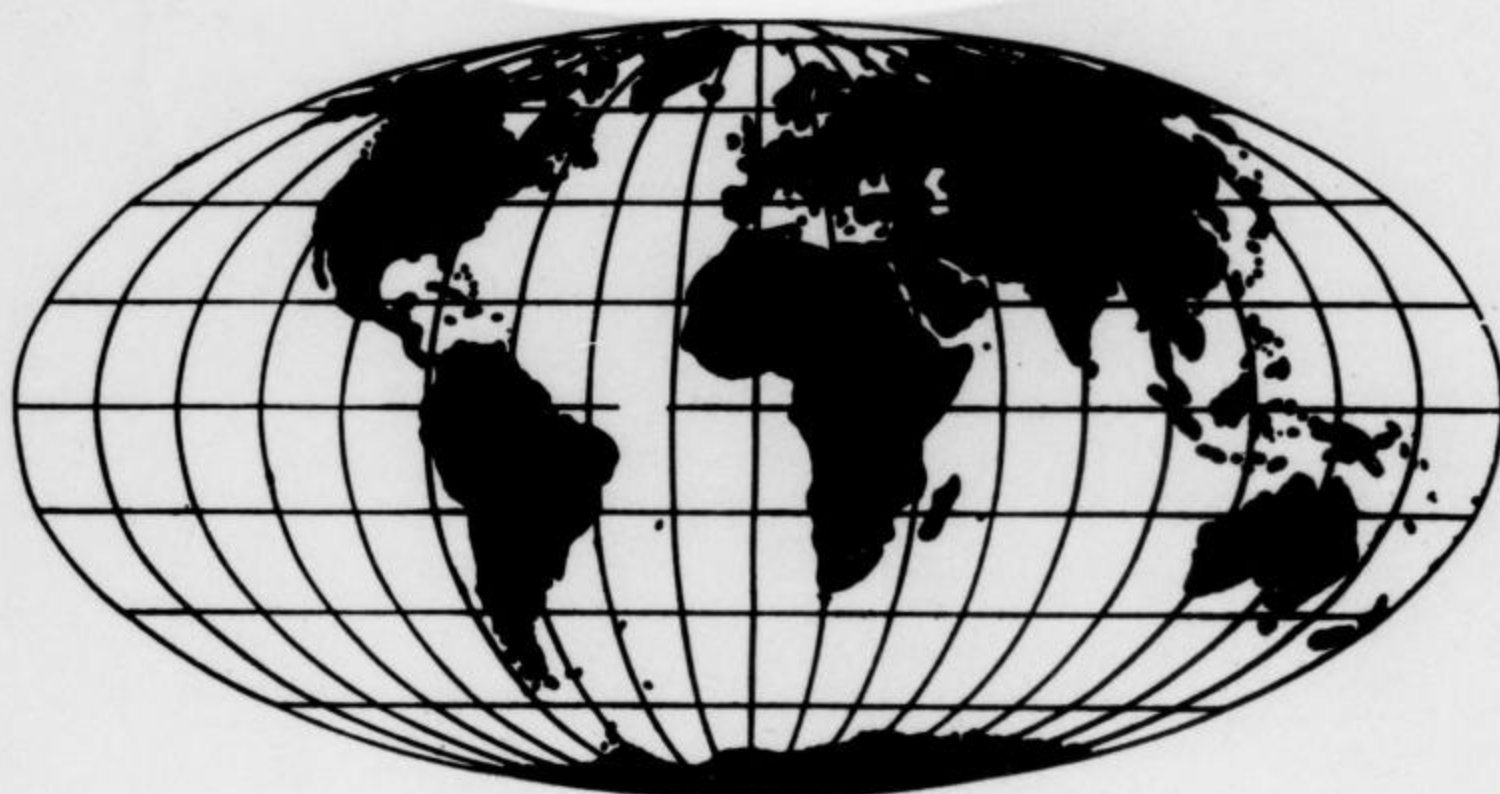


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of peace and socialism



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OCTOBER AND THE WORLD
REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

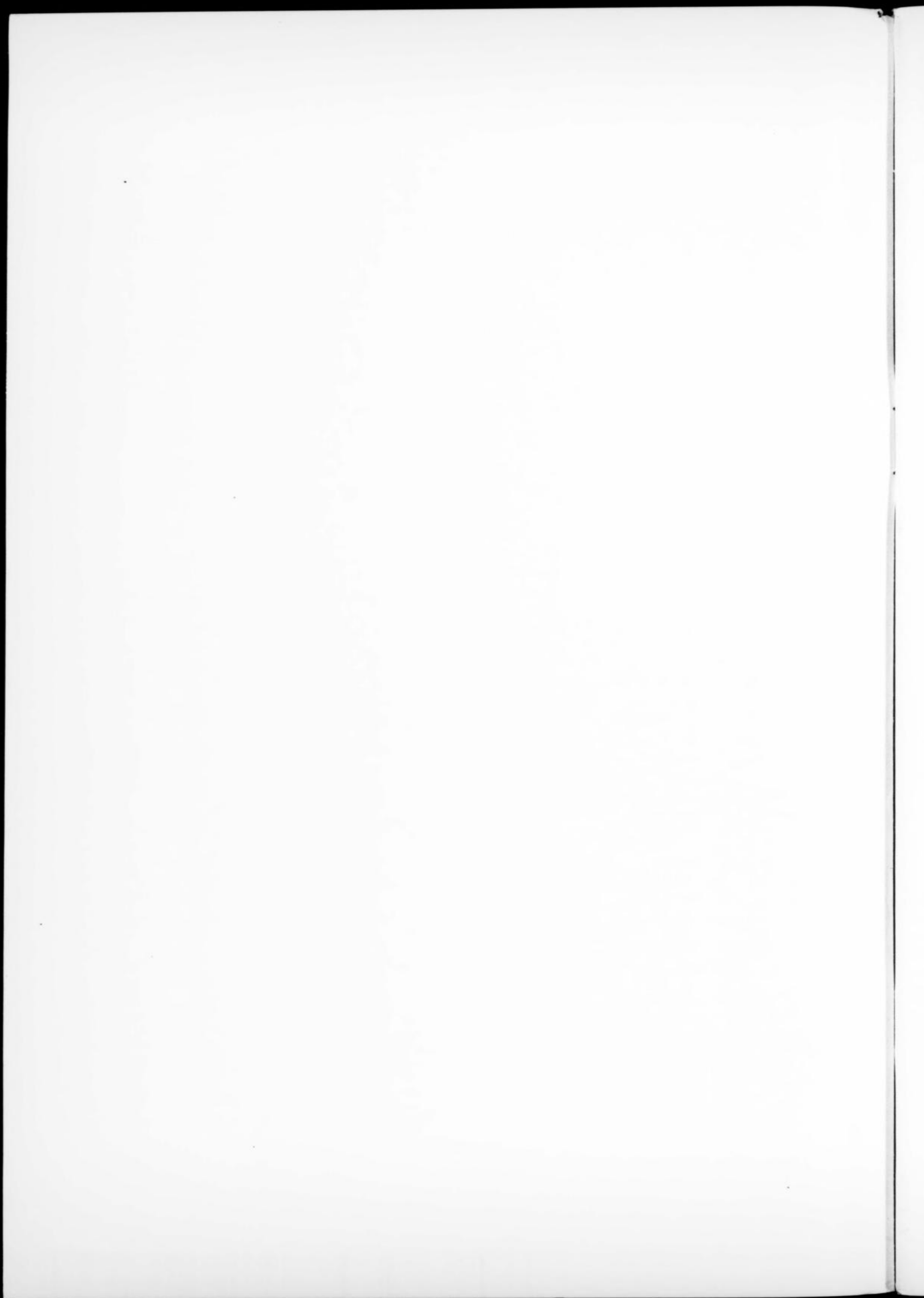
Finnish Communists
and the government

—A. Saarinen

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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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Preventing imperialist aggression: opportunities and tasks

IB NORLUND

"THE TIME HAS COME WHEN the attempts by the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed." That conclusion, set out in the 81-party Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting, is based on an analysis of the world's new social forces—the socialist system, the national and anti-imperialist movement, and the working class and people of the capitalist countries. And the Moscow meeting mapped out the strategy needed to "deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time."

These new social forces have grown since 1960 and there is every reason to anticipate continued development of this strategy. For it is in the vital interests of the peoples to stay the hand of imperialism and prevent it from plunging mankind into the hell of nuclear war.

Recent developments prompt one to reflect on how this aim is to be achieved. The new and more dangerous manifestations of imperialist aggressiveness add urgency to the question of ways and means of preventing imperialist war. And the question cannot be answered by general disquisitions; it requires concrete examination and precise formulation of attitudes and tasks in the battle for peace.

In one of his last articles, "Notes on the Tasks of Our Delegation at the Hague," written in 1922, Lenin deals with problems of this kind in the light of the experience of the anti-war struggle. His starting point is that "on the question of combating the danger of war . . . I think that the greatest difficulty lies in overcoming the prejudice that this question is a simple, clear and comparatively

easy one." That statement retains all its validity today. Empty phrasemongering, which Lenin ridicules in this article, is still an impediment to organized and effective struggle against imperialist aggression. Phrasemongering and an oversimplified approach have their Rightist and Leftist varieties. Both are harmful, and that is a point that should be brought home to the people.

Increasing imperialist aggressiveness has led some to conclude that world war is now absolutely inevitable and that there is nothing to be done but let things take their course until the catastrophe is upon us. There is even the belief that it would be wise to "strike first." This certainly "simplifies" the peace struggle; the problem is "solved" by brushing it aside. But this also brushes aside all action, and responsibility to the working class, the people and socialism.

Others maintain that there is no war danger inasmuch as modern weapons, the "balance of terror," have made war impossible. That, too, is a convenient and simple way of solving the problem—by denying its very existence. But it is not realistic; it is merely a means of "discounting" the struggle for peace and justifying passivity, which can only disarm the people and weaken their will to safeguard their vital interests.

Nor do these theories acquire a semblance of validity when dressed up in "socialist" garb. For instance, we have statements like this: "War is ruled out inasmuch as there is a powerful socialist camp." But the 1960 Statement emphasizes the need, in this connection, to work among the masses so as

"to avoid underestimation of the possibility of preventing world war . . . and, at the same time, underestimation of the war danger." We should always remember the words of the Norwegian poet Nordahl Griegs: "Peace is not something given to man. It always has to be won. Peace is the most fickle thing in the world."

In their joint Statement and other documents, the Communists say world war and imperialist aggression can be prevented, but they do not say that this will come about automatically. The task is to find methods of realizing this possibility at a time when the imperialists are resorting to more aggressive, adventuristic and sophisticated methods in an attempt to bolster up their weakened positions.

WINNING THE MASSES

Much valuable advice can be gleaned from Lenin's 1922 "Notes," though, of course, the big changes since then must be borne in mind.

Lenin draws attention to the need to win over the masses so that they will not be taken in by an aggressive policy and become its victim: "We must explain to the people the real situation, show them that war is prepared in the greatest secrecy." Ideological conditioning of the masses by the monopolies, he emphasizes, plays a big part in war preparation. The principal task, therefore, should be to combat this, because "war may and will come upon them (the masses) at the most unexpected moment."

Lenin writes:

"The sophistries advanced at the present time are perhaps the principal means by which the bourgeois press rallies the masses on the side of war; and the main reason why we are so impotent in the face of war is either that we do not examine these sophistries beforehand, or still more that we . . . waive them with the cheap, boastful and utterly empty phrase that we shall not allow war to break out, that we fully understand that war is a crime, etc."

And if today we can no longer talk of our "impotence" in the fight against war, this is largely due to the fundamental change over the past half century in the relative strength of the forces of war and peace. This has found expression, in particular, in the new possibilities to "examine beforehand" all the war propaganda sophistries. The socialist system has become so important a factor of world politics that absolutely new conditions have emerged for exposing the "great secrecy" in which war is plotted. But here, too, the key factor is to translate possibilities into

realities. That is one of the most pressing problems with which we have to cope.

The aggressor will always try to strike "at the most unexpected moment." Using provocation, playing on pessimism, spreading lies, rumors and contradictory reports—all against a background of big-drum propaganda—his purpose is to create confusion, a situation in which the people can be made to accept aggression, that is, act contrary to their interests. The danger, moreover, is that, in a definite set of circumstances, the confusion need not be kept up for long; in fact, aggression will be launched before the confusion can be dispelled.

Capitalist governments are past masters at this type of propaganda and it would be the height of folly to ignore its effectiveness. One of the central tasks, therefore, should be to utilize every available means to prevent these "confusion attacks."

The imperialists will also try to influence the attitude of certain sections in the socialist countries by dexterous use of psychological warfare techniques, to which they attach so much importance.

Ideological infiltration belongs in this category. The purpose is to instil the illusion that imperialism has changed, has become a champion of freedom and peace, and in this way lull public vigilance and give imperialism an acceptable image.

However, a realistic assessment of the dangers implicit in these maneuvers should not inspire a feeling of impotence: realistic assessments should be the basis for realistic solutions.

And the first step to such solutions is careful watch over imperialist moves. We are in a better position to do that than ever before, for the imperialists are finding it harder to keep their plans a secret from the people: socialist diplomacy can force them to show their hand. Working-class parties in all parts of the world keep a vigilant watch on imperialist policies, propaganda and maneuvers. They are able to assess developments from Marxist-Leninist positions and are not to be taken in by fine-spun imperialist arguments. They can pick out the cleavages and vulnerable spots in the imperialist front. But, naturally, it is not enough only to watch and assess; that is no more than the groundwork for timely and effective action.

