view to early diagnosis of tuberculosis and cancer, and to provide for medical service at home.

Management of municipal affairs cannot be divorced from defense of the working people's interests. Closely following developments in the enterprises, Communist councillors support the workers' struggle for higher wages and better conditions.

Municipal councils with Communist majorities also set up labor exchanges and community centers in their localities, and, together with the trade unions, they arrange information services for workers.

Since job opportunities are a prime concern of the workers, the Communist municipal councils encourage local development wherever possible by providing conditions designed to attract industry.

In this connection the Party's proposals for nationalization of the monopolies acquire particular importance. If they were adopted, state intervention in the economy — provided it is a democratic state — could make for more rational allocation of industry among the various parts of the country.

In towns where enterprises are in danger of being closed, the municipalities, together with the trade unions and the Communist Party and other democratic organizations, are working to keep them running in order to prevent unemployment.

The municipal councils with Communist majorities maintain close contact with the population. Communist councillors regularly receive their constituents and hear their complaints, visit residential neighborhoods from time to time, report to the electorate on how

they are carrying out their mandate, and see to it that the local press is supplied with information on municipal affairs.

Needless to say, the Communist councillors try to coordinate their activities with those of the public organizations functioning in the commune, for this makes their work for the public good more effective.

TOGETHER WITH THE MASSES

It is gratifying to find in reviewing the work of the Communist municipalities that they display the greatest initiative and work hardest to serve the people.

In order to make the masses see the formidable difficulties with which they have to cope, the Communist councils should expose the policies of the monopolies point by point. The main features of these policies on the financial and economic planes and in the sphere of taxation are the following:

- non-productive spending on a vast scale, beginning with the huge military expenditure under the state budget;

- tax exemptions for the big companies;

- use of public funds to finance private investment;

- use of state property in the interests of the monopolies;

- use of the state budget and tax revenue to ensure the distribution of the national income in the interests of the monopolies.

All this points to the urgent need to rally the people to fight for their demands. And this is being done in both the state and private sectors.

The Government's policy of whittling away municipal rights is aimed also against the interests of the working people. It wants to take over the conduct of the affairs of the communes and Departments, to remove them from the control of the elected representatives, as is already being done in the economic areas where the prefect has to deal only with development committees in which elected members constitute the minority and which are mere advisory bodies.

In these circumstances it is self-evident that the Party should step up its work in the municipalities and enhance its mass character. The task is to repel the official drive against the system of local government by deputies elected by popular vote and effectively to uphold the interests of the working people.

Jacques DUCLOS

Long-range planning of Party work

THE COMPREHENSIVE building of socialism in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution faces the working people of the German Democratic Republic with many problems, problems which are rendered particularly complicated by the division of Germany. The rate of economic growth — the decisive factor in the struggle between socialism and capitalism—is increasingly determined by the development of science and technology. The new system of planning and management, the principles of which were worked out by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party in 1963 and are now being gradually carried into life, take account of the new requirements of economic development. A long-range plan of national-economic development of the GDR based on the new system has been drawn up for the period up to 1970.

The complex tasks confronting the national economy call for a higher standard of Party activity and improvement of its political work. The Central Committee has drawn the attention of all Party organizations to the need for a more scientific approach to ideological and social work and better organization of Party work on the industrial principle.

An important means to this end is long-range planning of Party work. This presupposes concentrating on the main tasks of a given enterprise (or district), and more timely and thorough preparation of important undertakings. In the sphere of long-range planning of Party work, i.e., work among the people, we have gained some valuable initial experience at the Leuna Works.

The Leuna Works occupies a prominent place in the chemical industry of the GDR. It accounts for approximately 10 per cent of all the chemical output in terms of value. About 15 per cent of all investment earmarked for the chemical industry of the GDR up to 1970 is to be invested in Leuna.

The fact that this chemical giant, the biggest enterprise of its kind in the GDR, was able to report 101.2 per cent fulfilment of its production plan for 1965 (a 6.6 per cent increase over the previous year) and a 104 per cent fulfilment of its export plan is due in no small measure to initial steps taken to carry out the plan of Party work for the years up to 1970. This is an achievement for the Leuna workers, an achievement due largely to the fact that the district Party organization and indeed the

whole community, thanks to well-planned Party work, linked the chief objectives of our policy in the German question—the strengthening of the GDR and thereby the safeguarding of peace — with systematic fulfilment of planned targets.

In view of the importance of our chemical industry, the Party organization was entrusted some two years ago with the task of drawing up a long-range plan of Party work. Of course at that time the plan could only be drafted in general outline since concrete tasks and ways and means of fulfilling them depend on the actual political and economic situation.

Up till now we had no experience in long-range planning of political and ideological work. Hence our Party organization, with the assistance of the higher Party committees, had to work out the principles and methods of planning.

In drawing up the plan, we based ourselves on the long-range program of the enterprise up to 1970, drawn up in accordance with the directives of the State Planning Commission. The Leuna Works has two main tasks: 1) to establish a new modern petrochemical department, and 2) to reconstruct and expand the old production units. This will require concentrating primarily on research and design.

The task of our Party organization under the long-range program was to explain to the working collective the main development trends of the enterprise and their importance for the country as a whole, to answer questions concerning the growth of political consciousness and the educational level of the workers, the promotion of teamwork between leading workers and researchers, more expert guidance, better conditions for the workers, including recreation in the workers' communities.

We began by making a detailed analysis of the level of political consciousness in our Party organization. The next step was to study the situation in the enterprise, its economic, social, political and ideological aspects. Numerous sociological studies were conducted under the auspices of the ideological committee in the course of which some 2,000 workers were interviewed. Many workers were drawn into discussion of our long-range plan in the course of these interviews.

Altogether 1,936 questionnaires dealing with working conditions, attitude to the job, level of skills, leisure time, and also some general

political questions were circulated at 11 shops and departments of the Leuna Works. The groups polled included unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled workers, junior and senior foremen, technicians and technologists, chemists, chemical researchers, engineers, designers, and economists. The questionnaires were unsigned.

The workers displayed much interest in this relatively new method of studying social processes.

Considerations of space prevent us from dwelling in detail on the interesting results of the poll. However some of the data showing the attitude of workers and clerical staff to their jobs will suffice to give a general idea of the picture obtained. The new attitude to labor is expressed among other things in participation in the socialist emulation movement. This was appraised under the heading "good" by the various categories of workers as follows: unskilled workers—42.3 per cent; semi-skilled—59.2 per cent, skilled workers—66.0 per cent.

A feature of labor under socialism is its creative character. Workers have a direct interest in finding ways of raising productivity for they know that is they who reap the fruits of their labor. Of those polled 37.5 per cent had already submitted rationalization proposals. This breaks down into different groups as follows: unskilled—11.9 per cent, semi-skilled—23.6 per cent, skilled workers—44.9 per cent. Besides skill, an important role in the sphere of rationalization proposals and inventions is played also by practical experience on the job.

Readiness to carry out the tasks to promote technological progress was relatively high among workers in the 18 and 25 age group: among unskilled workers—29.3 per cent; semi-skilled—31.7 per cent; skilled workers—37.5 per cent.

The sociological research undertaken at the Leuna Works was supplemented by an extensive study conducted by Party organizations in the shops and departments. The data obtained formed the basis for drafting a general outline of the long-range plan of Party work for the period up to 1970 in accordance with which the main lines of Party work were charted.

Other questions that had to be taken into account were the prospects of vocational training and raising skills of older workers, employment of women and youth, cooperation with intellectuals, cultural activity in the enterprise and in residential neighborhoods.

Independent studies made by groups of workers contributed much valuable material which was incorporated in the long-range plan. Thanks to the cooperation of many industrial managers (including non-Party people) and experienced Party functionaries, we were able to interest the workers in the plan while it was still in its initial stage. At the end of 1964 the draft of the long-range plan was submitted for discussion to the Party organization and the entire personnel of the Works.

The draft provided for a higher standard of

political work by the Party to cover a wide range of problems pertaining to socialist leadership aimed at the gradual realization of the new system of planning and management, the future tasks in the sphere of research and design, application of the most up-to-date technology and maintenance of equipment.

How do we envisage the gradual implementation of our long-range plan?

Inasmuch as the chief content of Party activity is work among the people, many forms and methods of persuasion were envisaged, viz., discussion of the basic problems of our home and foreign policy, our economy, and particularly problems directly concerning our own enterprise, as well as a differentiated approach to spiritual and cultural problems; the new problems were discussed at meetings, at ideological conferences and conferences on special subjects, at lectures, forums, seminars, meetings of propagandists, innovators and worker-inventors. Oral propaganda was combined with the circulation of leaflets, factory newspapers, etc.

Last year the District Committee devoted itself primarily to improving mass political work in what were the main areas at that time: in the sphere of research and design—to heightening the political and ideological influence of the Party branch with a view to concentrating all forces on fulfilling the state plan for technological development; in the Party branch of the petro-chemical department, to ensuring the early launching of trial production; in the technical departments, to introducing new technology of maintenance and new forms of labor organization; in the Party branch of the vocational training department to improving the standard of professional training. Particular attention was paid to the Party branch of the synthetic gas department.

In tackling these and other problems the emphasis was on the political and ideological activity of one or another Party organization, improving the political leadership of the District Committee and the work of its sub-committees, preparing functionaries for the branch committees to cope with the new problems. In this respect the use of voluntary groups of workers for joint study of specific problems and for generalizing and transmitting experience to all departments and shops has proved extremely valuable.

Here is one example showing how our Party organization works. The planned target for 1965 for the synthetic gas department was thought by most of the workers to be utopian, the more so since the 1962-64 plan for nitrogen output had not been fulfilled. A study made by the District Committee of the possible obstacles—political, organizational or other—to the fulfilment of the 1965 plan revealed that obstacle number one was the pessimism engendered by non-fulfilment of the plans in previous years and the failure of the management to seek the cooperation of the workers in an all-out effort to reach the new targets.

The Party branch in the department, with the help of the district organization, rallied its members for the solution of the task in hand and did everything possible to ensure fulfilment of the plan. The Party members explained to the workers the importance of the department's output for our socialist agriculture and spotlighted shortcomings in the management and organization of socialist collective labor that were hindering plan fulfilment. After many talks and lively discussions the workers came to see that the task before them was quite within their powers. At first most of the engineers and technical personnel were sceptical, but after a certain modernization of technology and other adjustments the doubters were finally won over and, with the combined efforts of all concerned, the situation was normalized and the plan fulfilled. As a result of persevering work by the District Committee and the local branch, the plan of Party work thus became the program of action for the entire department. But an even more important factor was that the production success gradually induced in the workers a spirit of healthy optimism. The entire personnel saw that good work plus Party guidance could overcome the obstacles. As a result mutual confidence between the Party and the workers was strengthened and the prestige of the Party thereby heightened. This was expressed also in the fact that 50 per cent more workers joined the Party in the course of this campaign than in the previous year.