We have better opportunities also of giving the people a true picture of world events and of drawing their attention to the crucial issues. And though capitalist propaganda is adept at doctoring and distorting the news, it is finding it more and more difficult to hush up signifi-

cant news from and about the socialist world. The facts are stronger than all the subtleties of capitalist propaganda.

Wider international contacts also present new opportunities. National, racial and anti-communist prejudices, all of which play a big part in war preparation, lose their hold when the people begin to see things in proper perspective. It becomes more difficult to get the masses to accept aggression when they know the proposals made by the socialist and anti-imperialist forces for a just settlement.

There is also this not unimportant factor: the United Nations provides a platform from which we can appeal to public opinion. This has become possible because the present composition of the UN reflects the weakening of imperialism, though here, too, many obstacles have still to be surmounted. Statements by representatives of socialist and anti-imperialist countries explaining the issues and proposing constructive solutions contribute to the worldwide peace effort. One example is the recent emergency General Assembly convened to condemn the Israeli aggression. And though it did not adopt a decision in the interests of peace, it did much to refute pro-Israeli propaganda and give people a clearer picture of what is at stake.

All these opportunities for exposing imperialist sophistry must be used to the full. The question is how to do that so as to convince people and win them over to our side. It is important that at all critical junctures devoted friends of peace should be prepared to give the masses quick and clear answers on all topical issues.

Unity and solidarity against imperialist provocation and maneuver are of the utmost importance in the battle for peace. That holds both for individual countries and the world movement as a whole. Every time a tense situation arises the aggressive forces look for dissension and division in the anti-imperialist camp and are quick to exploit differences to sow confusion and dismay. That is especially so if they can detect differences between Communist Parties.

Efforts to prevent imperialist aggression furnish an objective basis for unswerving international solidarity, for the people everywhere are vitally interested in preventing aggression. A correct national policy pursued by the working class and the democratic forces does not contradict international solidarity, which, indeed, is a necessary element of that policy. Closer international understanding helps to cement relations between the anti-imperialist forces, notably the Communist parties, and puts the movement in a better

position to thwart imperialist attempts to sow confusion as a smokescreen for war.

It would be unrealistic to suppose that in the present situation we can rule out the element of surprise in imperialist maneuvers, but we can, and should, reduce its effect so as not to be caught unawares.

We can do this by timely mobilization of public opinion for active support of peace demands. We should agree, I believe, on basic principles that will come to dominate public thinking—for instance, inviolability of national frontiers, or the demand formulated in the 1950 Stockholm Appeal to condemn any state which is the first to employ nuclear weapons. The world peace movement has played a positive part on these and similar issues.

However, recent events have shown that much more is needed to prevent or halt imperialist aggression. There must be greater vigilance in relation to concrete conflicts, which should be regarded as potential sources of provocation against peace and freedom, as part of the struggle between imperialism and anti-imperialism. This imposes a special responsibility on each Marxist-Leninist party, but does not in any way contradict their efforts to foster worldwide unity of all the peace forces. Indeed, within the framework of this unity there is ample scope for initiative, in thinking and action, based on confidence and on a clear understanding of the specific conditions in which the struggle for peace is being waged.

THE BATTLE FOR PEACE—ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS

The rise and consolidation of the socialist world system is, of course, the prime factor in these new opportunities for peace. Important, too, is the military might of the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union. The imperialists, finding themselves obliged to reckon with this, have changed their strategy and tactics accordingly.

The change was determined by the United States, which had to abandon the policy of "rolling back communism" and "massive retaliation" in favor of a new strategy, that of "local wars" and "flexible retaliation." However, it would be wrong to interpret this as a symptom of imperialist peacefulness. That it is anything but peaceful is obvious to everyone from what is happening in Vietnam. The aim is the same; the strategy has changed. And the change was made primarily to prevent a head-on clash with the military might of socialism and to bypass the widely-supported socialist peace policy, which has so effectively

discredited the imperialist cold war policy. And so, the local-war strategy should be seen as a series of attacks on the positions of socialism and the national-liberation movement. To mislead public opinion, the new strategy is operated by subtle maneuvering, particularly through client states (Israel, for example), plots and coups d'etat (Greece) and premeditated provocation in an attempt to discredit socialism's policy of peace. The ultimate goal, however, is the same—U.S. world domination. But the men in Washington know that an all-out attempt to achieve this would precipitate world war.

Such is the strategy which the forces of peace must effectively counter. Their mainstay is the socialist world system. But it should be clear that the job cannot be left to it alone; that would mean staking entirely on a military solution, in other words on a world nuclear war.

The task of the day is to foil imperialism's aggressive designs before they develop into military conflict, into war. This can be done only through the cooperation of the three principal progressive forces of our time: the socialist world system, the national-liberation movement, and the working people in the capitalist countries. That is why cooperation between these forces, and a clear understanding of their joint responsibility, is today the focal point in the battle for peace.

Confronted with the local-war strategy, they have a vital and common interest in compelling the imperialist powers to respect the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence.

For the socialist countries this would mean more opportunities for peaceful construction. In these conditions all the advantages of socialism would be brought out much more convincingly.

For the new national states it would mean respect for their sovereignty. Any form of colonialism or national oppression runs counter to the principles of peaceful coexistence, infringes the rights of a people and is virtually tantamount to aggression. This justifies a nation's right to pursue its struggle for liberation with whatever means it considers appropriate to the situation.

For the people in the capitalist countries it would mean an end to sacrifices for a cause they neither understand nor accept, an end to the burden, material and spiritual, they have to bear, an end to their participation in policies aimed at keeping other peoples in subjection.

In short, peaceful coexistence would create optimal conditions for social progress. But respect for peaceful coexistence requires constant and vigorous action to prevent aggres-

sion, punish its perpetrators and assert the principle that aggression must not be rewarded. Inasmuch as U.S. global strategy is based on fomenting "new Vietnams" in all parts of the world, our efforts should be centered on thwarting these designs by resolute and joint action of all the anti-imperialist forces.

Seen in this light, the struggle for peaceful coexistence becomes a concrete form of the struggle against aggression and acquires even more importance as a counterweight to the local-war strategy.

It will take all the means and potentialities of the anti-imperialist movement to compel acceptance of peaceful coexistence and national independence. For our adversary is not a paper tiger, but a very real one. And he has to be shown that if he tries to bite he will be crushed, and that there are means of stopping him before he begins to bite.

Nor should we rely exclusively on military strength. Maximum use must be made of political and diplomatic methods coupled with mass activity. Those who counsel reliance solely on armed strength only injure the efforts to unite the peace forces for all-round pressure on the imperialists. In fact the imperialists have good reason to be grateful to these advocates of military strength.

The fact has also to be taken into account that Washington's shift to a new global strategy is a tacit admission that reliance on rocket-rattling and positions of strength has landed it in isolation. The revised strategy presupposes more flexible political methods, in other words, more deceit and provocation. That should make it all the more necessary to intensify our activity on the political scene, where the forces of peace have many advantages over the forces of war.

Political methods can and should play a more prominent, and in a certain sense, new part. This follows from the changed alignment of forces and from the need to foil the imperialist designs before they develop into war.

Needless to say, the political battle against aggression can be effective only if backed by force, including military force. The aggressor must always know that he cannot act with impunity, that if he forces one or another country into a just war, he will have to reckon with armed opposition and anti-imperialist solidarity. And where these factors exist, they should be used in political moves to hamstring aggression.

Use of the contradictions in the imperialist camp to isolate the more aggressive elements is a major factor in the struggle for peace. Here, too, political and diplomatic activity can prove of much value.

Skilful use of political methods is of decisive importance in activating the masses, who can play a crucial part when the aggressor has to assess the strength of his position on the home front before plunging into a warlike gamble.

It is sometimes said that political methods are simply scraps of paper, have little or no relevance to the actual struggle, and are no substitute for guns and tanks. That's nonsense. Political methods are not something abstract; they are components of a very realistic whole. A government that demands sacrifices for a war the people know to be neither just nor necessary might well find itself unable to go on with its venture. History furnishes a number of examples.

If a country is bound by treaties and commitments, if it has before it proposals and demands which the people consider fair and just, then gross violation of these commitments might boomerang against the rulers. Experience shows that, as a rule, the aggressor begins by creating a suitable atmosphere, that is, conditioning the people to accept the war as justified, or at least as inevitable. That can best be countered by political activity.

Back in the thirties, Hitler was able to cultivate such an atmosphere in Europe. Violation of frontiers and treaties became a common practice; destroying independent countries became a crime jointly committed by the Western powers. This was a congenial atmosphere for unleashing war. The West German revanchists are in a too unfavorable position to repeat Hitler's maneuvers — for they have to reckon with the stern warnings of the socialist camp and the proposals, notably from the German Democratic Republic, for a peaceful adjustment, which have made a profound impression on the public. The present West German government has been obliged to modify its tactics.

Implementation of the European security program drawn up at the Karlovy Vary Conference of Communist Parties would make it extremely difficult for the aggressor to create the kind of climate he needs. We should therefore make it our job to explain to Europeans that vigorous efforts for realization of the Karlovy Vary proposals are a valuable contribution to preventing aggression on our continent.

One of the things that enabled Moshe Dayan to launch aggression against the Arab states was the creation of just such an atmosphere in Israel. At the beginning of the war imperialist propaganda achieved a measure of success, particularly with its contention that Israel was entitled to wage a preventative war. Accept-

ance of that would, of course, automatically sanction any aggression. Israel's blitz left it in possession of conquered territory, but its political position has been fatally weakened, and that goes also for its imperialist backers. Political pressure prevented the aggressor from achieving his main goal, namely, capture of some Arab capitals and overthrow of their governments. The task now is to employ political methods to force the aggressor to give up his booty and withdraw his troops to his own frontiers. Success will depend largely on a changed alignment in favor of the democratic and consistently anti-imperialist forces, and the change is already taking place in the Arab countries. Of course, we cannot expect political methods to produce the same speedy results as a tank attack, but the results will be all the more durable, the more they are based on a changed political alignment. If, in this way, we can force acceptance of the principle that aggression must never be rewarded, this would be a valuable gain for all the peoples.

An essential condition for effective application of political methods is that all our proposals should be clearly understood by the people. The present heightened public interest in international problems, and the growing prestige of the socialist world, furnish the necessary requisites for this. But, naturally, what is needed most of all is concerted action by the peace forces in every country.

* * *

In waging our campaign against imperialist aggression the accent should be on understanding and solidarity between all the anti-imperialist forces. There are bound to be varying opinions on how best to utilize available means. But the important thing is that they should be resolved on a basis of mutual respect and readiness to unite on crucial issues.

The absence, or weakening, of such unity plays into the hands of the aggressor. It is no mere accident that the brazen, brutal and drawn-out aggression against Vietnam has been staged in an area where the Chinese leaders' rejection of joint action is more acutely felt than anywhere else.

Anti-imperialist solidarity should be seen as a complex of diverse elements, each of which bears its share of responsibility. That applies to every people faced with imperialist aggression. Solidarity and support by other nations, no matter how big and important, is always an auxiliary factor—it helps those who help themselves. That is plainly understood by every nation that has had to fight aggression. In fact, reactionary propaganda has been at pains to instil the idea that international soli-

ilarity means "everything will be done by others."

Wherever national narrow-mindedness has been allowed to weaken international solidarity, imperialism has been quick to step into the breach. For the imperialists know only too well that at a time like ours, when so many new nations are coming to play their part in world affairs, there are always opportunities to foment and exploit nationalist sentiment. This places an even greater responsibility on the world labor movement—it must carry the principles of proletarian internationalism and solidarity into the anti-imperialist struggle.

The new problems posed by the struggle against imperialist aggression are closely linked with objective changes and new trends. Considering the responsibility that devolves on the Marxist-Leninist parties, and the imperative need for unity, it can be said that the time is ripe for a collective assessment of the world situation and formulation of the conclusions following therefrom. The need, in short, is for continued operation and elaboration of the policies set out in the 1960 Statement of the 81 parties. The task before us can only be solved by an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

Finnish Communists and the government

AARNE SAARINEN

THE FINNISH LABOR movement, comprising three political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations, has for many years prevented exclusive bourgeois rule for any appreciable period, especially in times of crisis. The bourgeoisie usually ruled in coalition with the Social Democratic Party and, in more recent years, with the breakaway Social Democratic Alliance of Workers and Small Farmers.

The Democratic Union of the Finnish People, of which the Communist Party is a major force, was represented in the 1945-48 government, but up to the spring of 1966 was discriminated against by the other parties. In the present government, formed on May 27, 1966, it has three Ministers out of 15, two of them members of the Communist Party.

However, division in its ranks has weakened the labor movement and the position has been further aggravated by the absence until recently of cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats. Politically, the labor

movement is split into three distinct sections, and the trade union movement is even more fragmented.

There are, on the one hand, the Social Democrat-led unions, and, on the other, the bourgeois-led unions of civil servants and technical staffs. In the second half of the 1950s the Social Democrat Right-wing began to split the Trade Union Federation which, it alleged, had come under strong Communist influence following the split in the Social Democratic parliamentary party and the emergence of a group which sided with the Communists on certain issues.