The departmental management also contributed to creating an atmosphere of optimism. For one thing they have learned better to assess the potential of the working collective and how to activate it and realized that proper guidance of the workers is an important aspect of their managerial function. They now have little doubt that the higher targets for 1966 will likewise be reached.

In order to ensure a steady improvement in Party work it was found necessary to introduce certain changes in the structure of the Party organizations. In this the District Committee was guided by the Leninist principle that organizational forms should correspond to the concrete tasks of the Party, to the actual content of Party work. New Party branches were formed in the key departments, such as the research and designing departments and the chief maintenance shops, and this enabled the Communists in these departments to make better use of their forces.

The experience gained to date in long-range planning of Party work shows that the Party organizations must find new methods to cope with the new problems. An important condition of success is the concentration of forces on the most difficult sectors. This calls for certain organizational preparation. For example, the Party branch in the chief maintenance shop had to consider the question of forming branches on construction sites. This makes it possible to unite all the Party members, in-

cluding those working in auxiliary enterprises, both in the plant and beyond its limits. At the same time, the scientific and technological personnel working on the site can also be drawn into Party work. The Party organizations on the sites are not permanent bodies, they exist only for the duration of the building work. This new organizational form heightens the effectiveness of the work of Party members on the construction site.

The few examples given here of the multi-form activity of the Party organizations show how the long-range planning of Party activity has activated the work of the district Party organization, placing it on a more solid, scientific footing. This is evident from the production achievements and improvements mentioned above in the conditions of the Leuna workers. The growth of the Party, particularly in connection with its 20th anniversary, the growing activity of many workers and intellectuals, is also the result of more purposeful work by the Party organizations. The 16 months' experience of Party activity on the basis of long-range planning can be summarized briefly as follows.

The work of the district Party organizations from top to bottom has become more regular, systematic and concentrated, since the posing of tasks for a prolonged period has helped to ensure a smoother and more even pace of work. At the same time long-range planning has made it possible to take better account of the inter-relation between the various aspects of work with people, between economics and politics and between the different problems, and to make for the all-round solution of these problems. The work of the various organizations at the lower levels has also improved. They have become more independent for one thing. Both their committees as well as their members have begun now to display greater initiative, set themselves concrete tasks in accordance with the specific conditions of their particular sector of the job.

Contact between members of the Party and non-Party workers has become much closer. The Party organization has been able to build up a bigger group of activities on whom it can rely.

The prestige of the Party organization has risen as a result of the leadership given by the District Committee and its secretariat, and the tireless work of individual functionaries.

Our initial experience shows that our new methods of work are sound, helping as they do to accelerate solution of the problems with which the technological revolution has confronted the Leuna Works.

Discussion of the prospects of the plant is conducted and directed by the Party organization in such way as to imbue the entire personnel with the spirit of healthy optimism. It has already played a positive role in accomplishing the targets of the economic plans for 1965 and 1966. Our workers are realizing more and more that by carrying out the long-term plan

of development of their enterprise they are making life richer and finer.

To achieve this, to strengthen democracy which gives every man the opportunity to develop freely and decide his own destiny it is

worth giving unstintingly of all one's efforts, talents and abilities. This is the object served by the long-range plan of our district Party organization.

Hubert GOERLICH

Cooperation of two parties

THE AGREEMENT between the French and Italian Communist parties on work among the Italian immigrants in France, which was drawn up in Rome in November 1965, approved by the 11th National Congress of the Italian Communist Party and published on February 11, 1966 in *Humanite* and *Unita*, is undoubtedly an important step forward in upholding the interests and social and democratic rights of the Italian workers in France. At the same time it is an example of proletarian internationalism and proof of the cooperation and mutual understanding between the two biggest Communist parties in Western Europe.

The Italian Communist Party regards the migration of Italian workers as a serious national problem arising from the total incapacity of the bourgeoisie to tackle and solve the basic structural problems of Italian society. This applies primarily to the agrarian question and the development of the South. True, the past 15 years have been boom years for the Italian economy, and Italy is now an industrial-agrarian instead of an agrarian-industrial country. This economic upsurge which is directed, controlled and used by the monopolies to extend their domination has neither solved nor attempted to solve any of the contradictions inherent in Italian society, specifically the contradictions between industry and agriculture, between town and countryside, between the North and South. Hence the instability of the rulers to provide work for all Italians, hence the mass unemployment and the emigration.

The Communist Party is fighting against the ills of unemployment and emigration for a radical change in the economic and political policy pursued by successive governments including the Left Center government. The Party demands the democratic programming of national-economic development based on far-reaching structural reforms, and primarily a general agrarian reform which would put an end to land rents and give the land to those who till it, the industrialization and regeneration of the South and a reform of the state envisaged in the Constitution.

In its policy the Italian Communist Party proceeds from the premise that the bulk of the

emigrant workers are part of the Italian working class and the nation who are forced to look in other countries for work denied them in their native land. The Party therefore strives to make its presence felt among the emigrant workers without, however, following any set pattern of activity and employing all politically appropriate forms of work. The Party endeavors to keep the emigrants informed of developments at home in Italy on which they and their families (many of whom remain in Italy) can and should exert a certain influence especially during election campaigns. On the other hand, the Party believes that the Italian workers should participate in a positive sense in the working-class movement and in the economic, social and political struggles of the working class in the countries where they have emigrated. And since there are more than two million Italian workers in Western Europe at the present time, their political and social weight in the internal life of their own country and in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism on a European scale is obvious.

Emigration from Italy to France began toward the end of last century and proceeded in varying dimensions depending on the pace of industrialization and the immigration policy of the French authorities. France absorbs large numbers of emigrants, and to meet the needs of its industry and colonial policy the French bourgeoisie at different times has always drawn on the reservoirs of labor power to be found in the backward countries of the South and, before the war, in Eastern Europe, not to speak of Tropical Africa. More than 610,000 Italians (not counting the seasonal migration) emigrated to France after the Second World War. Of the approximately three million immigrant workers in France, the Italians (including the old prewar emigration) form the largest national group, although in recent years the bulk of the immigrants have come from Spain and Portugal.

The presence of large numbers of foreign workers is a political problem for the French Communist Party, the French working class and the French democratic forces generally. Monopoly capital is trying to use the immi-

grants to build up a labor market in order to exploit both the French and the foreign workers, to hamper the united working-class struggle for better conditions, against the gaullist economic policy for restoring and extending democracy. The French Communist Party therefore attaches much importance to political work among the immigrants, seeking to draw them into the united economic and political struggle of the working class and the people.

The similarity of language, culture and customs has enabled the Italian workers who emigrated to France to adapt themselves with relative ease to life in that country, and thanks to the French Communist Party and the cooperation between it and the Italian Party, the immigrants have both given and received much that has helped to shape their democratic and socialist consciousness. For example, the Italian workers gained invaluable experience from the struggle against fascism and war, the victories of the Popular Front and the Resistance. The Italian Communist Party, which at that time functioned illegally, received fraternal support and assistance from the French Party, and the thousands of Italian workers who had emigrated to France formed their class convictions during their stay in the ranks of the French Communist Party, the trade unions, their participation in the battles fought by the working class and the people of France for peace and democracy.

Italian workers who emigrated to France over the past 15 years have also taken an active part in the economic and political struggle of the French working people. Thanks to the constant work, initiative and activities of the French Communist Party and especially the General Confederation of Labor to secure for the Italian workers and all immigrants the same economic status, the same social and trade union rights enjoyed by the French workers, the conditions of the Italian immigrants have steadily improved and the Italian workers in France are unquestionably both morally and psychologically better off than those in other European countries. The cooperation between the Italian and French confederations of labor and the agreement concluded by them have, moreover, made it possible to achieve notable results also in the matter of social welfare and the protection of the Italian workers and their families, primarily through the establishment in France of a network of branches of the National Welfare Institute.

Nevertheless some serious and difficult problems still remain: from the question of wages (the same question that affects French workers) to problems connected with the laws

governing the residence of foreign workers (which conflict sharply with the decisions on the Common Market concerning so-called "free movement of labor power"); from discrimination against immigrants in social welfare and insurance to problems of housing and reunion with families; from problems of winning complete and genuine trade union equality with the French workers to the more general problem of recognition of democratic freedoms and rights. The most outstanding of these are: 1) freedom for the Italian workers to set up democratic and autonomous organizations to take care of their cultural needs and leisure; 2) the right to special leaves and transportation facilities to take part in political and administrative elections in Italy.

The above shows how important for the Italian and French workers is the agreement concluded between the French and Italian Communist parties on work among the Italian immigrants in France. The agreement quite correctly takes into account two aspects of the Italian emigration to France. On the one hand, it stresses the need for the Italian workers to join in the class movement and the struggle of the French working class and recognizes the responsibility of the French Communist Party for leading the political activity of the Italian workers in France. On the other hand, it confirms that the Italian workers continue to be vitally interested in the economic, social and political struggle in Italy and recognizes that the immigrants are anxious to help bring about a radical change in the political life and social structure of the country.

Moreover it is well known that although the vast majority of the Italian workers who emigrated to France continue to maintain close contact with Italy, many of them are trying to integrate more and more with French society and acquire French citizenship, which, incidentally, is relatively easily granted by the French authorities. This circumstance is also provided for by the agreement, which urges the need for Italian Communists in France to work actively in the French Communist Party (where they are organized in language groups) and specifies the forms and methods of propaganda and mass work among the Italian immigrants. This is a sound basis for cooperation between the French and Communist parties in their work among the Italian workers in France, and we are confident that its implementation will have a positive influence on the general political relations between the two parties which, as we know, bear a special responsibility in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism in Western Europe.

Alvo FONTANI

The way to economic and social emancipation in Lebanon

THE EVENTS OF last year and the early months of this year in Lebanon show that the popular struggle for political, economic and social emancipation is making headway. Large numbers of people, political parties and trade unions have joined in mass actions ranging from demonstrations and strikes to congresses, meetings, declarations, petitions, and deputations to government bodies.

In the course of the struggle different groups of the population have advanced their particular demand. In a word, workers, peasants, office employees, intellectuals, students, small proprietors, youth and women are putting forward solutions for their problems and fighting for their speedy realization.

Early in the year a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party noted the upsurge in the struggle and the role played in it by the working class and the trade union movement. Workers have taken part in numerous mass actions, and the trade unions have repeatedly advanced their own points while giving powerful support to the popular demands generally.

Recently notable progress has been made in developing unity between workers affiliated to different trade union centers in support of the common demands of the unions, and primarily for the speedy enforcement of the social insurance law and for amending some of its clauses. Joint struggle by the organized and unorganized workers has helped to heighten their class consciousness and the role of the working class and the trade unions in political life, and to strengthen the popular movement generally. One of the basic factors giving new impetus to the popular struggle is mutual understanding and cooperation between the progressive forces, in particular between the Socialist Progressive Party, the Arab Nationalist Movement and the Communist Party, on the one hand, and on the other, patriotic movements and trends working for independence and to put an end to the country's backwardness. The joint struggle of all these forces and united action by the progressive parties have played a big part in creating a new political climate, which forced the government to pay more attention to economic development and the life of the people generally.