The split in labor has its counterpart in deep-going divisions in the bourgeois camp: there are five bourgeois parties to labor's three. On the Left is the Center Party, the biggest of the five, of which President Kekkonen is one of the leaders. On the Right is the People's Coalition Party, the second biggest, which speaks for Big Business and reaction. Between the two are several smaller parties,

each with its own Left, Right and Center, and much the same is true of the labor parties.

An entirely new situation was created by Finland's withdrawal from the war in the autumn of 1944. Everyone knew at the time that the bourgeois parties and the then Social Democratic leadership were responsible for embroiling the country in the war. After the war came a profound political crisis and the Communists were able to share in the government. However, having somewhat recovered from its postwar depression, the Social Democrat Right-wing began a campaign to "extirpate communism": they regarded cooperation with the Communists as merely a "transitory tactical move." In 1948 the Communists were expelled from the government, removed from executive posts in the trade unions, and the Communist-led unions were expelled from the Federation. The next step was to obstruct good neighbor relations with the Soviet Union. This was all part of the cold war, and it had a markedly adverse effect on every aspect of Finnish home and foreign policy.

But neither the Social Democrats nor the bourgeois parties could seriously undermine the popular support accorded the Communists and the democratic movement generally. In every election since 1948 the Democratic Union of the Finnish People polled between 21.2 and 23.2 per cent of the vote. Communists made up 90 per cent of the Democratic Union's parliamentary group, and today the figure is higher still. In short, the plan to "extirpate Communism" failed.

The election results, however, show that mass support for our Party and the democratic movement generally has not increased. True, Communist political influence has been growing. This is clearly reflected in the changed attitude of the Social Democratic Party, which latterly has sought good relations with the Soviet Union and the CPSU. Traditionally this party had been dead set against any contact with the CPSU, and it followed a restrained, at times openly hostile, policy towards the Soviet Union. After 1948 it rejected cooperation with the Communists and the democratic movement. Now, however, for more than a year there has been cooperation at government and other levels. More, the Social Democratic leaders no longer support and abet splitting activities in the trade union movement and have been negotiating with the Communist Party with a view to re-establishing trade union unity. As a result, the role of the Communists in the Trade Union Federation and in many industrial unions has increased noticeably in the past year or so.

The trade union leaders now take a more positive attitude towards the peace movement. They have denounced U.S. policy in Vietnam and the military coup in Greece, support non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and establishment of atom-free zones, particularly in Northern Europe, and favor a European security conference.

All these changes are politically important and accord with the interests of our working people. They signify, moreover, expansion and consolidation of the democratic front and isolation of the Right-wing bourgeois forces with which the Social Democrats closely cooperated and which are now less able to influence government policy.

Many members and friends of our Party question the sincerity of this change in Social Democratic policy, suspecting that it is another "transitory tactical maneuver," a duplicate of 1945-48. Are the Social Democratic leaders merely trying to build up a stronger position and at some opportune moment renounce cooperation with the Communists? And might not the whole thing end in a way that would cause the Party much damage?

Of course, no one can give an absolutely sure answer to these questions, nor is one really necessary. The vital thing is that the Social Democrats are following a new line differing in many respects from their old one. Naturally, some in the Social Democratic Party would like nothing better than to revert to the old policy. But that is easier said than done, for experience has shown that anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, which always presuppose cooperation with the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, only weaken the Social Democrats, precipitate a crisis and an open split. It is hardly likely that any realistic Social Democratic politician would venture to return to that disastrous policy. There is a strong feeling among party leaders and the rank-and-file that the new line of cooperation with the Communists should be continued and extended.

And the new line should be seen as resulting from our Party's nearly 20 years of unrelaxing efforts for unity in the mass organizations, in the factories, municipalities and in parliament. That policy has consistently been based on support for the common economic and social interests and demands of workers, office employees and small farmers, on defense and extension of democracy, closer friendship with the Soviet Union and other countries and on our unremitting peace effort. Our unity policy presupposes also a careful analysis of the position in the other parties. We always take into

account the existence of diverse groups whose views on many issues are identical with or similar to ours, and that rank-and-file sentiment is often at variance with leadership policy. Of course, the foreign policy of the Soviet government and the CPSU, and the development of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement, are largely responsible for the Social Democrats' change of line.

The change furnishes better objective conditions for deep-going social reforms, but the subjective factors are still inadequate. For though the workers' parties now command a certain majority in parliament, they are not ready to take joint action to restrict, let alone eliminate, the power of the capitalist monopolies. For many years the Social Democrats worked hand in glove with the bourgeoisie against the Communists and this was bound to influence the thinking and action of Social Democratic officials. They have been so adapted to the system of monopoly rule that they can hardly be expected to fight for its restriction, not to speak of elimination. In the long years of anti-communism, socialist education was replaced by dissemination of anti-socialist ideas. Apparently only the advent of a new generation of leaders will change this, and there are already clear and encouraging signs of change.

A sizeable segment of the Center Party might agree to a certain restriction of monopoly power and to a greater degree of economic control. Similar demands have come also from elements in the Social Democratic Party, though they are not shared by the leadership. The idea is to establish control over large scale investments and extend the public sector in industry.

Speaking for the Democratic Union's parliamentary group, the Communists have made far-reaching proposals which, if carried out, would substantially weaken the power of the big insurance companies and commercial banks.

The most difficult problems confronting the present government concern economic policy. The government took over at a time when the growth rate was declining and unemployment increasing. Last year the gross national product rose by a little more than two per cent and the figure is not expected to be higher this year. But if the growth of unemployment is to be checked, the gross national product must increase annually by at least five per cent. Nor have things been made any better by the sorry state of the public sector, (a carryover from the former government), the chronic deficit in foreign trade and the continued drain on currency

reserves. These are all problems that cannot be solved in a short time, even by joint effort of all the government parties. The economy has been strongly tied to the capitalist West and is largely dependent upon Western economic development. Another reason why progress is bound to be slow is that the government parties are reluctant to act on the Communist proposals, which ensnare the following:

- fewer imports from countries (primarily Federal Germany and Sweden) with which Finland has a deficit balance of trade;

- broader economic cooperation, and specifically broader trade, with the USSR and other socialist countries;

- higher taxes on corporate profits and high incomes generally;

- public control and regulation of investments (establishment of a state investment bank);

- a substantial rise in incomes and purchasing power of people in the lower-income brackets, with limitation of high incomes to cut down demand for imported goods and promote domestic production as a means of providing more jobs.

The government parties do not see eye to eye on these and related issues. Things are further complicated by the predominance of small farming and the resultant difficulties in agriculture, upon which 27 per cent of the population are still dependent for their livelihood. This, plus unfavorable weather conditions, has raised agricultural production costs way above world prices. The government has endeavored to bridge the gap by large annual price-supporting subsidies. Besides helping private farming, this also helps to keep unemployment in check by holding back rural migration to the towns, where there is little or no chance of employment. But the problem will require more government expenditure, and under present conditions the money will have to come mainly from taxes.

All this tends to increase discontent, particularly among unemployed and workers faced with the menace of unemployment. It also creates difficulties for all the government parties, including the Communists, for the people expected swifter and more radical change and are naturally disappointed.

But we can also record positive results—higher pensions, family grants and disability benefits. Early this year a new family pension system was introduced and steps are being taken to extend and improve it. Higher taxes have been levied on big incomes, and

tax reductions introduced on low incomes. Government credits for housing have been increased and many state economic agencies have been given generous subsidies to finance development programs and public works projects. Expenditure on unemployment benefits is higher than at any time before. Revision of labor legislation is being prepared. The new education reform calls for a nine-year schooling for all and more democratic oriented curricula.

The Communist Party is doing everything to accelerate operation of these reforms. It feels that the best way to do that is through cooperation of the government parties.

There is discontent among the working people, but even greater discontent on the Right, particularly with regard to continued Communist participation in the government and the new trends within the Social Democratic Party. The Rightists still exert a strong influence on the press and other mass information media and are using them to fan opposition to the government and its policies. Their propaganda, which centers on policy shortcomings, has its impact also on government supporters. We Communists believe that the government should follow a more active, clear-cut and radical policy, one more conso-

nant with the interests of the people, particularly the underprivileged.

Full employment and a higher standard of living can result only from increased production. But with the economy tied to the Western countries and predominantly private capitalist, the government is faced with the formidable problem of how to increase production and provide stable sources of employment. The motive force of capitalist production is, of course, profit, big profit. But a government in which the Communist Party is represented cannot stimulate production by boosting profits; in fact, it cannot uphold existing profit levels. The focus of attention, therefore, must be on expanding the public sector, which now accounts for about 16 per cent of industrial output, on organizing public works, reshaping the credit system and increasing trade and other forms of economic cooperation with socialist and developing countries. Needless to say, in existing conditions this cannot be accomplished all at once, though the political requisites for such a change continue to improve. The process can be accelerated only by broad and permanent cooperation of all the democratic forces. That is what the Communist Party of Finland is working for.

Dark clouds over Cyprus

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU

KEEP AN EYE ON developments in Cyprus! For it can become yet another victim of U.S. imperialist aggression.

The U.S. imperialists showed keen interest in the island even at the time it was under British rule. Some 15 years ago they, wresting consent from the British authorities, erected three monitoring stations on the island. The stations, used for espionage mainly against the Arab countries and the socialist world, operate to this day.

The U.S. imperialists have turned Cyprus into a center of espionage and subversive aggressive activity in the Middle East. There is no doubt that it played an important part in preparing the recent Israeli aggression against the Arab countries.

The imperialists and their instrument—the Israeli aggressors — failed to achieve their main aim, that of bringing down the progressive regimes in the independent Arab countries. The response of the people in the Arab world and the powerful support rendered them by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries frustrated these designs.

The aim of the U.S. imperialists in Cyprus is to partition the island and turn it into a NATO base. To achieve this they launched the notorious Acheson and Lemnitzer plans in 1964. It will be recalled, however, that these plans were unanimously rejected by the Cypriot people and government. By seeking to partition Cyprus the U.S. imperialists want to solder the cracks in the southeastern wing of NATO that appeared as a result of the Cyprus issue. At the same time by turning it into a NATO base they want to establish their domination in Cyprus.

Under the Zurich agreements the British imperialists secured the right to hold 99 square miles of Cyprus territory and to maintain military bases on the island.

And while contradictions exist between British and American imperialist interests,

this is not the first time that the former has to play second fiddle to its stronger ally—U.S. imperialism. Faced with grave economic difficulties the British imperialists are compelled to cede their positions to the Americans so as not to lose, as the saying goes, both the eggs and the basket. This was the case in Greece after their military intervention in 1944. And the same thing happened in other countries.

The British, compelled to cut their military spending in Cyprus, suggest that their bases on the island be turned over to NATO. From this angle an article by the diplomatic correspondent of *The Times*, published at the end of July, is quite revealing. Writes the author:

"It is now clear that the future of Cyprus and of the British bases there is once more under active consideration. Mr. Mulley, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, visited Turkey from July 16 to 21. While denying that he took proposals, he has later admitted that his talks considered the many Turkish press reports about a possible Cyprus settlement and it was widely reported that the Turks were considering proposals for Enosis (Union) of Cyprus with Greece in return for the establishment of a Turkish base in the island—or at least of a NATO base with Turkish participation. Meanwhile Mr. Osorio-Tafall, of Brazil, the special representative for Cyprus of U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, has been in Turkey and gone on for talks in Athens before reporting to U Thant.

"Shortly after they seized power on April 21, the new leaders in Greece are known to have offered the Turks a settlement on the above lines, which corresponds to the 'NATO' solution proposed by Mr. Dean Acheson, the former United States Secretary of State, during the talks in Geneva in the summer of 1964.

"The moment is particularly suitable for a NATO solution since the Greek leaders seized power partly to ensure that Greece remained firmly within the Atlantic Alliance, but the Turks would not take up the offer when made in the spring, being doubtful then about the permanence of the new Greek regime.

"The Greek and Turkish governments have a continuing interest in close military co-operation; in ending the Cyprus dispute which alone has bedevilled their relations throughout the whole postwar period; and in removing the possibility that an independent Cyprus might fall one day under communist influence and upset the strategic balance in the eastern Mediterranean.

"The British Government meanwhile are looking for ways of cutting down their overseas military commitments. The time, therefore, is clearly ripe to consider a transfer of the British bases in Cyprus as the coping stone of a settlement. But one complication is that under the 1960 Cyprus Agreements the British Government are committed to transfer sovereignty in the bases to Cyprus if they give them up at all and President Makarios himself is believed to be strongly opposed to a Greco-Turkish deal at the expense of Cypriot independence. This became clear when he visited Athens for the Crown Council meeting on February 6 before the present Greek regime seized power, but he declared then that after Enosis, or 'what we mean by Enosis,' it would be for the Greek Government to decide what should happen to the bases in Cyprus.

"It looks therefore as though a solution would be possible now, uniting the island with Greece, with a United Nations presence to protect the working of the agreement in particular on behalf of the Turkish minority, and transferring the bases to Cypriot sovereignty at the moment when Cyprus became part of Greece, with a further agreement that the bases at Dhekelia and Akrotiri should be placed under NATO command. This would allow the present Turkish contingent of some 800 men now in Cyprus in accordance with the 1960 Agreement to be concentrated at Dhekelia.