The popular struggle has had repercussions in the parliament, where many deputies have supported the people's demands and urged the government to meet them.

A feature of the struggle is that its slogans have gone beyond the immediate demands of the different groups of the population; they are beginning to take the form of general demands for radical measures to meet the objective needs of the country's development and aspirations of the working people, progressive employers and intellectuals.

The Communists see the biggest obstacle to progress in the capitalist system. As a result of the struggle of the past two years, the majority of the people have become conscious of the need to put an end to this system of exploitation. The people are coming to see from their own experience that this system with its inherent anarchy cripples the economy and breeds poverty.

Reactionaries and the moneyed top crust fear the popular struggle and are trying to check it. They hope to do this by establishing closer links with the imperialist monopolies. In particular, the former government of millionaires tried to put through a law extending guarantees to U.S. capital, but the united popular actions last July forced it to resign.

The reactionaries, however, persisting in their efforts to split the progressive forces, are working to install a new government similar to the one overthrown by the people. But so far these maneuvers have only reinforced the militancy of the popular movement and its determination to win the vital demands of the working people.

The issue around which the struggle is developing is the five-year state economic plan. The Communists believe that the plan contains essential and useful projects that meet some of the popular demands, and hence call for their rapid and proper implementation. At the same time it is clear that these projects can effectively promote economic and social progress only if the general trend and structure of the national economy are radically changed.

Progress presupposes primarily the abolition of the reactionary trends in home policy and of the backward undemocratic structure of the economy inherited from the time when our

country was an imperialist mandate, and also rejection of the methods of administration, norms of parliamentary representation and general laws characteristic of that period.

The Communists support the steps taken by the present government towards reorganizing the administration and demand that these steps be carried further in order to build up an up-to-date administration in harmony with the interests of the people. On the other hand, the success of these steps requires legislation in the sphere of taxation and economic endeavor generally which would increase state revenue.

The Communists urge that special attention be paid to rapid industrialization, and a long-range policy be worked out in this sphere. Stress should be placed in strengthening and expanding the state sector; a Ministry of Industry and a state industrial development bank should be established and the existing national branches of industry safeguarded and encouraged.

One of the main prerequisites of general economic progress is the development of agriculture. The Communists call for the elimination of the feudal survivals, for restricting private ownership of land, for bringing abandoned land under cultivation, distributing public land among the poor peasants and aid to the latter in setting up cooperatives, establishing state farms in areas where large-scale mechanized and centralized farming would be most advantageous. It is imperative also to implement other urgent measures, such as government control over the purchase and sale of all fruit for export so as to protect the small producers from the monopolies.

Our country has substantial resources which could be used to finance the development projects proposed. But in order to draw on these resources it is essential to revise the tax laws and to introduce a direct progressive tax on private incomes, to obtain more revenue from oil extraction and improve the management of state enterprises.

Our Party warns against the dangers with which Western credits are fraught. These credits always have political and economic strings. Foreign investments, far from making for prosperity, make our economy more dependent on the imperialist monopolies. The best way to economic progress is to pursue a policy of cooperation with the socialist countries.

The growing struggles of the people are encountering the resistance not only of the reactionaries at home but also of the imperialists, who are intensifying their activities in the Arab world and in the Middle East in particular.

The rise of the Arab national liberation movement is a source of anxiety to the imperialists who are intriguing to split and weaken this movement. The biggest imperialist conspiracy of recent times is the plan for a so-called "Islamic Pact," preparations for which have been undertaken by the reactionaries in

Saudi Arabia and Iran. Moreover, the imperialist powers are continuing to build up Israel as a base for aggression against the Arab countries. These imperialist conspiracies have evoked a wide campaign of protest among all the Arab peoples. The progressive forces have exposed the nature and aims of the "Islamic Pact."

The imperialists are doing their utmost to prevent the democratic progress of the Arab peoples. They instigate the domestic reactionaries to crush the democratic forces, as happened recently in the Sudan where the Communist Party was outlawed. The anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab people is being jeopardized also by the actions of the leaders of Iraq who are extending the chauvinistic war against the Kurd democratic movement.

As regards the situation on the world arena, our Party sees in the sum total of world developments during the past year clear evidence that the basic trend is the growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace.

The Soviet Union, our Party notes, is continuing successfully to build the material and technological base of communist society, while the other socialist countries are giving effect to important measures in building socialism.

The adventures on which world imperialism has embarked and its growing aggressiveness have poisoned the international climate. The Lebanese Communists condemn the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and demand its immediate cessation, just as they condemn aggression against any other people in the world. Our Party underscores the fact that the Soviet Union, true to the principles of internationalism, is rendering economic and military aid and political support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the people of South Vietnam in their struggle against the U.S. aggression, that it is helping the national liberation movements in other countries too.

An important role in the national liberation struggle is played by unity among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The experience of their day-to-day struggle against imperialism and for a better life brings home to the peoples of the "third world" the enormous importance of unity, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The working class and the Left generally in the developed capitalist countries have made definite headway during the past year in their political and economic struggle. The strikes in the United States, Belgium, France, Italy and other countries testify to the militancy of the working class.

World developments have clearly shown that imperialism, its present aggressiveness notwithstanding, will not be able to preserve its positions under the pressure of the liberation struggle of the peoples and the victorious advance of the forces of peace, national independence, progress and socialism.

Although the international Communist movement has made big strides in the ideological and organizational sphere, the difficulties in the Communist ranks should not be underestimated.

We Lebanese Communists are convinced that the objective unity of the interests and aims of all the revolutionary forces of our time will prevail over all attempts to divide them. We are certain that joint action is the correct policy, despite the complexity of the present situation, will strengthen the unity of the Communist movement. Hence, we fully sup-

port the communique on the consultative meeting of March 1965. The Lebanese Communists have expelled from their ranks the disrupters and condemned their splitting activity.

As always, the Lebanese Communists consider it their duty to play their part in the struggle for world Communist unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Meetings.

Georges BATAL

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Notes from Hanoi

THE EYES OF THE WORLD are focussed on the struggle waged by the people of Vietnam. All to whom the principles of peace, democracy and national independence are dear are deeply disturbed by the crude violation of these principles by the United States. The sympathies of all progressives are with the embattled people of Vietnam fighting in the forward positions of the anti-imperialist front. The Communists, who regard the struggle of nations for peace, democracy and national independence as the decisive factor of social progress, are following with unflagging attention the battle in defense of these principles, conscious of their particular responsibility for rendering maximum support to the people of Vietnam. They are linked to the Party of Working People of Vietnam by bonds of proletarian internationalism.

Notwithstanding the widespread sympathy for Vietnam, there is still a crying need for fuller and more authentic information about the resistance struggle of the Vietnam patriots. The imperialists, trying to cover up their crimes in that country, are deliberately misinforming public opinion and indulging in political maneuvers such as Johnson's recent "peace offensive" which proved to be a hoax redolent of Texan smalltown politics. In the light of these imperialist maneuvers, the truth about what is happening in and around Vietnam can be a powerful and effective weapon. This truth should be spread constantly and by every possible means. The battle for the minds of men cannot cease for a moment, for it is not the least important aspect of the battle now being waged on the world arena between the forces of war and peace, the epicenter of which today is Vietnam.

In January-February this year this writer

visited Vietnam as a representative of the Communist Party of Denmark with a simultaneous assignment from the Party's paper *Land og Volk* and *World Marxist Review*. Inasmuch as conditions in Vietnam differ so greatly from those of Europe, it seems to me that the impressions of an observer from a developed capitalist country in Northern Europe might be of general interest. Moreover, it should be said that a closer acquaintance with the Vietnamese people, the conditions in which they live and in which they are carrying on their struggle strengthens one's feeling of solidarity with them and their just cause.

Notwithstanding the considerable difference in the spheres of activity and immediate problems of the Danish Communist Party and the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the representatives of the two parties had no difficulty in finding a common language, a common viewpoint and mutual understanding. This is due primarily to the fact that they are guided by the same principles—the principles of Marxism-Leninism, as both parties confirmed by their adherence to the joint statements of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960. This also means that these documents continue to be of the utmost importance for the world Communist movement, for joint efforts toward strengthening its unity.

I should like here to record the impressions gained from my visit and to attempt to answer some of the questions frequently asked today.

How are the people of Vietnam coping with the hardships caused by U.S. aggression? What of their mood and their fighting spirit?

Asked at the beginning of 1966 what the Vietnam people thought about the prospects of their struggle, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong

of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam replied: "The people of our entire country are determined to carry on the fight and are confident of victory. Such are the prospects."

This statement is fully confirmed by the fighting spirit of the people, of which there is ample evidence on every hand. Above all it is the resolution and unity of the people in the struggle against the imperialist aggression that impresses all foreign observers in Vietnam. One



The commander of an anti-aircraft action station gives the signal to open fire.

Photo from the journal *Vietnam*

of these "observers," incidentally, was a captured U.S. airman whose explanation for the U.S. hostilities in Vietnam was that "the men at the top surely know what they're doing." The man vividly described the nervousness experienced by the U.S. aircrews before taking off on combat missions, and voiced the conviction that the Vietnamese had risen to a man in defense of their homeland, which, he said, was "quite natural."

Yes, it is "quite natural" that a nation subjected to aggression should fight back with all its strength. And it is high time the U.S. imperialists and their puppets realized this. Above

all they ought to realize how natural is this compulsive need to carry on the fight on the part of a nation that has learned by the bitter experience of several generations what imperialism means. For decades past this nation has been waging an almost uninterrupted struggle for freedom against foreign imperialists. Generations of Vietnamese have grown up in this atmosphere. There is scarcely a family that has not lost someone in this struggle, they are bound to it with ties of blood and are deeply conscious of their duty to carry on the fight.

Besides sorrow and suffering the years of fighting have taught the people that a war against a ruthless enemy can be won. Twice in the past twenty years they have won their battle for freedom. The first victory was won in 1945 when, as a result of the August revolution, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established on the territory of the entire country. The second victory came in 1954 when the French imperialists, after the defeat at Dien Bien Phu, had to agree to peace negotiations and concede the right of the people to sovereignty, independence and national unity. International recognition of these rights was recorded in the Geneva Agreements of 1954. In both instances it was only as a result of armed intervention by the imperialists that the population of part of the country were again deprived of their sovereignty.

The significant fact that the Vietnamese, by nature a gentle and friendly people, have by virtue of circumstances become a nation of fighters and a formidable force is often lost sight of. The crimes of the imperialists and the victories won by the people thanks to its unity and staunchness have hardened their resolve never to allow the blood shed by generations to have been spilled in vain. This is an important political factor which must be taken into account in assessing the situation in Vietnam.

One cannot help thinking that the U.S. imperialists' choice of Vietnam as a base for implementing their policy of aggression was not a particularly happy one. Thanks to this blunder by the aggressors the people of the world, through their solidarity and support for Vietnam, can teach the imperialists a lesson on this "testing ground" of aggression and force them to abandon their aggressive policy in relation to other countries as well.