"The importance of the air base at Akrotiri has lain largely in its potential use by British nuclear bombers, as strategic support for the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

"The life of the bombers based in Cyprus is however ending and nuclear support for CENTO now really comes from the United States Polaris submarines in the Mediterranean. In any event any British commitment to CENTO could presumably be fulfilled in

future by the long range nuclear bombers to be based in Masirah Island off the eastern coast of Arabia."

I have quoted *The Times* diplomatic correspondent at some length in the belief that his views throw light on the imperialist plans vis-à-vis Cyprus.

In the meantime, as Osorio-Tafall, U Thant's special representative for Cyprus, stated after visits to Ankara and Athens, the Greek-Turkish dialogue over the Cyprus question continues.

The American plan for partitioning and "NATO-izing" Cyprus envisages that as a result of the Greek-Turkish dialogue an agreement will be reached between Greece and Turkey under which Turkey will take part of the island and special cantons will be established for Turkish Cypriots, with the remainder of the territory going to Greece. The Americans are anxious to create the impression that this solution does not signify partitioning the Republic. After all, this could be achieved through secret clauses in the agreement.

Least of all are the imperialists interested in the views of the people of Cyprus, for they know full well that the Cypriots take exception to any plan for partitioning and "NATO-izing" the island. Hence their resolve to impose a solution on Cyprus.

The second part of the U.S.-engineered plan for Cyprus is designed to overthrow the Makarios government and replace it with a puppet administration which would facilitate agreement with Turkey and be prepared to accept the territorial and administrative division of Cyprus. Another aspect of the same plan is to undermine the influence of the Makarios government through slander against its most dynamic representatives and to substitute for them men who would offer no resistance to the NATO plans to divide the Republic.

Efforts are being made to translate this imperialist plan into reality. The danger threatening Cyprus is grave indeed.

The U.S. imperialists and their British junior partners maintain that, with the establishment of a military dictatorship in Greece and the temporary military reverses suffered by the Arabs, the conditions are ripe to force their solution of the Cyprus question.

There are, however, other factors capable of foiling their designs, as has already been the case in the past. And first of these is the will of the Cypriot people. The imperialists and their stooges are sparing no effort to divide the people and weaken their will to resist. Anti-communism is invoked in order

to intimidate the national bourgeoisie and to isolate and overthrow President Makarios and his government. They have tried and continue to try to divide the nationalists themselves—again with a view to weakening the Makarios government.

The U.S. imperialists have failed in the main to achieve their ends despite the enormous sums spent for this purpose. The resistance front of Cyprus derives its strength mainly from two sources—the Patriotic Front headed by President Makarios, and the Left headed by the Progressive Party of Cypriot Working People (AKEL). Any division of this Front would be fatal to Cyprus. The Progressive Party is fighting might and main for Cyprus, for the cause of national liberation of our people. It has declared more than once that it places its forces at the disposal of President Makarios for an effective national-liberation struggle and for resistance to any solution of the Cyprus question involving a partition imposed on her through a coup. This patriotic policy of AKEL creates difficulties for the imperialists and their henchmen. It is because AKEL is seen as an obstacle to the imperialist designs that it is scheduled for destruction the moment Enosis (that is, the dismemberment of the Republic) is carried out under NATO aegis.

The overwhelming majority of Cypriots insist on their right to decide their destiny without foreign bases and intervention, without territorial concessions to Turkey or to any other foreign power.

They support President Makarios and his government, and are prepared resolutely to resist all who seek its violent overthrow in order to impose false solutions for the benefit of the imperialists.

Despite the imperialist subversion, and that of its accomplices, the resistance front stands firm and will disappoint all enemies of Cyprus. Its motto is: "Unity of the people, the army and the government in the fight for freedom!"

There is, moreover, an international front of friends and supporters of Cyprus—above all, the powerful Soviet Union. Resolute warnings from the Soviet Union against the criminal design to dismember Cyprus by way of a coup have so far been instrumental in foiling these designs. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, standing by the Republic of Cyprus, are ready to give it the aid and support which will enable the people of Cy-

prus successfully to resist the plans to enslave the island, and to repeat their NO, uttered in full voice in 1964, in reply to the American attempts to force the government to agree to the stationing of NATO troops and to accept the NATO solution of the Cyprus question.

The Cyprus question cannot be settled through the Greek-Turkish dialogue—a dialogue which has continued some twenty months and spells the danger of dismembering and "NATO-izing" the island.

The dialogue seems to suggest that the whole point is a Greek-Turkish dispute. But the Cyprus issue is not just a Greek-Turkish dispute. It is a matter that concerns the Cypriot people themselves, a matter of their self-determination.

That is why our people are insisting on the Greek-Turkish dialogue being stopped immediately and the Cyprus question returned to the United Nations to be settled on the basis of its Charter and the General Assembly resolutions.

The people of Cyprus are confident that the moment the foreign intervention ends, the Turkish Cypriots will be willing to cooperate with Greek Cypriots. The differences between Turks and Greeks in Cyprus have in the main been instigated by the imperialists and are a result of the working out of their divide-and-rule doctrine. Imperialism is the common enemy of all Cypriot people. And it is high time that this is grasped by the Turkish Cypriot leaders who should no longer allow themselves to be used as a cat's-paw by the imperialists.

Numerically the Cypriots are a small people, and perhaps for this reason the imperialists hope that it will be easy for them to impose their plans on the island. However, history teaches us that the most important thing is not the numerical strength of a people, but its determination to fight for freedom and its unity in that fight.

Keep an eye on developments in Cyprus! For it could become yet another victim of U.S. imperialist aggression. But its people are vigilant. By their unity and resolute resistance, supported by the Soviet Union, by the other socialist countries and by the peace-loving forces of the world, the people of Cyprus will save their country from the catastrophe of dismemberment and imperialist enslavement.

Vietnam: continuing escalation

FOR MORE THAN three years U.S. propaganda kept telling the people that the war in Vietnam was one long round of victories. In recent months, however, the tone has changed perceptibly. There is less talk of victory and more of mounting difficulties and casualties. The U.S. Air Force has already lost about half its F-105 fighter bombers.

Now the press is using such words as stalemate, deadlock, standoff. Not long ago the *New York Times* wrote about rising dismay among military experts; many officers believe the war has reached a deadlock, despite the presence of 460,000 U.S. troops.

A group of *U.S. News & World Report* correspondents who have chronicled the war from the beginning say: "It is dangerously close to a standoff . . . Brutal fighting lies ahead . . . Ultimate victory will be compromised. In short: There will be no victory in the next 12 to 18 months. Perhaps there will be no clear-cut victory at all. The Reds took all that the U.S. threw at them—and survived. Not a single major unit of the enemy has been destroyed."

These cold-fact statements have a definite purpose: to condition public opinion to accept the Pentagon's contention that the only way out of the deadlock is through more expenditure of money and human life.

Reports of American reverses are accompanied by appeals for continued escalation. Typical in this respect is a *New York Times* item to the effect that military experts see no way out of the stalemate if the government does not order partial mobilization of reserves, a bigger draft and substantially more military spending to put in the field five new divisions and auxiliary units totalling between 150,000 and 175,000.

The hawks have taken up the Pentagon cry for escalated escalation. General Westmoreland has asked for the immediate dispatch of at least two divisions, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff have warned, ominously, that unless

the request is met the U.S. will find itself in more trouble in Vietnam.

McNamara's latest visit to Saigon has made it clear that Washington is bent on continued escalation. He came back with what has been described as "drastic escalation" proposals. Most of them have been approved in Washington and are being put into effect. General Westmoreland told news reporters after his latest visit to the U.S. capital: "I got everything I want." *Newsweek* says the General was satisfied with the results of his talks with the President and Congressional and military leaders.

Washington is trying to induce or pressure its allies into supplying some of the new contingents Westmoreland wants. Two special Presidential envoys, General Maxwell Taylor and Clark Clifford, were sent on a cannon-fodder procurement mission to Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and South Korea.

The Americans have stepped up their air attacks on North Vietnam, concentrating on roadside villages and irrigation works. There have been heavy bombings of dams and dikes. The Americans have threatened to destroy all North Vietnam dams. This could destroy crops and endanger the lives of the civilian population.

These dangerous plans are arousing more and more disquiet and resentment among the people in the United States. Senator Fulbright, for example, says that attempts to crush Vietnamese freedom by bombs and napalm only show that a powerful state is using its power unwisely in arrogating to itself the right to police the world.

The war affects every American. It is making people think and protest. *Newsweek* in a special Vietnam issue says public reaction has reached a point when it can neither be ignored nor obscured. *Newsweek* does not criticize the Administration; if anything, it justifies it. But the facts it cites show that never before in

American history has protest against a war been so vocal and widespread. Writes *Newsweek*: "Now—in a cacophony of song and sermon, march and mass meeting, public harangue and private prayer—the dissenters are sounding a far harsher note. Their country, they believe, is fighting a battle that is morally wrong; their government has sent out Americans to kill in an unjust cause."

For America this has been a "long, hot Vietnam summer," with the protest movement spreading to practically every section of the population. More and more young men are refusing to fight in a war they deeply believe to be unjust, and many prefer prison to army service. In several states railwaymen went on strike despite a Congressional injunction and President Johnson's appeals to their patriotism — they refused to sacrifice their rights to Washington's escalation policy.

The Negro civil rights movement is another reflection of the tense situation created by the Vietnam war.

There have been protests also against the projected constitutional amendments that

would virtually repeal freedom of speech, the press and assembly, and against President Johnson's reported intention to ask Congress for higher taxes to defray the cost of the war and prevent inflation: in the current financial year war costs are more than \$20,000 million.

This and many other aspects of American policy are meeting with angry protest in every part of the world. The war is increasing America's international isolation.

Active support for Vietnam continues to build up. For instance the Stockholm World Conference on Vietnam brought together representatives of 22 international and 60 national anti-war organizations and unanimously condemned the U.S. aggression. It demonstrated anew that despite ideological differences friends of peace can agree on organized and united action. And only concerted action by the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, and the national-liberation movement can bridle the aggressor and avert another world war.

Jan PRAZSKY

Violence against Negro Americans

THE MASSIVE armed violence against the Negro American community in a growing number of U.S. cities starkly exposes fascist-like brutality as a hallmark of "law and order" in the "free society" of the United States. The police and military aggression against Negro Americans in the streets of Boston, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Newark and Detroit has been likened by some observers to the U.S. "pacification program" of South Vietnamese towns and villages.

In an open letter to President Johnson (*The Worker*, June 18) the Communist Party charged that the forces of the government are making 1967 *the year of the club against the Negro people*. The letter charges that the stage was set for the mailed fist policy in the President's 1967 State of the Union message to Congress. That message dismissed the burning issue of civil rights with a meagre 45 words in sharp contrast to the stress in the message on the need for strengthening the police forces everywhere primarily to suppress the exploding Negro ghettos. Thus, the President gave the green light to press the assault against Negro Americans to racist and reactionary forces in Congress, in government at all levels, in police departments, the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan and ultra-Rightist organizations.

Thus encouraged, the National Rifle Association, with a membership of 700,000, in the May issue of its magazine *The American Rifleman* called for the formation of armed citizens posses against "mob violence" in American cities. This organization, its ranks infiltrated by the notorious fascist Minutemen, is to receive a \$2,300,000 subsidy from the U.S. Congress. In addition, it will receive another \$1,900,000 for the purchase of rifle ammunition. Vigilante gangs are being formed under the leadership of members of the John Birch Society, White Citizens Councils, Ku Klux Klan, followers of the Ultra-Rightist George Wallace of Alabama, American Nazi Rockwell, and the Minutemen.

During the summer weeks Negro colleges and ghettos were stormed by police and National Guardsmen like villages in Vietnam. In the President's home state of Texas, 650 police armed with rifles and carbines fired 3,000 rounds of ammunition into the dormitories of Texas Southern University, reduced them to shambles and jailed 489 Negro students. Steel-helmeted police and National Guardsmen equipped with armored cars, tanks, helicopters, mobile searchlights and dogs, and armed with machine guns, rifles, sawed-off shotguns, pistols, clubs and tear gas roam the ghetto streets indiscriminately spraying houses, shops and streets with machine-gun fire, clubbing, wounding and killing Negro American citizens. In Detroit some 10,000 police and National Guardsmen, joined by 4,700 paratroopers from the Third Brigade of the 82nd Airborne Division and the Second Brigade of the 101st Division, conducted the assault against the ghetto, killing at least 41, injuring and wounding some three thousand of whom hundreds were seriously hurt. Besides the dead, injured and wounded in the Negro ghettos of American cities, many more thousands have been jailed.

This assault, directed against the Negro people because of their courageous militant fight for an end to the ghetto slums, segregated schools and permanent black economic depression and for jobs, serves to stimulate national resistance to the unjust war against the Vietnamese and exposes the decay of the U.S. "free enterprise" system. The purpose of this massive violence by the state against its own citizens is to single out and crush the militant forces struggling to compel the Administration to use the great resources of the country to rectify the evils inflicted on the American poor.

The present crisis has its roots in the war in Vietnam. The 1967-68 national budget provides for more than \$2 billion a month for that war and a little more than a billion a

year for the war against poverty, the chief victims of which are Negro Americans. Reneging on the pledges made in the 1964 election, the government has refused to push civil rights legislation and has cut funds for the anti-poverty programs so deeply that they are in shambles.