How is the United States conducting its war of aggression against Vietnam? What has it gained by this war?

The United States is using the latest in means of warfare in Vietnam, trying out all types of weapons, with the exception of nuclear weapons. Yet they have not succeeded in gaining the initiative.

The U.S. war in Vietnam is one of the most barbarous in the inglorious history of imperialism. It combines the most refined methods of waging war with the brutality and inhumanity of men affected by the corrupting and debasing ideas of capitalist society. Moreover it is combined with attempts to utilize local quis-

lings to return the country to the state of feudal barbarity. The American arsenal includes napalm, poison gases and other toxic agents, massive bombing, wholesale shooting of civilians, burning villages "for the fun of it," indignities and violence against women, children and the aged, atrocities that defy description.

And if the morale of the Vietnamese, far from having weakened, has on the contrary grown stronger, this is not because of any mercy or restraint on the part of the U.S. military or their mercenaries. It is because the people are deeply confident of victory *despite* the savagery of the enemy and his technical superiority.

Vietnamese patriots foiled the American plan to "pacify South Vietnam in 18 months"



Volunteer fighter Nguyen Thi Bin is a member of an anti-aircraft gun crew.

Photo from the journal *Vietnam*

through the Ngo Din Diem quisling regime. The purpose of the plan was to herd the entire population into "strategic villages," isolate and destroy the patriotic forces and prepare the ground for an attack on the North. This plan was buried along with Ngo Din Diem at the end of 1963. At that time its author, General Taylor, was sent to South Vietnam as U.S. Ambassador in order personally to carry out at least part of his "special war" project. But he, too, was obliged to return home without accomplishing anything except to demonstrate the bankruptcy of U.S. policy in Vietnam. Now the war is being waged according to the "McNamara plan" which consists in turning the "special war" into a "local war," mainly by sharply increasing the numerical strength of the U.S. land forces and mercenaries from

other countries. The conduct of the war is now solely in the hands of the United States. But this plan too has fared no better than its predecessors: American losses after the first massed invasion in 1965 reached unprecedented proportions. Picked U.S. units—the first mobile air division, the 101st and 173rd airborne brigade and the 3rd brigade of the marines—suffered heavy losses in a series of battles. The Johnson-Ky conference in Honolulu in February was clearly intended to save this "plan" from total failure by stepping up the aggression. However to date these efforts too have not yielded any appreciable results.

How is it that a small country like Vietnam has been able for a number of years to foil the military plans of the strongest imperialist power in the world? How is it that to this day the war in Vietnam continues to be an "endless tunnel," as President Kennedy admitted in his time?

The chief reason is that the U.S. leaders, bent on carrying out their aggressive plans, cannot and will not admit that they are waging a dirty, unjust war against the Vietnamese people. Hoang Van Thai, who commanded the Vietnam People's Army at Dien Bien Phu and who is now deputy chief of the general staff, told us that after the French surrender at Dien Bien Phu, General de Castries said: "Now I can see our mistake. We thought we were only fighting your armed forces, not your entire people." This bitter lesson explains the far from flattering comments made by French government spokesmen about the military and political leaders of the United States. "They do not want to learn from our experience," the French say, "and so they too are having a bad time . . ."

The "special war" plans were drawn up by the Pentagon after a careful "study" of all available literature on the strategy of guerrilla warfare. The Pentagon strategists calculated that with a ten to one ratio of armed forces they were bound to win. Their calculations were checked by electronic computers. But their theories were found wanting.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam countered the Pentagon plan with the strategy of a peoples war. The people were not intimidated by the savagery and technical superiority of the imperialists, and the popular wrath evoked by the crimes of the aggressors became a new source of resolution and militant unity. This made it possible to avoid panic in the face of the modern weapons of the enemy, to size up the situation calmly and discover the chinks in the aggressors' armor which the specific conditions of Vietnam are constantly bringing to light—the jungles, which are difficult of access for those unfamiliar with them, the primitive communication network, and last but not least, the absence on the whole of a clearly defined front line, such as there was in Korea, for example.

These specific conditions enabled the liberation forces to use with advantage some original

methods of warfare and to turn the simplest arms into formidable combat weapons. The interweaving of "friendly" and "hostile" (from the standpoint of the invaders) areas substantially reduces the effectiveness of such inhuman means of warfare as poison gas and other toxic agents, bacteriological weapons, massed bombings etc., and makes it possible to impose on the enemy the tactic of close-range warfare and thus reduce or even nullify his superiority in aircraft and artillery. The operations of the invaders and their mercenaries are complicated by the fact that they are tied to bases where they are obliged to maintain a large force. In conducting "punitive expeditions" the U.S. troops depend almost entirely on helicopters and tanks whose maneuverability is extremely limited and are often ambushed and destroyed, thus placing the troops counting on their support in a critical position.

A feature of the liberation struggle is the ingenuity of the fighting forces, their ability to utilize every favorable opportunity to strike at the enemy. This is a reflection of the creative abilities of the masses. In this connection whenever mention was made in talks with military spokesmen in Hanoi concerning the Western claim that it is they who are leading the struggle in South Vietnam they would smile and say: "But that would simply be impossible. The liberation forces in the South employ so many new and original forms of struggle that our previous experience is inadequate for them."

In North Vietnam the struggle against U.S. aggression is likewise nationwide in character. So far the aggression against the DRV has been confined to air bombings. An important factor in strengthening the anti-aircraft defense has been the participation of the people, who destroy enemy planes by all available means, from rifles up to modern rocket missiles. In 1965 the United States lost 41 aircraft for every 1,000 missions over the DRV; the corresponding figure for U.S., British and French aircraft losses during the Second World War was nine. After the "pause in the bombing" early this year, the reorganized anti-aircraft defenses of the DRV inflicted further losses on the air intruders, a fact which, judging by reports in the Western press, aroused alarm in U.S. top military quarters.

The mass character of the Vietnam resistance has upset all the Pentagon's calculations on the magic effect of the 10:1 ratio. Even their ultra-modern military machine has failed to tip the scales in their favor. To come anywhere near this they would have to send about a million men to Vietnam, which is the equivalent of the total normal strength of U.S. ground forces. Clearly, the military position of the aggressor is not without its difficulties. This is not to say that the war is not causing enormous damage to the Vietnamese people. Nor does anyone doubt that the United States is capable of sowing death and destruction on an even greater scale. On the contrary, the Vietnamese

patriots believe that the struggle will grow more intense both as regards the fighting in the South and the repulsing of air attacks on the North.

Although the U.S. military exaggerate the significance of their technical superiority, it would be a mistake to conclude that the level of armament is of no importance for the Vietnamese liberation forces. The stepping up of hostilities by the Pentagon makes it imperative for the peace-loving nations to consider ways and means of ensuring the timely and adequate supply to the people of Vietnam of the weapons needed to deal still heavier blows to the aggressor.

Washington has had ample opportunity to realize that it is fighting a losing war, and to draw the obvious conclusion. No further efforts on their part to solve the Vietnamese issue by force of arms can alter the situation.

What is the present internal political situation in South Vietnam?

The prestige of the National Liberation Front as the sole lawful expression of the will of the South Vietnamese people is higher than ever. Since imperialist propaganda misrepresents the true nature of the National Liberation Front, it is necessary to explain that the Front is the mass organization of the national liberation movement of South Vietnam which unites all the democratic forces, parties and socio-political organizations representing the widest cross-section of the population. In its documents the Front has repeatedly declared its readiness to cooperate with any individual, party or religious organization pursuing the same goals. The aim of the Front is to put an end to the imperialist intervention, set up a national and democratic government that would ensure peace, freedom, democracy, neutrality and, subsequently, the peaceful reunion of the entire country. It is these aims that bourgeois propaganda seeks to conceal or distort with its talk about the "Vietcong" and the "Reds." The People's Revolutionary Party, the counterpart of the Party of Working People of Vietnam in the North, is but one of the many organizations which go to make up the NLF. The latter controls about 80 per cent of the territory of South Vietnam with a total population of from 10 to 14 million people. The proof of the prestige enjoyed by the Front is, of course, the active participation of the people in the liberation war under its leadership.

The liberation movement is a combination of political and armed struggle. This was strikingly manifested in the decisive phase of the struggle which led to the collapse of the enemy's plans to create "strategic villages." At one time the U.S. interventionists and Ngo Dinh Diem managed to fence off 8,000 of these villages, but today less than one quarter of them remain. The rest were abolished by the combined efforts of the local population and the liberation forces. This became possible mainly because the population agreed wholeheartedly with the stand adopted by the Front which op-

posed this plan and explained its true meaning to the people. The explanatory work conducted by the Front frequently had its effect on the troops of the Saigon puppets as well.

After liberation, the inhabitants of the "strategic" villages settled scores with their captors and set up democratic organs of power in the areas which, under Front leadership, introduced a number of democratic reforms, including an agrarian reform. The National Liberation Front turned over more than two million hectares of land to the peasants in the liberated areas.

The influence of the Front is not limited to the liberated areas. Since the frontiers between the liberated and non-liberated areas are frequently very fluid, members of the Front are able to organize mass actions against the local puppet and occupation authorities in districts temporarily controlled by the latter.

The Front also helps the population of both liberated and non-liberated areas to cope with their day-to-day problems. For example, when the Americans used toxic agents, the Front showed the peasants how to use the affected plants as fertilizer and advised them what crops to plant so as to make the best use of the remainder of the season. It constantly organizes assistance by neighboring districts to the war-ravaged areas and this has helped in large measure to strengthen confidence in the Front. The latter attaches much importance to such aid inasmuch as it shows the people that the fight for better conditions is linked with the struggle for freedom.

The Front's influence is spreading to the towns, although here its activity is strictly of a clandestine nature. Indirect evidence of the growth of its influence in the towns may be seen, for example, in the announcement by the U.S. occupation authorities of the collapse of strikes called for in NLF leaflets, regarding this as "proof" that the influence of the Front was declining. But anyone who took part in the liberation struggle against the Hitler occupation in Europe, for example, knows full well the worth of such "proof."

The National Liberation Front and its leadership includes numerous representatives of religious bodies—Buddhists, Catholics, Caodaists and others. The legal status of religious organizations in areas controlled by Saigon enables them to play a more or less active opposition role. The student organizations in the occupied part of the country also enjoy greater freedom of action than the working-class organizations and they are displaying increasing initiative against the pro-American regime and the occupation authorities. This mounting opposition is accompanied by a growing understanding of the Front's policy among the population.

The fact that Ky, an admirer of Hitler, has remained in power longer than his predecessors (13 successive rulers after Diem) is less an indication of the stability of the regime than of the fact that the United States fears the

consequences of a too frequent change of quislings.

A striking expression of the decadence of the Ky regime is the decline in the morale of its armed forces. In 1965 more than 50 battalions totalling more than 200,000 men were smashed by the liberation forces. Most of them surrendered or deserted.