Segregation, discrimination and the denial of basic human rights means for the Negro masses joblessness, low wages and other forms of deprivation—at a time when the national output is close to \$800 billion a year. Negro unemployment is still more than twice that of whites. As against 12 per cent unemployment for white youth, 27 per cent of Negro youth are recorded as unemployed. Average wages for Negro workers are only 53 per cent of white workers.

The advent of the automation revolution and the lack of basic skills among masses of Negro workers, resulting directly from inferior educational and training opportunities and tens of decades of job discrimination, make the Negro worker not only an unemployed worker, but in many cases an unemployable one. But of even greater significance is that in areas where masses of Negroes are to be found working, their wages are abominably low and working conditions intolerable.

It is in the face of these conditions that the Negro people are told by the government that there is no money for jobs, new homes and schools, and learn that civil rights legislation already on the statute books remains by and large unenforced while new proposals for legislation are shelved. This is the source of the anger seething through the Negro ghettos. And from cities all over the country come strong indications that this rightful anger will continue until the Negro people get the jobs they need, the education and training they need; when they get decent homes and the equality that is their due; when they no longer live under the oppression of police brutality.

The struggle of the Negro Americans to win full equality in all spheres of the American society has given rise to the slogan of black power, a power based on the political and economic organization of the Negro people enabling the Negro American community to make decisions of a political, economic and social character at local, state and national governmental levels.

There are a number of different interpretations of the meaning of the slogan of black power. Negro nationalists see the slogan as an expression of independence of the Negro people's movement based on a "go it alone policy." Alongside petty-bourgeois notions of separatism there grows national pride at an

increasingly rapid rate. Writing in WMR, Vol. 10, No. 3, Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CP USA, cautioned that this must not be confused with petty-bourgeois nationalism. He wrote: "The growth of national pride is an expression of the new level of consciousness in the struggle against segregation which combines a recognition of the special problems of the ghetto with a recognition of the imperative necessity for unity between Negro and white. It follows that a growth of this tendency cannot but help to strengthen all efforts towards unity of the Negro people in struggle."

The Communist Party views the slogan of black power as meaning that everywhere, without exception, the Negro people must win their full equality. In areas where they constitute a majority they must have the rights of a majority. Where the Negro people are a minority they must also have equal rights—the right to share in power, in leadership, the right to be elected to any and all posts in accord with their abilities and without any discrimination whatsoever. In coalitions of whites and Negroes, the Negroes must never be treated as second class participants but must be treated as absolute equals, without whose consent no decisions are made.

This meaning of black power as seen by the Communist Party—a view shared with many influential people's organizations and spokesmen, both white and Negro—can only be realized in effective terms as Negro Americans continue to build ever closer their internal unity to facilitate their struggle for integration as free and equal American citizens; and as both Negroes and whites forge unity based on the Labor-Negro alliance in organized struggle for democracy, equality, economic well-being and peace.

The present wave of armed and fascist-type violence against the Negro ghettos and colleges is the latest development in the centuries-old struggle of the Negro American people for freedom in the face of racist terror and discrimination. The struggle will continue until racism, which is an organic feature of U.S. society and which affects every sphere of U.S. life, is completely wiped out. In the U.S., racism means billions of dollars annually in superprofits extracted by monopoly out of the Negro people through low wages, speed-up, and exorbitant rents charged for ghetto tenements.

The struggle for equality and democracy, combining with the struggle for peace and freedom of all peoples, are emerging, in the consciousness of millions of Americans, both white and Negro, as a struggle vitally neces-

sary to the very existence of the USA. The present armed assault against the Negro community can only, in the final analysis, accelerate the development of this consciousness. It can be safely prophesied that the Negro movement in alliance with organized Labor and supported by all staunch democrats will con-

tinue to grow in strength, political maturity and militancy—the path it has followed with an ever-growing tempo since 1964 when it became apparent that the President had broken his election pledges to the American people.

A. DEWHURST

The fascist regime in Greece has no future

THE FASCIST JUNTA in Greece has abolished the Constitution, Parliament, local administration and all other democratic institutions, dissolved the political parties and public organizations and has muzzled the press. Riding roughshod over the rights won by the people in years of hard struggle, it has turned the homeland of democracy into a vast Hitler-type concentration camp.

A docile tool of the oligarchy and foreign, notably American, imperialists, it is adding to the war danger in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. The imperialists, for one thing, hope that it will help them overthrow the lawful government in Cyprus, rob the island of its independence and sovereignty, and trample on the democratic rights and freedoms of Cypriots.

The junta thought it could reduce the people to subjection by violence and demagoguery. But this is where it erred. Greeks have never submitted to tyranny. More than once in their history have they ousted dictatorships, and most certainly they will spare no efforts to overthrow the present fascist regime and restore democracy.

The regime is isolated. Not one of the political parties supports it. The Communist Party, which has always worked for peace, democracy and progress, is initiating efforts to build a patriotic front to combat it.

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party in June issued the following slogans: Greeks, unite, organize and fight, overthrow the fascist dictatorship, re-

store constitutional and democratic freedoms! Freedom of action for all parties and organizations! Freedom for all prisoners! Universal political amnesty! Free elections under an all-party government!

Communists are working for a united democratic front, for it was the absence of such a front that enabled the junta to seize power. They are calling on the people to delay no longer, to do now what should have been done before. "Patriotic unity of the people and the army," says a Party appeal, "will bring down the fascist junta, frustrate the quasi-parliamentary maneuvers and restore democratic life in Greece."

* ' *

World opinion is incensed. Vigorous action stayed the hand of the executioners spoiling to destroy the finest sons of the nation. But the junta has not abandoned its designs. Vigilance is therefore essential. The fight for the lives of Greek patriots must go on, for they are in peril.

Letters smuggled out of prison condemn the junta. A letter from Yioura concentration camp printed in *The Times* is a moving indictment of the fascist regime.

More than 2,000 of the prisoners on Yioura are sick. Many of them, including Ilias Iliou, Manolis Glezos, Leonidas Kirkos, Stavros Iliopoulos and Elli Ioannidou bear signs of torture. The letter says 58 men were brought to Yioura with their wives and children. Of the

230 women prisoners, 21 are mothers with children from one month to three years old.

Nobody can tell how many political prisoners there are in the country. The junta chiefs say five, six or some ten thousand. Foreign correspondents estimate some twenty thousand. One thing is certain: the number is far greater than the junta admits.

Neither can anyone tell how many concentration camps there are. The junta, understandably, says there is only one—on the island of Yioura. Reports, however, tell of another on Makronesos island, with 2,500 prisoners, chiefly army men. Flushed by their "victory," the junta chiefs announced through their Minister of Home Affairs Pattakos that "if a few prisoners have to be executed, we shall do it without hesitation." Subsequently, Pattakos explained: "The political prisoners on Yioura will stay there another hundred years if they do not sign an undertaking to give up all political activity." Pattakos' overseers on Yioura put it more explicitly: "Those who refuse to sign the pledge will rot here till they die!"

This is no empty threat. Many patriots, including Panayiotis Yalis, Georgios Ladas and Nikiforos Mandilaras are now known to have been murdered.

The danger of death from torture and exposure is all too real. Military tribunals now working in top gear, are another danger, especially for the leaders of EDA (United Democratic Left Party) and the Center Union Party. Paul Totomis, Minister of Public Order, announced recently that the EDA leaders Glezos, Iliou and Kirkos will be tried behind closed doors. Andreas Papandreou and some of his colleagues in the Center Union Party will also face a tribunal on charges related to the 'Aspida' case.

The regime is "renovating" public life. Obscurantism is being implanted in all cultural affairs. The works of Aristophanes, Euripides, Aeschylus and Sophocles, along with 700 other Greek and foreign authors, have been banned. So have many prominent Greek composers, including Mikis Theodorakis. Greek democrats who publicly denounced the coup have been deprived of their citizenship. The junta has set out to change things its own way. But it has no future. It will be overthrown by the people who, with active international support and solidarity, are fighting a courageous battle.

Dimitris LAKKAS

October and the world revolutionary process

FRANCE

VICTOR JOANNES

Member of the Central Committee, French Communist Party

NO AMOUNT OF bourgeois propaganda could obscure the scope and significance of the powerful movement of solidarity with the October Revolution, let alone prevent it. It was especially strong when Soviet Russia was blockaded and in the subsequent years of armed intervention by imperialist Britain, France and other Entente powers. The mutiny of the French Black Sea squadron at Odessa in April 1919 was the most salient expression of this solidarity. The name of Jeanne Labourbe, the school teacher who gave her life in that battle, has come to symbolize the French workers' support of the October Revolution.

But friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Republic came not only from workers. Many of our intellectuals, regardless of whether they were democrats, anti-socialists or just non-socialists — men like the historian Olard and the pedagogue Buisson — joined the workers' campaign against the armed intervention and the blockade.

The manifesto against the blockade issued by leading personalities in the world of letters and the arts had wide reverberations. It bore the signature of Anatole France, Georges Duhamel, Jules Romains, Henri Barbusse, Steinlen, Signac, Picart Le Doux, Vlaminck, Madame Autant-Lara, and of such eminent scientists and cultural leaders as Victor Basch, the

mathematician Hadmar, the physicist Paul Langevin, Jean Texier, and Emmanuel Leroux.

"For us," the manifesto said, "it is not a matter of politics, nor a question of whether or not the present regime in Russia is a menace to world order, as some maintain. The crime now perpetrated against human life and dignity can serve no good purpose. And we refuse to be accomplices in it, even to condone it by our silence. We protest, with our hearts and minds, against this crime as contrary to the human conscience and to the traditions of France."

In an open letter titled "The Inevitable Revival," Romain Rolland wrote: "The world has been left to the mercies of unscrupulous and rapacious men who, in the name of a republic or a kingdom, are intent on furthering their passions and interests. It is with grief and regret that one thinks of the many good and honest people in the ranks of the bourgeoisie who have allowed themselves to be deceived. And until this great deception is dispelled there can be no meaningful social progress. Any attempt to transform the senile and venal system will be suppressed, just as they are now trying to suppress the spontaneous but majestic efforts of our brothers in Russia. But the age-old striving for a new and more just and humane system can never be crushed. Suppressed a thousand times, it will rise again for the thousandth and first."

L'Humanité, then edited by Marcel Cachin, took an increasingly clear-cut stand in con-

We continue publication, in abridged form, of contributions to the international theoretical symposium on the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, held in Prague over June 22-24 under the auspices of this journal.

demning imperialist intervention. On November 7, 1918, the first anniversary of the October Revolution, Amédée Dunois wrote: "Regardless of our differences in assessing the situation, it can be said that with every passing day, both in the Party and in the General Confederation of Labor, there is growing faith in the Soviet Republic." A few days later, on November 16, Marcel Cachin wrote: "In present conditions, one cannot conceive of any Socialist approving the Allied armed intervention against a country with which we are not at war."

Despite the rigid thought control and the scanty, doctored or completely distorted information, the truth about Russia gradually came to the knowledge of the French public and was hailed with enthusiasm by intellectuals.

Captain Jacques Sadoul, a member of the French Military Mission in Petrograd, described in his famous letters how the victorious proletariat was preserving all that was positive in the cultural heritage, and how Lenin, in his battle against the nihilist views of Bogdanov and the "Proletcult," constantly emphasized the importance of culture.

Sadoul spoke with admiration of Lunacharsky's far-reaching and integrated program which extended to every sphere of education and to the much wider field of enlightenment. Since November 1917, Sadoul wrote, "the vast system initiated by this brilliant orator, a man of remarkable erudition, deep faith and outstanding literary talent," has been functioning "boldly and cautiously, slowly and firmly."

Sadoul also described the reshaping of the public education system, the measures taken to improve the lot of the teacher, the establishment of Pedagogic Councils composed of teachers, senior students, parents and members of the local Soviet, the revival in literature and the arts, the founding of a school of fine arts in Petrograd and of universities, courses and vocational training schools in other parts of the country, the inauguration of the Socialist Academy which, like the French Institute and the Collège de France, will act as the national scientific and educational center. "It might useful be added," Sadoul wrote, "that the Bolshevik government—that so-called satanical monster, anti-Christ and destroyer of all culture—has already done incomparably more than any bourgeois government to satisfy the intellectual and spiritual requirements of the people."

"Never have scientists enjoyed such solicitude," Sadoul remarked, and that was corroborated by Victor Henry in a memorandum

submitted to the French Academy in July 1919 and based on his five years in Russia as a member of a French mission.

This is how *Le Temps* summarized the memorandum, which subsequently was removed from the Academy archives and cost Victor Henry his position in the Collège de France: "New institutes, art galleries and museums have been opened. The Academy of Sciences in Petrograd has become the intellectual center of the new Russia. It has taken under its protection museums, laboratories and centers of learning. A commission has been appointed to study Russia's natural resources; it has 33 sections, of which 22 are in Petrograd and 11 in Moscow. Among the new research organizations mentioned by Victor Henry are the institutes of chemistry and of platinum. In the latter, Russian researchers have rediscovered the method of separating platinum from iridium, which the Germans kept a dark secret. The list includes also institutes of building materials, sheep-breeding, soil and fertilizer research. The radium, roentgenology, theoretical and applied optics, crystallography, hydrology and work-technique institutes have been functioning for several months.

"The Academy of Sciences has undertaken a geodetic survey and is preparing a magnetic map of Russia. New laboratories have been started at the Weights and Measures Institute.

"Before the war, Russian scientists published their work in German, English and French journals, now the Petrograd Academy is putting out its own bulletin in Russian and French. The first three issues have already appeared."