One of the main objects of the sharp increase in U.S. armed forces in South Vietnam and the intensified bombing of the DRV was to prevent the demoralization of the Saigon army. But this move had the opposite effect. The demoralization of the puppet forces continues. The facts show that the steady increase in the number of U.S. troops is causing more and more South Vietnamese to accept the slogans of the National Liberation Front and to see on whose side and against whom they ought to fight.

By embracing the puppet dictator General Ky in Honolulu, President Johnson merely exposed himself still more in the eyes of the people and weakened the possibilities of U.S. policy in South Vietnam. Recent events show that the more the Washington rulers interfere in affairs in the South the worse it is for them even in the towns virtually occupied by them.

What role does the DRV and its socialist construction play in the struggle of the Vietnam people?

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established throughout the territory of Vietnam in September 1945. Despite the fact that the imperialists — first the French and later the Americans — later occupied considerable parts of the country, the DRV continued to exist. For the people it has always been that part of the country that has retained the freedom won at such a heavy price in 1945. That is why the people listen to "The Voice of Vietnam" (as the underground radio was known during the years of liberation struggle up to the August revolution and as the Hanoi radio is now called). The U.S. rulers have always closed their eyes to the changes that have taken place in Vietnam and hence they find it hard to admit that were the general elections envisaged by the Geneva Agreements to be held, Ho Chi Minh would poll no less than 80 per cent of the vote, as Eisenhower conceded in his memoirs. One American newspaper recently wrote that Ho Chi Minh is the only national leader of Vietnam.

It should not be forgotten that the demarcation line along the 17th parallel is completely artificial and temporary. It has no historical or national justification. And the fact, for example, that the brother of the former Saigon dictator Khan is working as an engineer in Hanoi shows how arbitrary and provisional the division of the country is.

During the years of their rule in Vietnam the colonialists constantly maintained that the Vietnamese are an inferior race, incapable of governing themselves. Even the Catholic Church had a special "God for whites," who was worshipped during morning service while the "colored" congregation was admitted to "their

God" in the evening. The colonialists circulated the theory that Vietnam was "unsuited" for industrial development. The DRV has demonstrated the fallacy of these contentions and hence from the very outset has played the role of a decisive national factor in the destinies of the population of Vietnam as a whole. The puppets in Saigon, who are constantly being replaced, neither could nor cared to play such a role. That is why, for instance, the Saigon regime did not figure in any of the documents signed at the Geneva conference in 1954 as a full fledged contracting party, and hence its representatives at the conference did not sign the Geneva Agreements.

The economic progress of the DRV is, therefore, also a national victory for the Vietnamese



"Work all-out to strengthen our anti-aircraft defence!"

Poster by Nguyen Tho, from the newspaper Nanh Dan

people. The DRV is the living proof that the people of Vietnam are indeed capable of managing their own affairs and leading the country along the path of social progress.

The objective necessity of social progress has determined the development of the democratic system established by the people along socialist lines. The Party of Working People has become the guiding force of this great social reform. It has been able to cope with this role because throughout the fight for freedom and progress it has been closely linked with the people and because it adheres to Marxism-Leninism.

In the course of the building of socialism, agriculture, the basic occupation, has been placed on a cooperative footing. Collective labor has demonstrated the advantages of cooperative farming, particularly as regards the construction of irrigation installations. Although modern farming techniques are still in the initial stage, collective labor has made it possible even with the traditional and often primitive implements to increase the number of crops harvested each year and substantially raise yields. This has enabled the people to make history by vanquishing famine which

plagued the peasant in the past. The terrible famines of 1933 and 1945 took a toll of nearly two million lives. Today even under the most unfavorable weather conditions such calamities are excluded.

Socialist industrialization has been launched in the DRV and with big success thanks to the aid rendered by the fraternal socialist countries. Exploitation of the republic's rich deposits of coal and minerals has been started and steps are being taken to develop light industries for the production of consumer goods. Today the groundlessness of the colonialist assertion that Vietnam is "unsuitable" for industrial development is obvious to all.

The economy of the DRV is developing along planned socialist lines. It goes without saying that this development is not unaffected by the U.S. aggression. In the circumstances it is obviously impossible for all the targets to be achieved. However to date the volume of industrial and agricultural production has been steadily rising.

The U.S. aggression has necessitated decentralizing industry and the entire economy. The evacuation and re-location of capacities has naturally hindered development, as has the induction into the armed forces of a large number of men. But the people are tackling these problems with the same energy and initiative that marks the liberation struggle in the South.

In the present situation the people regard South Vietnam as the nation's *front* and the North as its *rear*. This, too, largely determines the economic policy of the North.

The strengthening of the DRV is decisive for the victory of the Vietnamese people. Prior to 1959 the DRV repeatedly advanced proposals to the Saigon authorities for the peaceful reunion of the country in accordance with the Geneva Agreements. However Diem, acting on U.S. orders, rejected these proposals and called for a "march against the North." Hence the attempts of the United States to depict the present situation in Vietnam as the result of "North Vietnam aggression" are an utter distortion of the truth.

The people of the DRV consider it their sacred duty to support the patriotic struggle for the liberation of South Vietnam by all the means at their disposal. However this support is rendered not by dispatching North Vietnamese troops to the South, as U.S. propaganda claims. The government of the DRV and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam have made it clear that in the event of the expansion and intensification of the U.S. aggression they reserve the right to render each other whatever support and assistance they deem necessary.

How can peace be restored in Vietnam?

It goes without saying that the people of the U.S. aggression before it is too late. Vietnam want peace. How could it be otherwise in the case of a nation which has been waging an almost uninterrupted struggle

against foreign imperialists for nearly a quarter of a century? However it is also obvious that for the people of Vietnam peace is inseparably bound up with independence and the right to self-determination for which they have fought so selflessly over the years. Experience has taught them — and this experience commands respect — that continued foreign domination will not bring peace. It is a well known fact that in 1954-59, prior to the establishment of the National Liberation Front, the U.S. imperialists and their agents slaughtered 170,000 South Vietnamese patriots and that 400,000 still bear the marks of their torture.

And although the position of the NLF and the DRV is perfectly clear, imperialist propaganda is seeking to mislead world public opinion and making desperate efforts to lay the blame for the war on its victim. President Johnson's notorious "peace offensive" is a case in point. The natural mistrust of that "peace offensive" on the part of the DRV, which was fully confirmed by the subsequent actions of the United States, is now being used by Washington to assert that the government of the DRV rejects negotiations for a settlement of the issue and wants to continue the war at all costs.

Asked to what extent the DRV considers it possible to negotiate or to employ other peaceful means of settling the issue and on what conditions, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong replied: "There is no need to 'search' for peace. Peace is implicit in the four points of the DRV statement outlining the basic conditions of the Geneva agreements on Vietnam and also in the statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam of March 22, 1965."

Pham Van Dong referred also to President Ho Chi Minh's message to the heads of government of the various countries of January 24, 1966 which sets forth the only correct road to peace. "If the United States really wants a peaceful settlement, it must recognize the four-point stand of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and prove this by actual deeds; it must end unconditionally and for good all bombing raids and other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Only in this way can a political solution of the Vietnamese problem be envisaged."

Thus the assertion that the DRV rules out negotiations as a means of solving the issue are without any foundation. As regards negotiations, the question is: *What negotiations and on what conditions?*

The United States declares that it is willing to negotiate "unconditionally." But this is merely a clumsy subterfuge. Its proposals contain one very important condition, namely, that the negotiations must be conducted on the basis of recognition of the legitimacy of the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people, which means ignoring the proposals contained in the Geneva agreements — in other words, on the basis of equal recognition of the rights of the aggressor and his victim.

But no one has the right to expect the Vietnamese people to recognize the U.S. aggression as "legal" and thereby repudiate their right to sovereignty and national unity, a right internationally recognized in 1954.

In reply to the U.S. proposals for "unconditional" talks, the DRV openly and clearly demanded de facto recognition of the principles of the Geneva Agreements. In its four-point proposal it justly notes that there can be no question of any legitimacy of the aggression or ignoring of rights internationally recognized in Geneva.

In point of fact the demands contained in the DRV proposals are even narrower than those set forth in the Geneva Agreements. No time limit is set on any procedure for the national reunion of Vietnam. The proposals are concerned solely with the question of negotiations for the achievement of this goal.

Imperialist propaganda is also trying to mislead public opinion as regards the road to peace indicated by the DRV by alleging that the latter's proposals rule out any talks until the last U.S. soldier leaves Vietnam. But the United States has no right to dictate conditions to Vietnam. And it is only natural that the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Vietnam should be the condition and principal aim of negotiations. Anything else would be a breach of the Geneva Agreements.

In all its actions the leaders of the DRV have displayed a strong sense of responsibility for the cause of world peace. The Vietnam people see their struggle for freedom as part of the general struggle of the nations against the aggressive policy of imperialism and for preventing its aggression against others. The Vietnamese categorically reject the assertion that the DRV and the NLF welcome the U.S. escalation of the war, allegedly acting on the principle of "the worse the better." Political adventurism is alien to the leaders of the Vietnam people. They are pursuing an independent policy the purpose of which is to safeguard peace. Hence their determination *to defeat the U.S. aggression before it extends beyond South Vietnam.*

Regarding this goal as perfectly feasible, the Vietnamese leaders at the same time rely on international solidarity with their just struggle as an important factor for victory. They constantly stress the significance of the help rendered them by the peoples, and above all by the peoples and governments of the socialist countries (the decisive assistance rendered by the Soviet Union, for example, is obvious to anyone who visits Vietnam). The struggle has now entered a new stage. Peace-loving and democratic forces everywhere, and primarily the world Communist movement, should intensify their efforts in active and broad solidarity with Vietnam in order to bar the road to further U.S. aggression before it is too late.

The greatest danger at the moment is that the U.S. militarists may try to offset their defeats by escalating hostilities to a point the

consequences of which are difficult to foresee. International solidarity with Vietnam can and must avert this danger. By helping Vietnam the people of the world are defending their own vital interests, fighting for peace for themselves as well. Today the objective conditions exist for further activating and intensifying united action for peace which is inseparably linked

with all-round moral and material aid to heroic Vietnam.

Any step towards united action, which is the imperative need of our time, will be deeply appreciated above all in Vietnam. The people of the world must not disappoint the hopes of the people of Vietnam.

Hanoi.

Ib NORLUND

Bases for U.S. aggression

WASHINGTON IS appropriating dollars by the billions for the war in Vietnam. More and more divisions and armaments are being sent to South Vietnam. Vast sums are being spent also on the construction and reconstruction of ports, airfields and other military installations in South Vietnam, Thailand, on Taiwan, in the Philippines and in Japan.

Ever since SEATO was formed the U.S. military have assigned an important role in their aggressive plans in Southeast Asia to *THAILAND*. The Pentagon is now turning that country into its principal base for the war in Indochina. More than 13,000 U.S. servicemen are stationed there. The U.S. aircraft which have been bombing the DRV and parts of Laos controlled by the Pathet Lao are based in Bangkok, Takli, Korat, Ubon and Udon. Preparations are at present under way to station units of American land, air and naval forces there. A big air base is under construction in Rayong (150 km. south of Bangkok), and the air and naval ports in Sattahip (on the shores of the Gulf of Siam) are being modernized. U.S. army units in Thailand are building up armaments consisting of hundreds of motor vehicles and tanks, artillery and thousands of tons of munitions. Thailand has been assigned the role of springboard for the aggressive plans of the United States against Laos. According to a statement issued by the Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of Vietnam, these plans "provide for the occupation of Central and Southern Laos, turning them into a strategic connecting link between South Vietnam and Thailand."

At the same time the U.S. military are expanding and re-equipping the Thailand army and involving it in aggression against neighboring countries. Thailand pilots take part in air-raids over Vietnam and Laos. Thailand troops are transferred to Laos over strategic roads built by the Americans in the north and north-east of the country. In the beginning of May that government decided to send armed forces to South Vietnam.

But the people of Thailand, unwilling to allow their country to become an American baili-

wick, are protesting against the criminal actions of the corrupt ruling clique. Apprehensive of mass actions, the government has invited U.S. gendarme units to Thailand. Officers of the U.S. "special force" have already arrived and have begun to train "local experts" for operations against the guerrilla movement. They are also to be used to engineer sabotage and provocation in neighboring countries, specifically in Laos.

Since the beginning of the Vietnam war the United States has evinced a growing interest in *HONGKONG* which is part of the province of Kwangtung (CPR) but is still a British colony. The U.S. and British colonialists are using Hongkong as a base of operations against the independent countries of Asia. Hongkong docks and shipyards service ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. According to the Western press, besides civilian aircraft ten or twelve U.S. heavy military transport planes take off daily from the Hongkong airport carrying supplies and U.S. servicemen who come here to "rest and recuperate." In the past year and a half Hongkong has become an operational base for U.S. naval and air forces conducting the aggressive war in Vietnam.

With Britain's consent, the United States continues to use Hongkong as an anchorage for its warships, a repair base, for shore leaves, and for air shipment of troops and military supplies. This is borne out by facts cited in a statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on February 11. Among other things this document notes that in 1965 alone American warships called at Hongkong three hundred times. "These facts," states the document, "show that the British government has placed Hongkong at the disposal of the United States as a military base for aggression against Vietnam."

U.S.-occupied *TAIWAN*, which is part of the Chinese People's Republic, is also being used by the United States in the war against Vietnam. In the sixteen years since Chiang Kai-shek, under the protection of the U.S. armed forces, entrenched himself on the island, the

U.S. imperialists have with his aid turned it into a base for aggression against the socialist countries of Asia. Part of the \$27,000 million of U.S. military aid extended to Taiwan in the past 15 years has been used for the construction, with the help of U.S. troops, of a number of U.S. naval bases (e.g., in Kaohsiung and Penghu) and military airfields (in Sinchu, Chiai Tainan and elsewhere).

According to the *New York Times*, another air base (the biggest on Taiwan) is now being rushed to completion at Kung Kuan. It is intended for the speedy transfer of U.S. army personnel and equipment over long distances. Not long ago a squadron of Hercules C-130 turbo-prop transport planes, which can cover the distance between Taiwan and Vietnam in four hours, arrived here.

The Taiwan authorities have declared their full support of U.S. actions in Indochina. They have placed a number of additional important installations at the disposal of the U.S. army command for the transport of troops and supplies to Vietnam. They have repeatedly offered to send troops to South Vietnam, and have already dispatched auxiliary units.

Denouncing the plans of the U.S. military and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the newspaper *Nhan Dan* stresses that the United States is using Taiwan for the war against the Vietnamese people.

In the report of the Senate Armed Services Committee on additional appropriations for the Vietnam war, Okinawa and the entire territory of Japan figure as rear areas for the supply and support of the war. Okinawa, which is occupied by U.S. forces, serves as a base for the strategic bombers carrying out raids over Vietnam. The more than 200 American military bases in other parts of Japan (e.g., strategic bomber bases in Itazuke and Yokota) are also being used with increasing frequency for the same purpose. The Japanese port of Yokosuka is the chief operations base for the aircraft carriers of the U.S. Seventh Fleet whose planes bomb North and South Vietnam. Here they take on supplies and carry out repairs to damaged aircraft. Here, too, the crews of the warships and planes "relax" after their sanguinary work is done. The port of Sasebo is used to service U.S. nuclear submarines.

Japan, with its big industrial potential and situated close to the theatre of hostilities, is becoming an arsenal for the U.S. forces. Japanese firms make munitions for the American troops, fulfil orders for the delivery and repair of military equipment and ship U.S. military freights to Vietnam. Two Japanese concerns supply 90 per cent of the napalm dropped by U.S. planes over Vietnam.

In connection with the escalation of the war American purchases of Japanese goods and services are growing. According to the *Japan Times*, they rose in January by \$1,053,000 to a total of \$4,764,000. The sum of \$360 million has been earmarked for expenditures of this kind under the U.S. budget for the 1967 fiscal year.

The Japanese monopolies render economic aid to the Saigon puppets. In 1965 they supplied them with two million dollars' worth of goods. In February this year the Japanese government under U.S. pressure allocated \$200,000 to Saigon for payment of deliveries to South Vietnam, and another \$555,000 are to be allocated for the shipment of a Japanese medical mission to Saigon. Japanese technical experts are taking part in the construction of air bases in South Vietnam.

The policy of involving Japan in America's aggressive war in Southeast Asia has aroused the concern of the peaceful neighboring countries. A memorandum issued by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on February 17 stressed that "the United States is increasingly treating Japanese territory as one of its main rear and transshipment bases, relying on the industrial and manpower resources of Japan for extending the aggression in Vietnam."

The policy pursued by the Japanese rulers, a policy fraught with misfortune for the Japanese people, impelling the country onto the path of militarization and endangering its peace and security, has evoked the indignation of the Japanese people. The actions against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, for the dismantling of the more than 200 U.S. military bases, against the complicity of the Sato government in the war in Vietnam, against the entry of U.S. nuclear vessels to Japanese ports, and against the proposed visit to Japan of Ky, head of the Saigon puppet regime, are seen by the Japanese people not only as a manifestation of solidarity with the people of Vietnam, but as their internationalist duty to the people of the Asian countries battling for independence and for peace. The people of Japan are waging this struggle in various ways — by public meetings and demonstrations and by refusing to load American military freighters bound for Vietnam. This struggle is linked with the struggle against the Japan-South Korean agreements which virtually represent a military bloc of the U.S. imperialists, the Sato government and the puppet regimes of South Korea and Taiwan.

The United States is making extensive use of its military base on the *Philippines* for the war in Vietnam. The government, which is bound to the United States by its SEATO commitments, is aiding U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, involving its country more and more in the war in Vietnam. Of late under Washington's pressure it has been striving to get Parliament to agree to the dispatch of a battalion of engineers to South Vietnam to assist in the construction of U.S. military bases there.

The puppet regime of Pak Chon Hi in *SOUTH KOREA* serves as a supplier of cannon fodder for Washington. A division of South Korean mercenaries is already in South Vietnam, and another division is on its way, bringing the total of South Korean troops up to 40,000.

The ring of U.S. military bases in the immediate vicinity of the scene of hostilities in Indochina is supplemented by a broad network

of strongpoints in *AUSTRALIA*, *NEW ZEALAND* and other more remote areas. To these are added the British military base in Malaysia and Singapore with their 50,000-strong garrison which the U.S. regards as substantial reinforcements in the pursuit of its military designs.

By involving their military-bloc allies in their war of aggression, the U.S. imperialists are creating a serious threat to the security and

sovereignty of other countries and are aggravating world tensions.

The Vietnam gamble of U.S. imperialism has earned the condemnation of all progressive, democratic forces throughout the world. The forces of peace and progress can and must form a united front to bring an end to the U.S. war in Vietnam!

Jan PRAZSKY

HEROES OF THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNISM

A life dedicated to lofty ideals

MY EYES FILL WITH TEARS AS I WRITE these lines.

On May 7 the heart of Carlos Luis Fallas—



the Comrade Calufa we all loved so dearly—ceased to beat.

Costa Rica's "Proletarian No. 1," he traversed the long road from plain workingman to his country's greatest writer.

"All those who have come in contact with Fallas know he is a born story-teller," the noted Costa Rican poet Carlos Luis Saenz said during the celebrations held to honor Fallas when he was awarded the national Magon Literary Prize for 1965. "Thanks to this gift and to his selfless devotion to his ideals he performed the miracle of *Mamita Yunai*."*

For us Fallas was not only an artist. He was

*This novel was in effect the author's report to our Party on the fulfilment of an extremely difficult assignment he carried out during an election campaign in Limon Province.

not one of those men of letters for whom art exists for its own sake. Besides literary excellence, his writings are marked by a vibrant, active humanity. His *Mamita Yunai*, *Gentes y Gentecillas*, *Marcos Ramirez* and *Mi Madrina* are deeply rooted in his own life and the life of his people. Indeed, he was the personification of the people. A rebel risen in defense of justice, his writings are a fearless indictment of the oppressors and exploiters, a call to action, a message of hope for a better future for his native land, a better world. They light the way to a radical change in the life of our people and of the whole world.

In Fallas we have lost not only a writer, but

Memorial to Luis Emilio Recabarren, founder of the Communist Party of Chile and organizer of the working-class movement of that country, on one of the main squares of Santiago. The memorial, which was unveiled on April 29, is by Samuel Roman Rojas, winner of the National Art Prize. The decision to erect it was adopted by Parliament on a motion introduced by the Communist M.P.'s



also a great citizen. Literature was for him his mission in life, a duty to himself, his conscience, his chosen vocation and his people. He was wholly dedicated to the service of his native Costa Rica both when writing his re-

markable novels and when fighting in the forefront of the masses.

Arnoldo Ferreto, who worked together with Fallas in the revolutionary movement for 34 years, said: "It is with a sense of pride that we pay tribute to our comrade, a member and outstanding leader of the Communist Party, a great writer, a fearless and highminded champion of the cause of the working class. When the hour of our complete liberation strikes, his literary and revolutionary work will have yielded the fruit for which we all are longing."

Fallas died at the age of 57, two weeks after the public celebrations in his honor of which he learned when already seriously ill. His body lay in state at our Party headquarters in San José where for 36 hours a constantly changing

guard of honor of workers, peasants, intellectuals and the youth paid him last tribute.

Bidding Fallas farewell, Manuel Mora Valverde, General Secretary of the People's Vanguard Party, said: "Your ever youthful Party pledges itself to carry on the fight for socialism in your country, the fight to which you dedicated your fruitful life."

Fallas won the esteem not only of the people of Costa Rica. His *Marcos Ramirez*, for instance, was awarded the Faulkner Prize as one of the fourteen best novels written in Latin America.

The memory of Carlos Luis Falas will live forever in the hearts of our people.

Luciano FERRETO

Austria and West-European integration

USEFUL THOUGH THE current discussion of developments in contemporary capitalism is, one should be on guard against making sweeping generalizations concerning one or another trend or qualifying its consequences as inevitable.