Though Victor Henry did not become a Communist, he remained a friend of the Soviet Union up to the end of his days. In 1920 he persuaded two of his colleagues to join in a statement conveying the good wishes of French intellectuals to their colleagues in Russia. The two were our great mathematician Hadmar (I have already mentioned his protest against the blockade) who became a close friend of the Communist Party, and Paul Langevin, who later became a prominent member of the Communist Party.

Langevin, who at that time had no party affiliation, chaired one of the first solidarity meetings with the Black Sea mutineers. At the height of the blockade he spoke with praise of the Russian scientists: "There can be no doubt that, from the standpoint of spiritual culture, Europe without Russia would cease to be Europe. Cooperation with the Russians, begun two hundred years ago, acquires increasing importance as this young

country, so ardently striving for education, brings its vast potentialities to bear."

From its very first days, the Soviet government cultivated in the masses a yearning for knowledge and keenly responded to the requirements and aspirations of the intellectuals. That was one of its greatest achievements.

This positive cultural policy played no small part in winning over a very considerable section of the French intelligentsia to support Socialist Party affiliation with the Third International.

Among these intellectuals was Marcel Cachin, who concluded his speech at the Tours party congress with an impassioned appeal to all Socialists to side with Soviet Russia.

Among these intellectuals were young war-veteran writers. One of them, Raymond Lefebvre, wrote on the second anniversary of the October Revolution: "It has brought to reality my ardent dreams in those gruelling marches under a scorching sun and in the brief moments of rest—the dreams of my soldiering days. For two years now they have been a reality . . . There has begun the longest revolution in human history. It will continue for years and years; the capitalist war was its prologue, the Russian revolution, its first act."

Among these intellectuals was Paul Vaillant-Couturier. He urged the Tours congress to give France a party which, like the party of Lenin, would lead the working class "in the inevitable and necessary feats of labor and struggle."

To the voices of Cachin, Lefebvre and Vaillant-Couturier was added the "grand voice" of Henri Barbusse, whose novels *Le Feu* and *Clarte* Lenin described as "one of the particularly striking confirmations of the phenomenon observable everywhere, on a mass scale, namely, the growth of revolutionary consciousness among the masses . . ."

On October 24, 1920, Barbusse published in *l'Humanité* a fervent appeal to Socialists unconditionally to join the Third International. He wrote: "Some people, even in our midst, emulate the shabby hypocrisy of the reactionaries and weigh and measure the results of Bolshevism—results achieved in the crucible of battle, in conditions of widespread dislocation, famine and epidemic, hostile encirclement, treason and countless acts of sabotage. I do not hesitate to say that the Communists' achievements—considering the situation in which they have had to work—are of vast importance and their failures of no importance whatever. What we already know gives us neither the time nor the right to continue this playing at investigating, and

still less the right to waste time discussing second-rate or third-rate concessions, expulsions or other personal issues, or ceremonial matters. For at stake now are the ideals for which, if need be, we must be prepared to give our lives."

Among the intellectuals who became revolutionaries under the impact of the war was Anatole France. In 1918 he addressed this appeal to Paris voters: "I urge you to condemn the bourgeois rulers who . . . at the price of gold and human life are seeking to drown the Russian revolution in blood." In August 1920 he raised his voice in protest against the attack on the Soviet Republic. On January 11, 1921, in a message to *l'Humanité*, he declared his solidarity with the Communist Party. On November 8, 1922, he wrote in a message of greetings to Soviet Russia: "If there are still friends of justice in Europe, let them pay homage to a revolution which, after so many centuries, has given the world the first experience of government for the people and by the people."

The October Revolution had a tremendous impact on the public everywhere. It generated an intellectual ferment which found expression in new but little known militant journals. They carried articles by Lenin, Lunacharsky, Krupskaya and kept the reader in touch with Soviet achievements in education, the work of Soviet poets, scientists and writers, acquainted him with dialectical and historical materialism.

The Clarté group, founded by Barbusse and Vaillant-Couturier in 1919, did much to popularize revolutionary ideas among the intellectuals. Lenin, who highly appreciated this, urged the group (in a letter of November 15, 1922) to make fuller use of the opportunities provided by art in the struggle against imperialist war. All the sophistry in justification of such a war, he emphasized, "should be exposed to the very last."

Apparently he had France in mind when, several months earlier, he wrote to the American engineer Karl Steinmetz: "The number of scientists, technicians and artists who have come to realize the need for replacing capitalism by a different social and economic system is growing in all countries of the world, more slowly than we expected, but steadily and irresistibly. Nor are they daunted by the terrible difficulties of Soviet Russia's struggle against the capitalist world. On the contrary, it impresses on them the need for struggle, and the need to take part in it, in order to help the new overcome the old."

Now, half a century after the October Socialist Revolution, one can but smile at the

oracles of the privileged classes, men like M. Fabre Luce, who in his time claimed that "the moujiks are tearing up priceless paintings for footrags." Now all Frenchmen of good will, all honest-minded people, can see that the economic and social system which has replaced capitalism has not only endured, but has achieved a higher stage of development, primarily in the scientific, technical, intellectual and spiritual fields. In January 1964, the Socialist Party organ *Revue Socialiste* summed up its study of Soviet life in these words: "Progress in mass education and culture will to a much greater degree than material standards be the decisive factor in the competition of the two blocs. Let us not fool ourselves: in this respect the Soviet Union already has a considerable superiority, and it is doubtful whether the Western countries will win the race if they remain within the capitalist system."

Capsuled into these few lines is perhaps the most convincing confirmation of the stand taken 50 years ago by progressive French in-

tellectuals. They were fully aware of the historic role of the working class, the only class capable of emancipating itself from capitalist exploitation and oppression and, at the same time, emancipating the whole of society from all manner of oppression. Ever since then the French Communist Party has striven to help the intellectuals find the correct path and to take their place, side by side with the working class, in building a brighter future. Thus, in March 1966, the Party devoted a special meeting of its Central Committee to an examination of ideological and cultural problems and the role of the Communist intellectual. The meeting met with wide response, for it reflected the needs and expectations of men of science and culture at a time when Marxism is exerting a growing influence on the French intelligentsia, notably its younger generation.

We shall never forget that we owe this influence above all to the immortal victory of October, to the bright beacon it lit, the beacon that illumines man's path into the future.

ITALY

VINZENZO VITELLO

Italian Communist Party

THE HISTORY OF capitalism in the past fifty years—beginning with the October Revolution—clearly speaks of the increasing influence of the Soviet experience and that of the entire socialist world on the political, economic and social aspects of the evolution of the capitalist system. October exerted a tremendous influence not only on political life, where this was most evident; it also influenced the nature of the economic and social changes that have characterized the evolution of capitalism in the past few decades.

However, we do not always seem to realize how and to what extent the socialist experience and the way in which some of the problems related to the nature of the socialist system were solved have influenced economic and social management in areas that concern the evolution of the capitalist economy.

It would therefore be relevant to examine, in particular, some aspects of the influence

exerted by the socialist experience, specifically in economic planning. This should be done not so much from the standpoint of the discussions presently taking place in the socialist countries as from the standpoint of the influence exerted by this planned economic management on the general and, particularly, on the economic policy of the capitalist countries.

A careful assessment of this influence could, possibly, result in a different view of the "perspective" currently restricted by the built-in concepts about the nature of the measures now being carried out in the sphere of economic programming and control by some countries and governments in Western Europe. These issues are, at the same time, related to the tasks of the revolutionary movement in the developed capitalist countries in reconstructing society along socialist lines.

In the concluding part of his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin, proceeding from an analysis of the structure of monopoly society, drew the conclusion that in conditions of growing mass production the ruling capitalist groups reveal a tendency to establish new forms of control over production and markets. These conditions, typical of the capitalist economy of today, necessitate, in view of the present level of technological development, a certain coordination of supply and demand.

This tendency has become so pronounced that it has led to the introduction of systematic control of, and intervention in, the economy which in some of the developed capitalist countries has taken the form of economic programming. Through this intervention the capitalist states have tried to eliminate, in a different way than before, the cyclical disproportions in the economic and social spheres which, considering the level of economic development, could have grave consequences. However, they are also trying to forestall even more dangerous consequences of these disproportions in the social sphere. Among the consequences are, first and foremost, unemployment which, in the event of its assuming massive dimensions, could prove fatal for the capitalist system itself. Hence the different efforts in different countries to maintain so-called full employment. These efforts are prompted also by the considerable influence of the Keynesian ideology on the economic policy of the leading capitalist countries, let alone on contemporary economic theory.

It would, however, be a profound mistake from the viewpoint of the "historical perspective" to ignore the influence exerted in these spheres by Soviet planning. Solving in a planned way the problems of the main strategic trend of Soviet economy and social development, and particularly the problems concerning growth rates, ensuring full employment and making maximum use of available resources on the basis of a high level of science and production technology, were indispensable in the confrontation of socialism and capitalism and in challenging the capitalist world. This, undoubtedly, greatly influenced development trends in the capitalist countries.

The more thoughtful Western analysts of the socialist experience were quick to notice this influence. Thus, in his book *The Soviet Influence on Western Countries*, the British historian, Carr, maintains that the Soviet challenge to the capitalist system greatly undermined the confidence of the people in the democratic institutions of the Western world,

which are incapable of ensuring effective democracy in the economic and social spheres and confine themselves to recognition of a formal juridical equality. In other words, the Soviet experience has made it amply clear that bourgeois democracy does not abolish economic oppression, that in reality freedom of the press and assembly does not mean equal opportunities for all to express their views and opinions. Carr notes that the adversaries of President Roosevelt never tired of repeating that his New Deal was patterned on the Soviet model.

There is no denying that the socialist experience was the decisive factor responsible for the crisis in Western concepts of economic liberalism. In point of fact this experience decisively refuted the theory of economic liberalism according to which the best way to guarantee maximum use of economic resources and the most just distribution of the social product was to give free rein to the blind forces of the capitalist market and thus avoid, as far as possible, any extension of public intervention in the private sector.

Thus, this traditional concept was refuted by facts even before it was assailed by economists in the West. In other words, it was refuted by the experience of Soviet planning, the first in history. Suffice it to recall in this connection the rapid Soviet growth rates in the '30s and the full use it made of the available resources, thanks to socialist planning, and to compare this experience with what happened in the capitalist economy at the time. Little wonder, therefore, that politicians and economists of that decade lost faith in the ideas proclaiming the miracles of free enterprise, considered to be the motive force of economic development and of democracy itself.

A hundred years ago Marx in his *Capital* analyzed the historical socio-economic conditions under which "centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor . . . became incompatible with their capitalist integument." Later, Lenin showed that it was only with the socialist organization of production that the process of unification and socialization, prepared by capitalism itself, could be completed. However, it needed the Soviet experience to prove the complete fallacy of the ideology of economic liberalism and the thesis following from it (in which very few believe nowadays), to the effect that the individual's drive for maximum profit is the basis for providing maximum benefits to society.

This crisis in bourgeois liberal ideas caused essentially, as earlier noted, by the Soviet

experience, rather than by the criticism voiced in Western political and economic circles, was followed by a spate of attempts to give capitalism new ideological concepts. Of these, mention should be made of the so-called neo-capitalist theories based chiefly on the somewhat pretentious view that present-day capitalism is no longer the traditional or "classical" capitalism, that compared with the capitalism of a century or a half a century ago it has changed its nature.

The theorists of "neo-capitalism" include economic programming in what they style the new course of the capitalist economy that should have followed the systematic intervention of the state and the measures designed to overcome the unfavorable business trends and to control cyclical development. These theorists affirm that given these measures the capitalist economy would be able to eliminate the economic and social contradictions and the disproportions characteristic of the old-type capitalism.

However, the experience of recent decades in the capitalist countries of Western Europe shows how deep-rooted these contradictions are. They sometimes acquire new forms, depending on the changes introduced in the capitalist system as the result of a definite economic policy, or as the result of the social struggle which compels the authorities to take social measures they never would have taken otherwise.

Here two aspects of the question should be considered. One is that the latest neo-capitalist doctrines and assertions that capitalism can overcome its economic and social contradictions are proving to be utterly unsubstantiated. The theories about the "revolution in incomes" and the "managerial revolution"—the mainstays of the neo-capitalist doctrines—are no longer in vogue. The other aspect is the very obvious limited character of the economic intervention by the state, including such intervention as has been effected through the more regulated forms of public control of economic activity. At a time when the disproportion between the highly developed capitalist countries and the backward countries is steadily widening, even the most developed capitalist countries are still a long way from making the fullest and best use of their economic, material and manpower resources.

We see that even in these countries state intervention in economic life does not lessen the social contrasts and that although the cyclical fluctuations have been somewhat stabilized as a result of such intervention, the disproportions are manifesting themselves in

new forms between industry and agriculture, between the monopoly-dominated areas and the remaining area of the economy, between the industrial and non-industrial regions of the world, and also within individual countries).

What are the prospects for contemporary capitalism in the conditions of the existence of the socialist world and the influence exerted by it?