It seems to me that this danger was not fully taken into account by Fernand Nicolon in his article "West-European Integration: Trends and Contradictions." For his conclusions concerning Austria can hardly be described as correct. (see WMR, November 1965.)

I should like to dwell solely on these conclusions without going into detail on the issue of Austria and the EEC.

Nicolon says: "On the other hand, the establishment of the two blocs and the adoption of a common external tariff by the Six had serious consequences for Denmark and Austria, the bulk of whose trade was with West Germany. Both of these countries have come under heavy competitive pressure from the EEC, while being unable to benefit fully from the expansion of the market in the Community. For instance, Austria, 56 per cent of whose trade is with the EEC and only 16 per cent with the EFTA countries, has had to increase its imports from the Common Market area by 70 per cent although its exports have grown by only 45 per cent. In 1958-64 Denmark's exports to Federal Germany increased by 20 per cent while its imports grew by 90 per cent. Moreover, about 20 per cent of Danish foreign trade is with Federal Germany.

"This state of affairs explains why both Austria and Denmark are anxious to enter into treaty arrangements with the EEC at the earliest possible moment . . ."

This view follows from the basic conclusion drawn by Nicolon on West-European integration: "Economic integration of Western Europe is an urgent necessity dictated by the development of science, technology and the productive forces, and by the growing socialization of production."

Unquestionably, factors such as the technological revolution, scientific progress and concentration of capital have made internationalization of economic life the main trend in the present-day world economy, "inevitably" giving

rise to new supra-national organizational forms. The EEC is certainly the most striking example. But the factors making for supra-natural coordination do not abolish the laws of capitalism, such as the law of growing contradictions, or the tendency for the stronger capitalist powers to subordinate the weaker; the measures aimed at coordination cannot do away with the unevenness of economic development under capitalism, nor can they prevent economic factors from operating on the national plane. There is a great deal of evidence that the trend towards supra-natural coordination is counteracted by a tendency towards the growth of contradictions. Nor should the political factors be underestimated; they surely must be taken into account. No one will venture to maintain that the EEC is simply the economic outgrowth of the expansion of the productive forces since the Second World War. Its founders have never denied that political considerations played their part, nor have they denied that they are pursuing political aims.

If factors operating against the basic tendency are underestimated or not taken into account, the EEC influence on neighboring countries is bound to be incorrectly assessed.

The economic and political processes under way in the EEC undoubtedly pose new problems for its neighbor countries. And Austria, with its EEC-oriented foreign trade, is particularly affected. Hence the weighty economic considerations which, in the aggregate, could be assessed as evidence of gravitation towards the EEC. Two reasons for joining have been cited. One is the extensive market offered by the EEC, and the other, fear of discriminatory tariff policies.

Developments since 1959 permit us concretely to establish whether these motives are justified or not.

In 1958-64 Austria's exports to the EEC countries increased by 51 per cent. In other words, growth of export trade was not checked. It has been said that the rate of growth was far too slow, and that this can be taken as an indication of the detrimental effect allegedly caused by non-affiliation. This argument, however, is refuted by the fact that in the same period such non-EEC countries as Switzerland, Swe-

den and Britain increased their exports to the Common Market by 80, 90 and 100 per cent respectively. Moreover, statistical data can hardly be invoked without some deciphering. For exports to the EEC do not go through Brussels but are governed by bilateral arrangements between the countries concerned. If this is taken into account it will be readily seen that trade with the various EEC countries is developing unevenly and is marked by contradictory trends, whereas the overall figure for the Community merely indicates the average.

Austrian exports to the EEC countries would have shown a bigger increase had not our deliveries to Italy declined. The reasons for this are to be found not in the influence exerted by the EEC as such but in the specific problems of the Italian trade structure.

Experience has even more convincingly refuted the argument about fear of discrimination. It should be stressed that all sections of the population in Austria (regardless of whether they were for or against entry into the EEC) had anticipated that discriminatory measures would reduce the export of goods sensitive to customs barriers. But this has not been the case. For example, in 1959-62 the export from Austria of the basic means of production sensitive to customs duties increased more than internal trade in the EEC, whereas timber, cellulose and steel exports dropped although these items are either duty-free or subject to very low tariffs.

If we make a study of the export curve from the standpoint of the reasons for the expansion or shrinkage of marketing opportunities, it will be seen that business fluctuations and the competition of third countries for the EEC market remain the main determinants which in all circumstances play a bigger role than discriminatory measures. This is also the view of the Austrian Economic Research Institute.

An idea of what the future may bring can be obtained on the basis of an analysis of the recent past. Interesting in this respect is the extent of discrimination *after* the complete abolition of internal tariffs and the full implementation of a common EEC external tariff. This will take place either this year or next. Data released on exports for 1962 (figures are available only for that year) give the following picture: Six per cent of Austria's exports to the EEC countries was not subjected to discrimination, while 54 per cent was affected to a negligible extent, 31 per cent encountered moderate barriers and nine per cent serious obstacles.

On this basis it can be estimated that losses caused by discrimination would amount to roughly 2,000 million schillings annually, i.e., six per cent of the value of all exports or two per cent of the value of the industrial output.

A rise in business activity and possible counter-measures would of course reduce the loss.

Austrian trade statistics show that exports to the European Free Trade Area, the socialist countries and the developing countries, are on the increase. All Austrian economic circles agree that the opportunities for expansion are greatest in trade with the socialist countries. The problem of spreading our export trade farther afield, while channeling a part to West Germany, has been for Austria a key foreign trade issue. In relation to the EEC, spreading out of our exports is an effective measure against discrimination.

From this standpoint, too, it is clear that economically Austria's association with the EEC is neither necessary nor inevitable.

Another set of related problems concerns the likely economic consequences for Austria in the event of joining the EEC. The conclusion reached in 28 branches of the economy in which the point was studied is that association with the EEC is a "very doubtful" proposition.

If we take full account of all the basic factors of modern capitalist development, an examination of Austria's economic situation suggests that the best solution in the matter of relations with the EEC would be a trade treaty with the latter.

Understandably, this solution is regarded, above all abroad, as being incompatible with the line of the government, which is anxious to strike a bargain with Brussels. But the two are contradictory only to the extent to which political aims clash with the economic reality, as often happens in the capitalist countries.

Opposition to the policy of orientation on the EEC is growing in Austria. Association is resisted for both economic and political reasons by many businessmen, manufacturers and agricultural interests as well as by the majority of those bearing responsibility for the nationalized enterprises.

Government policy, however, is determined by the extreme Right in the People's Party, which acts on behalf of that section of the Austrian bourgeoisie which orientates on Federal Germany. Consequently, Austria's "striving" to enter the EEC is due almost wholly to political motives. The fact is that an influential group of the Austrian bourgeoisie fears it will not be able to strengthen and extend its domination in a neutral, demonstratively independent Austria. By joining the EEC, with an eye above all to Anschluss with West Germany, the big capitalists in Austria hope to change the balance of class forces. At the same time the big bourgeoisie know full well that they will have to pay a price for this, and that the price will be economic defeat. But for the sake of achieving their political aims, they are willing to accept the inevitable emasculation of neutrality which this would involve.

Alfred RUSCHITZKA

Vienna

From feudalism to socialism

A SHORT HISTORY of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party,* prepared by the Institute of Party History, is a first attempt to review and generalize the experience of the struggle for the non-capitalist way of development and to give a scientific survey of the Party's history beginning with the first revolutionary study groups up to our day.

The People's Revolutionary Party arose as a purely peasant party in a backward, cattle-raising country which had no industrial working class. Its inception was directly prompted by the influence of the emancipation ideas of the October Revolution and by contact with the revolutionary world movement through the Communist International and the CPSU. The support rendered by the latter was decisive for the development of the Party.

In talks with representatives of revolutionary Mongolia in 1920 and 1921, Lenin advised about the formation of the Party, and the prospects of the people's revolution. The correct path for the working people of Mongolia, he said, was that of state and economic independence in alliance with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. Lenin enlarged on the possibility of the non-capitalist way and expressed the view that a new, non-capitalist economy would emerge from the islets of the new economic structure built by the Party and the State.

The Party was officially formed in March 1921 at the First Congress. In its first program it charted the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks of the Mongolian revolution.

The authors of the *Short History*, drawing on a wealth of factual material, trace the Party's efforts to establish a provisional people's government, organize partisan units and armed uprising of the people during the period of the preparation and carrying out of the revolution.

The people's revolution of 1921, which wrested the country from the imperialist colonial system and cleared the way for non-capitalist development, was a component of the world revolution. In character and in motive forces it was, as the *Short History* notes, an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution of a new type. The revolutionary contacts with Soviet Russia were a special form of alliance of the peasantry and the working class

which made possible the victory of the revolution and the advance along the non-capitalist path.

The rule of the people which followed the victory of the revolution was a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the peasantry. This dictatorship, which aimed at carrying out revolutionary changes, was a variation of the peasant councils.

At its Third Congress in August 1924 the Party advanced the thesis of the non-capitalist way, defining it as follows: "Mongolia should not repeat the road of capitalist oppression traversed earlier by other countries, but should go ahead in the spirit of genuine government by the people in keeping with present-day world development." The proclamation of the people's republic in November 1924 and the adoption of a democratic Constitution testified to the further deepening of the revolution.

The basic result of the democratic stage of the revolution (1921-1940) was the achievement of independence and the establishment of a sovereign state, the abolition of the feudal socio-economic and political system, settlement of the Lama issue, elimination of the influence of the reactionary clergy and the exclusion of foreign merchant and usurer capital. With the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union's industry, modern transport facilities and communications were developed. State farms, machine and cattle raising stations and producer cooperatives were organized. A working class and intelligentsia began to take shape. The national culture received every encouragement.

The *Short History* shows that the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the peasantry underwent fundamental changes as the democratic revolution gradually grew into a socialist revolution, and began to carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Tenth Congress of the Party (March 1940) noted that the Mongolian People's Republic had entered upon a new stage in its development, that of the gradual building of a socialist society. This necessitated the adoption of a new Constitution which legislatively confirmed the gains of the people over the period since the adoption of the first Constitution.

During the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against the Hitler invaders, the fraternal friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet

*"Mongol Ardyn Huvsgalt namyn товч туук," Ulan Bator, 1965, 290 pp.

people became closer. Together with the USSR, Mongolia fought against Japanese imperialism in 1945, and in the postwar years against the cold war policy initiated by international imperialism, and made its modest contribution to the development and consolidation of the socialist world system.

With the rise of this system socialist construction in Mongolia proceeded apace. Since 1948 the country has been developing its economy and culture on the basis of long-range plans. The first and second five-year, and the three-year, plans (1948-1960) were successfully completed.

At the end of the fifties the Party, basing itself on Lenin's cooperative plan, and taking into account the specific features of Mongolia, accomplished the task of organizing the herdsmen in cooperatives. With the transition to cooperative farming socialist production relations became predominant in all spheres of the country's economy.