In the light of the aforesaid it is clear that the new economic and social trends that have surfaced in the countries of the West are the direct outcome of the internal evolution taking place in these countries and of the impact made by the socialist world. The challenge of the latter has compelled the capitalist countries to try for the highest degree of efficiency of which their production apparatus and labor power are capable in capitalist conditions. Hence the attempts to introduce the programming mentioned previously. These attempts dovetail with capitalism's need to find a "capitalist solution" to the socio-economic and technological problems raised by the present stage of capitalist development. But this is where new contradictions, especially in the political sphere, make their appearance—contradictions between the forces anxious to give effect to this solution and the forces of the working class and also the social strata whose interests conflict with those of the ruling monopoly groups. The people would like to impart an effective democratic content to economic control and economic programming thereby making it a new arena of struggle between the forces of reaction and the forces of social progress, an arena which encompasses all fronts of the class battle—the ideological, political, economic, social and trade union.

Thus, it can be said that by its example the socialist world has impelled, and will continue to impel, capitalism to devise new methods and forms of management and economic control. It might even attempt to establish authoritarian and technocratic forms of political and economic management. However, powerful forces have matured in the capitalist countries where the working-class movement is most developed and likely to resist such attempts. This, too, is the result of the influence exerted by the socialist world on the revolutionary movement in the said countries.

All these processes have generated social conflicts in new spheres of activity, necessitating more complex forms of political leadership by the vanguard of the revolutionary movement.

It is essential that we understand the nature of the new tasks facing us at the present stage of the evolution of the capitalist system; for such understanding is a prerequisite of the struggle for socialism in the new conditions engendered by this complex process of historical, political, economic and social development.

On the other hand, whereas the socialist experience of planning — which places the country's material and manpower resources wholly in the service of society—was a decisive factor in causing the crisis in the ideology of economic liberalism, the decisive blow

at the neo-capitalist ideology and the consequent policy pursued by the capitalist state can be struck jointly by the revolutionary movement fighting for the socialist reconstruction of society and by the further development of socialist democracy to which the most rational methods in planned socialist economy, presently being elaborated, are closely related. There is no doubt whatever that this joint contribution by the forces of socialism and the revolutionary movement will be decisive in determining the general perspectives and the very destiny of present-day capitalism.

FRG

JOSEF ANGENFORT

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THE ADVENT of Soviet rule in Russia in October 1917 was epitomized by the Decree on Peace which gave expression to the cherished aspirations of war-weary humanity and set forth a realistic approach to ending the war and achieving a democratic peace. Thereby the Russian workers struck a blow not only in their own interest, but also in that of the German working class, the German nation, rendering it invaluable moral and political support.

Some historians in West Germany claim that the October Revolution destroyed the traditionally good relations between Russia and Germany. But is this true? After all, the traditional relations between imperialist Germany and imperialist Russia did not prevent the First World War, for which the peoples of the two countries paid dearly. Indeed, the possibility of genuinely good-neighbor relations did not appear until the October Revolution and Russia's withdrawal from the world war.

World imperialism set out to destroy the Soviet Republic, an example for the peoples of all countries, and found in imperialist Germany the shock force blocking the road to democracy and socialism in capitalist Europe. This was why the armistice concluded after Germany's military collapse in 1918, which also stipulated the withdrawal of German

troops from the occupied eastern territories, was quickly revised, encouraging German reaction to form volunteer units and crush the revolution in the Baltic states.

A sinister alliance was formed between the imperialists of the world and the reactionary rulers of Germany against Soviet power and, at the same time, against the people of Germany. After the dirty work in the Baltic republics, as a result of which bourgeois governments were installed there, the volunteers returned to Germany with swastikas on their steel helmets. Their commanders organized the Kapp *putsch*, revealing the immanent connection between aggressive anti-Sovietism and fascism.

The Treaty of Rapallo, signed in April 1922, restored trade and diplomatic relations between the two countries, embodying Lenin's policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Had the Rapallo principles continued to govern German-Soviet relations, peace in Europe would have been so much more secure. But German monopoly capital established a fascist dictatorship, clearing the decks for a second world war. Ultimately, the Soviet armies liberated our people and re-established peace.

Fascism and the war proved that the big monopolies, militarism, the abolition of democ-

racy, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism imperil the nation's vital interests.

The defeat of German imperialism and militarism created an opportunity of rooting out fascism and war. In the east of the country this chance was turned to good advantage, the first worker-peasant state established friendly relations with the Soviet Union. But even a cursory glance at the situation and at those who are in power in West Germany will show that this splendid opportunity to reconstruct Germany was allowed to go by the board. There, the big corporations and banks are again in economic and political control. Militarism has been restored and Bonn's official doctrine is again centered on the anti-Sovietism and anti-communism which in the past enabled the reactionary bourgeoisie to install the fascist dictatorship, kindle the flames of the Second World War and attack the Soviet Union.

After the war, the German tycoons, jointly with the Western powers, notably the United States, sabotaged the Potsdam agreements and succeeded in splitting the working class, thus neutralizing the decisive force that aspired to democratic renovation.

The official start to this policy was given by U.S. State Secretary James Byrnes on September 6, 1946, in a speech at Stuttgart, where he advocated a separate West German government and indicated that the United States had never considered as final the Potsdam ruling on the Oder-Neisse border. Like Germany's former rulers who had ruined the country, U.S. capital opposed the Potsdam provisions for democratization, refused to oust from power the industrialists, bankers and landowners, and obstructed mutual understanding between the German people and the Soviet Union.

Development along the lines formulated in Potsdam would have benefited the Germans and all other European peoples, for it would have ensured European peace and peace for the people of Germany, thus paving the way to social progress and national unity. But then the prospects for keeping a democratic Germany within the orbit of U.S. policy would have been too dim. The U.S. rulers had assigned the country a special part in their global "roll-back" strategy against socialism. This time, Germany—or at least the three Western occupation zones—was to be an instrument of U.S. imperialism. Imperialism and militarism were to be revived, for the interests of German and North American capital coincided on this score. "A revived Germany," wrote John Foster Dulles in his *War or Peace* in 1950, "can also be an asset to the West. By attract-

ing Eastern Germany into its orbit the West can gain an advanced strategic position in Central Europe which will undermine the Soviet Communist military and political positions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other neighboring countries."

In 1952-54 the West German tycoons and the Western powers turned down all Soviet and GDR proposals for a united democratic Germany with restricted arms. Under the Paris agreements, Bonn allowed the Western Powers to decide on German reunification and joined the aggressive NATO pact, guaranteeing the Western powers occupation rights until 2005.

Bonn's basic aim was best defined by von Hassel, former defense minister and now minister for so-called displaced persons. "Our territorial demands go much farther than the Oder-Neisse line," he said at a Christian Democratic Union congress in Kiel in June 1961. "We want to have back the old regions of German rule. The year 2000 must not become the 83rd year of the October Revolution."

The Kiesinger government speaks about a new eastern policy. "It is not true that in speaking about our policy we have in mind merely a more refined terminology and method of expression," the Federal Chancellor told the Bundestag on June 14. "It contains," he went on, "a decisive element aimed at establishing a peaceful order in Europe."

But let us look at the facts. Bonn knows perfectly well that it is not strong enough now to overrun the German Democratic Republic. So it sets less ambitious goals, which it defines more flexibly in order to counteract isolation. However, it has not lost sight of its ultimate aim. It wants to subvert the policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries, penetrate the socialist states economically and ideologically and, by so doing, isolate the GDR. Seizure of the GDR is seen as the next step, to be followed by an assault against socialism in Eastern Europe. Franz Josef Strauss, now West Germany's finance minister, says this in so many words in his *Project for Europe*. The *Stimme der Freiheit*, financed by the Federal and Saar governments, says "liberation of the people in Middle Germany will not be possible until a new balance is struck between East and West. Political and economic difficulties in the East could create a new situation, compelling the Soviet and other Communist rulers to clear out — without war. Nothing but removal of the iron curtain — without war—could free the population of the Soviet occupation zone and other enslaved peoples" (December 1966).

That the words "without war" are a smoke-

screen can be seen from another article in the September 1966 issue of the same journal. "For Bonn," it says, "to be or not to be in 1970 to 1975 is to have or not to have atomic weapons . . . He who understands the communist danger and wants to combat it must let the Bundeswehr have effective weaponry. Otherwise the status quo . . . will go unchallenged."

To be sure, the so-called new eastern policy is based to the last detail on American advice, notably that of Professor Brzezinski, State Department advisor for European affairs. Sketches of each of the measures so far taken by Bonn may be found in his *Alternative to Partition*, a book published in 1965. Many still hope that Social Democratic ministers in the Federal government will bring about a policy of mutual understanding. But the facts show that the Social Democrats were admitted to the cabinet to continue the old line, crush resistance within and breach the isolation on the international scene. Minister Strauss, head of the Christian Social Union, told the CDU congress in Brunswick that the "grand coalition was possible because our foreign and economic policy had gained so much ground that our partners were compelled to give up their own notions and recognize our basic guidelines."

Banker Abs, one of the men who helped Hitler prepare the Second World War, said he could not at present conceive of "a better government than the one we have now" (*Die Zeit*, May 26, 1967).

Bonn is determined to sustain the international tension, because tension suits its expansionist policy. Unequivocal evidence of this is provided by its reaction to Israel's attack on the Arab states. From the initial success of the Israeli aggression Springer's *Welt am Sonntag* draws a conclusion dovetailing with the revanchist, anti-Communist and anti-Soviet designs of the West-German rulers. "The first lesson of this unusual campaign," the paper says in its issue of June 11, "is its total denial of the fashionable thesis that war is no longer an instrument of policy." At the end of a war, the paper goes on, it no longer matters who fired the first shot; what matters is "the actual military situation and degree of danger." The Springer press infers from the Israeli aggression that a policy "from positions of strength," of which Chan-

cellor Kiesinger is an avowed admirer, is the thing that pays dividends.

Speaking in the Bundestag back in December 15, 1954, Kiesinger said: "We are reproved for pursuing a policy from positions of strength. But that is absolutely true. Haven't we learned yet that strength is the only thing the Russians respect, the only thing that will compel them to make concessions?"

Kiesinger has never retracted this statement. It is still Bonn's basic guideline, and the people in West Germany are again footing the bill for this hostility to the Soviet Union. The fruits of their labor are being squandered on an insane arms race, the burden of which falls squarely on their shoulders. Democratic rights and freedoms are being restricted and emergency legislation is in the offing to emasculate the Constitution, break the resistance of the workers and their trade unions, and create the deathlike calm in which to prepare for aggression. Bonn is spoiling for a war against the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries.

We West German Communist are warning the nation against this policy and doing our best to combat it. We are telling the people that the Soviet Union was the only country to proffer us the hand of friendship after Versailles, that it has at no time presented a danger to Germany. After the Second World War the Soviet Union made repeated proposals designed to resolve our vital problems. Today, too, it is saying that we need abandon nothing but the illusions of a handful of warmongers and the dangerous policies these illusions breed.

We German Communists say that it is in the interest of our nation to clasp the hand held out to us. This is a step toward peace which we, the people of the Federal Republic, must take, if only because the two world wars began on German soil.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is for us a model of how to convince the masses by patient explanation and of how to maintain close bonds with the people. The example of the Bolsheviks who, despite persecution and terror, led the Russian workers to victory, makes us doubly confident that our own Party will ultimately smash the fetters of illegality and join with all other democratic forces to effect a turn towards peace, democracy and social progress.

CANADA

NELSON CLARKE

Central Executive Member and
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FIFTY YEARS AGO the Russian proletariat in alliance with the peasantry, led by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, overthrew the rule of capitalists and landlords and, in doing so, broke the imperialist chain of world domination; established the first workers' socialist state in the history of our planet; delivered a smashing blow against the imperialist instigators of aggressive robber wars, waged for redivision of the world.

The emergence of the first workers' state onto the stage of world history established for the first time a firm and reliable base for the class struggles of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of all lands for their democratic and socialist aims and aspirations. The new-born socialist state of workers and peasants stood as a beacon light illuminating the path of democratic and revolutionary struggles of the oppressed and exploited peoples everywhere. A new content was added to the meaning of proletarian internationalism.

This historic significance of the October Socialist Revolution was instinctively grasped by the workers in all lands. As witness to, and personifying this understanding, were the "Hands off Russia" committees which, originating in Britain, sprang up in many countries throughout the world.

Canadian workers were no exception. The proclamation by the All-Russian Congress of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies that it was taking over state power was hailed by Canadian workers as an augury of their own class role. Broad masses of workers were stirred to their depths. With the end of the imperialist war, the inspirational effect of the Russian Revolution combined with all the pent-up contradictions of class interests in Canada to advance the working class by a stage.

From a land laid waste as a result of four years of imperialist war followed by a similar period of counter-revolutionary imperialist military intervention and blockade, the Soviet

people in fifty years have built a durable, rich and powerful socialist country ranking as one of the world's two greatest powers. The Soviet land, generously honoring its internationalist responsibilities, gave unselfish moral, political, military and economic aid to those peoples fighting to cast off colonial bondage, liberate their countries and establish democratic anti-imperialist and, in some cases, socialist regimes.

In these past fifty years a world system of socialist states has emerged embracing 14 countries and one third of the world's population. To this must be added the scores of new states which have emerged from the ruins of former colonial empires. And, if we compare the absolute and relative strength of the working class movement, both economic and political, with that of the days of October 1917, the comparison is most encouraging. The trade union movement on a world scale is massive, claiming millions of members in each of the advanced capitalist countries. As for the newly-developing countries there is not one in which trade union organizations do not exist including in their ranks industrial and agricultural workers. In the socialist countries trade union membership is almost universal. Tens of millions of working people, manual and intellectual, are organized in Communist and Socialist parties.