As a result of these changes Mongolia, in the past one of the most backward countries of the East, made a leap forward, becoming an agrarian-industrial socialist country with a rapidly developing economy and culture. The *Short History* notes that the experience of the Party, which ensured the transition from feudalism to socialism without passing through capitalism, is a valuable contribution to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism, to the collective experience of the world Communist movement.

Ever anxious to promote unity and indissoluble fraternal ties with the Communist parties and peoples of the socialist countries, and also with the fraternal parties in other countries, the People's Revolutionary Party actively participated in the 1957 and 1960 Meetings of repre-

sentatives of Communist and Workers' parties, and is sparing no effort to cement the unity of the entire socialist community and of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Fourteenth Congress, held in 1961, pointed out that Mongolia was now rounding off the building of socialism. The main task was to complete the work of building the material and technological base of socialism. Carrying out the decisions of the Fourteenth Congress the people demonstrated their unity with the Party, their devotion to the cause of socialism and readiness to bend every effort to achieve its triumph.

Mongolia's entry into the Council for Mutual Economic Aid in 1962 opened new possibilities for its development and prosperity. The MPR has enhanced its prestige on the world arena. It has rightfully taken its place in the United Nations Organization.

The closing chapter of the *Short History* summarizes the glorious road traversed by the Party, reviews the basic features of one of the militant detachments of the international Communist and working-class movement. It has not been an easy road. In conditions of bitter class struggle the Party had to overcome the heritage of economic and cultural backwardness and the numerous survivals of feudalism. At all stages in building the new life the Party never swerved from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, from its general line. The result is the transformation of Mongolia, formerly one of the most backward countries of the colonial East, into a country with a modern industry, large-scale mechanized agriculture and a rising level of culture.

L. SANZHAA

The murderers of Alberto Lovera shall be punished!

IT HAPPENED AT THE END OF OCTOBER last year, in the center of Caracas near the modern buildings of University City, which adorn the capital of Venezuela. The secret police of the Leoni government were carrying out one of their classical operations: they stopped a car in which, according to the information of a contemptible informer, a revolutionary was riding.

Passers-by paid but scant attention to what was happening. After all, Venezuelans are accustomed to seeing the secret police committing excesses in the streets in accordance with ex-dictator Betancourt's motto: "shoot first and investigate afterwards." The men from the sinister Digepol, operating as has now been established under the direct command of U.S. instructors, performed their job. This time, however, there was no shooting. Orders were to get their man alive—the torturers were waiting to extract information from their victim.

This scene, one of many such dramas taking place in our country, triggered a chain of events which culminated in one of the most monstrous political crimes committed in Latin America in recent years. But, it was only months later that the public learned of this tragedy, the first act of which was the arrest of Alberto Lovera, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Venezuela.

A member of the Political Bureau, Alberto Lovera came from the midst of the young working class of Venezuela, from its most important contingent — the oil workers. From this class and particularly this contingent came revolutionary leaders like Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Party, recently released after two and a half years' imprisonment. Although Jesus Faria enjoyed parliamentary immunity he was arrested in 1963 together with other revolutionary leaders on the orders of Betancourt who wanted to ensure the election of his successor Leoni. The same order of arrest also included the name of Alberto Lovera. Lovera, however, managed to get away, remaining underground until his arrest on that October evening in 1965.

The Communist Party of Venezuela is a

party in which Faria and Lovera, representatives of the workers, are not exceptions. We see this from the biographies of Luis Emiro Arrieta, Donato Carmona and Jose Gregorio Rodriguez, who were recently fiendishly tortured to death, of Max Garcia, who perished in tragic circumstances a few years ago. Or take Eloy Torres, one of the outstanding leaders of the trade union movement in Venezuela, also a member of the Political Bureau of the Party, arrested four years ago and illegally sentenced to many years imprisonment by a special military tribunal. His life, too, is in danger; his health is being sapped by the conditions in the penal colony on Tacarigua Island (built along the lines of the Hitler concentration camps).

The statement is often made (and sometimes thoughtlessly repeated by our friends) that the leading role in the Venezuelan revolutionary movement is played by people who are not proletarians. The fact is that the leading core of this movement, which has set itself the aim of winning national freedom, is the Communist Party. And this Party has every right to call itself the party of the working class not only because of its ideology but also because of the decisive role played in its leading committees by men like Alberto Lovera.

The Venezuelan working class can indeed be proud of these leaders. It can also be proud of the leaders who have come from other groups of the population, men who have proved their boundless loyalty and devotion to the working class, dedicating their lives to its cause and selflessly championing its interests.

* * *

Leoni's police apparently knew how important a revolutionary leader Alberto Lovera was. True, he was not so well known to the masses, to those who did not keep abreast of the political life in the country. Comrade Lovera lived modestly and simply. Posing and bombastic speech-making were alien to him. He was a remarkable organizer. During the years of the Jimenez dictatorship (1948-1958)

he acquired much experience in underground work. He actively participated in the January uprising in Caracas which obliged the army to come out against the hated dictator. After the overthrow of the dictatorship Lovera became organizational secretary of the Caracas Party regional committee, and later its political secretary. In March 1961, the Third Congress of the Party, in recognition of the revolutionary services of Comrade Lovera, by then a member of the Central Committee, elected him to the Political Bureau. That is why his name figured together with those of 14 other comrades on the order of arrest issued in the autumn of 1963. The present Minister of the Interior, Gonzalo Barrios, an anti-Communist of long standing, but who is considered to be an "intellectual," must have known that a man of the calibre of Alberto Lovera would never betray his comrades. So by placing Lovera in the hands of torturers well acquainted with all the barbarous methods presently used in Venezuela to extract so-called confessions from arrested revolutionaries, Leoni was dooming him to a terrible death.

We still do not know all the details of the torture to which Lovera was subjected. However, it has been fully established that the torture was the direct cause of his death. The reports that appeared in the newspapers read like a horror story. The spine and many bones were fractured, the jaw smashed. A heavy weight was attached to the corpse evidently intended to keep it at the bottom of the sea. The fingers were chopped off evidently to prevent possible fingerprint identification. Pieces of skin were torn off the head.

The public learned some of the details of this crime four months after the disappearance of Lovera. At the beginning of March 1966 Venezuelan newspapers published the sensational news that the corpse found at the end of October 1965 near a famous beach in the eastern part of the country was finally identified by the so-called Judicial Technical Police (PTJ) as that of Alberto Lovera. This report coincided with a political crisis as a result of which the National Democratic Front (FND), one of the parties of the "broadly based" coalition, decided to withdraw from the Leoni government.

Many questions arise concerning the motives for this unexpected exposure of the government by one of the sections of the police.

Why, for example, did the "Technical Police" take so long to identify the corpse when it has all the necessary medical means to do so in the course of hours or at most in the course of days? Why was the murder reported only on the eve of the government crisis?

The people know that the "Technical Police" exposure is explained by the rivalry between the two sections of the police. Digepol, the political police, is controlled exclusively by the Democratic Action party, the party of Betancourt, Leoni and Barrios. The PTJ, on the other hand, which comes under the Ministry of Jus-

tice, not the Ministry of the Interior, has always been the bailiwick of the ministers belonging to the Copei and FND parties. The PTJ apparently wanted to help Uslar Pietri, the FND leader, shed all responsibility for the murder of Lovera. In all likelihood the Minister of Justice, Ramon Escovar Salom, a FND member, knew whose corpse had been found but preferred to keep silent until his withdrawal from the government.

The PTJ confined itself to a statement identifying the corpse and saying that Lovera had been murdered. Although the whole of Venezuela knows that Lovera perished at the hands of the Digepol, the PTJ has still not decided to publish all it knows about the case. Opposition members in Parliament are insisting on a full investigation in order to establish exactly who is responsible for the crime. The demand has been made to disband the Digepol immediately.

The political storm raised by this killing threatens to destroy Barrios' chances of becoming president. His complicity in the crimes of Digepol has earned him the same universal contempt of the Venezuelan public that his predecessor Carlos Andres Perez evoked at the time of the Betancourt regime. In an attempt to shield themselves, Barrios and his subordinate Patino Gonzalez, chief of Digepol, tried to ascribe the crime to the Communists, spreading the time-worn canard that "it was a case of a Communist deviating from the Party line and being punished by his own comrades." This is an old method of the fascist police.

Some venal pen-pushers in the service of government propaganda went even further, "clarifying" that "at first Lovera had been an advocate of 'hard line'; that afterwards he had joined the 'soft-liners' and, evidently had been killed by his comrades because of this." They go on to say that this supposed change in Lovera's attitude took place after his visit to Havana in November 1964 as representative of the Communist Party of Venezuela at the Conference of the Latin American Communist Parties.

In ordinary circumstances this monstrous explanation would simply not merit an answer. But since both overt and covert enemies of the Communist Party have been trying of late to capitalize on the rumors about a split in our ranks, the author of these lines considers it his duty to state the following: both before and after the said conference he had had long talks with Alberto Lovera and there was absolutely no question of Lovera having changed his generally known and firm position, that of struggle for the national liberation of our country.

In answer to the fabrications of enemy propaganda, the Communist Party leaders detained in San Carlos prison declared in a statement recently published in the weekly *Que*: "There are no bellicose trends in the Communist Party of Venezuela, or advocates of such

trends. Our Party has always favored peace between Venezuelans. . . . In the CPV there are neither 'hard line' nor 'soft line' advocates, because its line is determined by its Central Committee, and our organization is guided by principles which distinguish it as the party of a conscious and disciplined working class."

Venezuelan Communists learned of the death of Comrade Lovera with deep pain. For us his loss is a particularly heavy blow.

By shielding the criminals who killed our comrade, the government has become an accomplice in this crime and has drawn the suspicion upon itself that the murder was carried out on its direct orders. The democratic and revolutionary movement in the country, which has the support of progressive world public opinion, is demanding that the murderers be punished and that the policy of crimes be ended. In the forefront of this campaign is the widow of Comrade Lovera, Maria Alvarez de Lovera who, with the support of such fine representatives of the people in the Chamber of Deputies as Jose Vicente Rangel and Jose Herrera Oropeza and also of the militant Caracas weekly *Que*, the only true independent legal newspaper in Venezuela, is fight-

ing to make the truth about the tragic death of her husband known to all.

In an attempt to evade the responsibility, the Leoni government decided to "close the case" by consenting to the arraignment of self-styled "Captain" Vegas, one of the most hated policemen, and accepting the resignation of the main culprit, Digepol chief Patino Gonzalez.

In its statement of March 7, circulated throughout the country, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party stated with good reason: "It is necessary to launch a nationwide campaign involving all who loathe the practice of torture and murder, a campaign demanding not only a full inquiry into the circumstances of the crime committed against our comrade, but also the immediate dissolution of Digepol and other legalized criminal gangs who keep the country in a state of constant terror, the immediate expulsion of CIA agents and the closing of the Cachipo, Cabure, El Tocuyo and Tacarigua concentration camps. All political prisoners must be released, terror ended once and for all and legality restored at all levels.

"If the death of Alberto Lovera will help to further this broad movement of condemnation, his sacrifice will not have been in vain."

J. CARRERA

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