In summing up the changes which have taken place in the relationship of forces on a world scale the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stated: "The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system." From this the Moscow Statement concluded that "the superiority of the forces of socialism over the imperialism, of the forces of

peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena."

However, as a result of the splitting tactics of the Chinese leaders the unity of the world movement has been weakened in recent years. Taking advantage of this situation the imperialists, and in the first place U.S. imperialism, by intrigue and aggressive actions have been able to impose serious setbacks on the revolutionary movement in some countries. These developments have led to a questioning within the ranks of the progressive movement of the validity of the 1960 estimation of the relationship of forces on a world scale. We Canadian Communists consider that the estimation of the Moscow meeting retains its validity despite recent temporary successes of the imperialists. We are confident, precisely because of the objective character of the factors which determine the relationship of forces, that the setbacks suffered will be overcome. We are equally confident, because of the objective base on which the unity of the world movement rests, that the breach in the unity of the Communist movement will be healed. We note in the recent period encouraging indications of improved understanding and cohesion between a number of parties.

The year 1917 was a turning point in the history of the Canadian labor movement. Canadian workers have made more gains in the past 50 years than were made during the entire history of wage-labor in Canada up to that year. These gains cannot be measured by the changes in wage rates alone, nor by the social gains such as old age and other pensions which were non-existent in 1917, the eight-hour day and the five-day week, family allowances, hospital care and unemployment insurance. The real and basic changes that have made are those which have taken place among the workers themselves, changes expressed in the growth of confidence in their own forces, in the power of their organizations. Those are the decisive reasons why the workers have succeeded in exacting higher wages and shorter hours from their employers. In contrast to changes in the purchasing power of wages this gain cannot be taken away. It is a historical stage of the development of the working class and, therefore, it is indestructible.

The Canadian population is being proletarianized at a rapid rate. The 1961 census showed that in that year out of a total of 12.4 million people, 14 years old or over, the numbers of paid workers stood at 6.3 million. Of this number, only one tenth were engaged in agriculture. The working class is growing in numbers as the farmers, professionals, technicians and urban middle classes are be-

ing squeezed into the ranks of the wage earners. The census showed a rapid increase in the number of white collar and service workers; a slow growth in manual occupations. Manual workers made up only 35 per cent of the labor force in 1961 as against 38 per cent in 1951, and although their numbers increased by a quarter of a million during the 1950s, their rate of growth was only half of that of the total labor force.

The changes taking place in the composition of the working class are bound to be reflected in considerable diversity in the conditions of the working class as a whole. There are different standards of life to be found within the ranks of the working class, ranging all the way from extreme poverty and sub-standard incomes to a good measure of affluence and middle class standards of life.

If we go outside of the ranks of the working class and take into account, as we must, other sections of the population coming under the domination of monopoly, we get a much more sweeping picture of diversity in living standards, social outlook and political consciousness which will be reflected in the make-up of an anti-monopoly coalition.

A realistic examination of the situation existing within the ranks of the working class of Canada shows that the Canadian workers are, by and large, reform-minded. The great mass of workers are not as yet dissatisfied with capitalism as such. Their demands, in the main, are for better living conditions, a larger share of the fruits of advanced production technique and the right to share with the capitalists and government in the introduction of new production techniques as well as in production planning. They demand also the right to work, more leisure time guaranteed through higher wages and shorter working time, extended and vastly improved social benefits, and so on.

There can be no doubt that there exists a material basis upon which Canadian workers' illusions about capitalism are founded. And this is not to deny the negative features of workers' conditions. It is not to deny the existence of a large army of chronically unemployed, or high monopoly prices, mounting taxation, the intense exploitation of labor both in industry, the services and on the farms, the lack of real economic and social security. However, any appraisal of the conditions of the Canadian working class which fails to take into account the gains won by the workers in their long years of struggle against capitalist exploitation is extremely one-sided.

While the changes that have taken place in the working class of Canada since the Great

October Revolution have been significant, note must be taken also of the fact that some important changes have taken place in the structure of Canadian capital and the capitalist class's attitude to social problems and world affairs. Capitalism holds a favored position in Canada. The Canadian monopolists, greatly enriched from the profits of the two world wars, controlling an industrial complex based on a huge treasure of natural wealth, are allied as junior partners with U.S. monopoly — an alliance which affords them a junior partner's share of U.S. imperialist plunder but which was bought by delivering to the U.S. monopolists the commanding positions in Canada's economy as well as a good measure of our country's independence from the USA. And as junior partners of U.S. imperialism the Canadian monopolists acting through the government which they control, are guilty of complicity in the crimes and aggression the U.S. is committing daily in Vietnam; they are equally guilty of complicity in the U.S.-British-Israeli conspiracy which inspired the recent Israeli aggression against its Arab neighbors.

However, within the higher echelons of the capitalist class and its middle sections voices are raised in opposition to fiscal, economic and political policies which bind Canada in a satellite position to the U.S. The opponents of this line press fairly consistently for more realistic trade policies and marketing arrangements on Canada's part with all countries willing to do business with Canada, including the socialist countries.

It is important also to note that the big monopolies in Canada are able because of their favored economic position to make important concessions to the economic and social demands advanced and struggled for by the workers and the people generally. This does not mean that they will make concessions without struggle. It means only that as a ruling circle they are fearful of kindling on a wide scale an open hostility to their rule on the part of the working class. Their policy toward the economic and social demands of the working class is effected by alternating the iron hand and the velvet glove.

In respect to the administration of their common affairs, political, economic and fiscal, they have taken firm control over the state apparatus. And when it suits their purpose and needs they instigate and carry through state intervention in economic and fiscal matters on their behalf. Within their own individual empires they have introduced a measure of long-term planning and short-term programming in the interest of sustaining long-

term expansion at high rates of exploitation and profits.

It is on the background of this briefly outlined reality that Canadian Communists have worked out their Party's policy in respect to the road to socialism in Canada. The favorable resolution of the problems relating to the winning of working class power and carrying through the socialist transformation in Canada demands that those who would lead the working class and the people along this road, take fully into account the diversity existing in both the working class and the anti-monopoly movement as a whole. It demands also taking fully into account the important differences existing within the ranks of the capitalist class, including those existing between the monopolists.

The common denominator serving as a unifying factor within the ranks of a diversified working class, while at the same time serving as a basis upon which the class can find common grounds with its natural allies — the farmers, professionals, intellectuals and small business—is the anti-monopoly factor and, in the case of Canada, a monopoly that is dominated by U.S. trusts. It is this monopolist oligarchy which has betrayed Canada's independence to the U.S., which is the enemy of peace, and of a new constitution guaranteeing equal rights to our two nations — French and English speaking—and of economic, social and political democracy. Canada and Canadians must be emancipated from the exploitation of the monopolists and from the domination of the U.S. imperialists. To accomplish this the working class must be united in purpose and action, and united with the other sections of the population suffering under the exploitation of monopoly and U.S. domination.

Equally important is that the working class and its allies understand the nature of the present state structure in Canada. The old capitalist parties, which still enjoy between them the majority support of the electorate, no longer represent, as they once did, the aims of free enterprise capitalism. The commanding posts in these parties have been captured by monopoly and through this medium the monopolists have fastened their control on Government and state. This fact has yet to be grasped by the majority of Canada's working class, which a strong and growing minority does. A growing section of the working class and of the trade union movement have come to the conclusion that it is wrong and harmful to take a negative or neutral attitude to the question of state intervention and participation in the process of production, and regulation of the economy. They are taking the position that the working class and its allies

must not leave the field of intervention and influencing state actions on the course of economic development to monopoly, but must intervene with their own measures which would bring benefits to the people who are subjected in one way or another to monopoly exploitation.

It is of course correct to remind the advocates of major reform measures that full, proportionate development of the economy is only possible on the basis of socialist ownership of the means of production. But short of such public ownership, the working class should not stand on the sidelines and confine itself to propaganda only. Within the confines of private property relations the working class and its allies should intervene and insist that the state undertake the kind of planning and active intervention which will benefit the anti-monopoly sections of the population. This is vitally important both in regard to immediate struggles and in respect to the decisive overall struggle of changing the content of the state power structure in the country from its present monopoly dictatorship to an anti-monopoly people's democracy.

Our Party attaches decisive importance to the all-sided struggle for the extension of real and effective democracy in the interests of the working people, seeing in this the road along which the Canadian working class can advance to the achievement of power.

It is of interest to recall in this connection the great importance which Lenin and the Bolshevik Party attached to such questions in the critical period between February and October 1917. To cite but one idea put forward by Lenin:

"For socialism is merely the next step forward from state-capitalist monopoly. Or, in other words, socialism is merely state-capitalist monopoly which is made to serve the interests of the working people and has to that extent ceased to be capitalist monopoly.

"There is no middle course here. The objective process of development is such that it is impossible to advance from monopolies (and the war has magnified their number,

role and importance tenfold) without advancing towards socialism." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed. Vol. 25, p. 358).

It seems to us that in the vastly different conditions of Canada in 1967, there are nevertheless lessons to be learned from the period leading up to the October Revolution in respect to the relationships between the fight for democracy and the winning of socialism—lessons which have perhaps not been as diligently studied in the past as they might have been.

United democratic actions of the working class, farmers and all anti-monopoly forces can be established around common platforms on all important questions affecting the economic, social and political life of the people. Indeed many such coalitions are taking place around the issues of the day, such as is the case around Vietnam. The issues themselves determine, in large measure, the degree and extent of the unity actions. Broad questions, such as peace, democratic rights and similar problems demanding democratic solutions, embrace a wide spectrum of people. Other questions of an economic and social character bring into being different types of coalitions.

The prospect in Canada is that for some period of time political fluidity will most likely be the order of the day. For Communists and Socialists such a prospect demands the utmost in creativeness and flexibility. It demands respect for the opinions of all who engage in the titanic struggle against monopoly. For mutual respect for each other's opinions, principled criticism of each other's positions when criticism is called for are a solid base for cooperation between working class and democratic parties. But, above all, the democratic demands of the working class upon monopoly and the state must be concrete. Ambiguities, left phrasemongering and opportunist capitulation to monopoly will get the movement nowhere. But united democratic struggle on all fronts can unseat the monopolists from state power, establish people's democracy and set Canada firmly onto the path of its socialist future.

MONGOLIA

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THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, consummated under the leadership of Lenin's Communist Party, proved in the crucible of mass revolutionary struggle the viability and scientific validity of Marxism-Leninism. It proved that leadership by Marxist parties of the new type is an imperative of liberation from capitalist and landlord oppression. This is a fact of fundamental importance for the revolutionary working-class and national-liberation movements all over the world.

We feel that it will be in place, therefore, to review some basic aspects of the part played by the People's Revolutionary Party in the reconstruction of our country.

The Revolutionary Party opened a new chapter in the history of our movement for national and social emancipation. To begin with, it guided the efforts of revolutionaries to the common goal. The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution could never have won without the militant vanguard which marshalled the forces of the people and secured the support of the international revolutionary movement.

The part played by our Party in effecting and furthering the people's revolution is best characterized by the element of consciousness which it injected into the freedom struggle, defining the immediate and long-term aims in the then existing domestic and international situation.

Yet it was not until the Mongolian revolutionaries visited Soviet Russia, where they conferred with the Comintern and with Russian Communists and learned more about the Russian revolution, that they were able to define in lucid and specific terms the tasks of the revolutionaries in Urga. They realized, for one thing, that the people would not be free even after driving out the foreign invaders, unless the feudal system was smashed and replaced by democratic rule. While in Irkutsk, Sukhe Bator and his associates said in a message to the Soviet government that

"on achieving the country's independence, we shall heed the experience of other countries and fight on for the rights and interests of our people." The growing national awareness of the herdsmen, the message said, "will enable us in a year or two to carry the revolution forward and put an end to the privileges of the feudal lords."

A most important part in preparing the Party ideologically was played by *Mongolyn Ynen*, the newspaper which the Mongolian revolutionaries began to publish at the end of 1920. It elucidated the aims and tasks of the Party, infused revolutionary consciousness into the national-liberation movement, exposed colonialism and campaigned for unity of the patriotic forces. At the same time, it revealed the duplicity of both lay and ecclesiastic feudal overlords who were betraying the national interests.

The revolutionaries explained in their paper that the nation needed a new government elected by the people and based on democratic principles. They also explained the significance of the October Revolution and the foreign and home policies of Soviet Russia, notably the support she was rendering to the oppressed peoples fighting for freedom.

The program adopted at the Party's First Congress defined the aims and tasks of the revolution and helped rally the *arat* herdsmen to the revolutionary fight against foreign and domestic oppression.

The preamble to the program outlined the theoretical Marxist-Leninist principles of the revolution. As imperialism's sphere of influence broadens, it said, so does the struggle of the workers, with revolutionary ideology spreading throughout the world. It indicated, too, that the working class is sure to win its worldwide battle against capital and that the fight of the colonial peoples would spread, leading to final victory through the solidarity and joint action of the workers and colonial peoples.

The international situation, the preamble said, was determined by the October Revolution, the clash of the two worlds. It pointed out that the imperialist system was ripe for revolution and viewed the home and foreign affairs of Mongolia in the context of world events. Though Mongolia was still medieval, it said, she was preyed upon by world imperialism and was thus on the threshold of revolutionary reconstruction. The preamble underscored the identity of interests of the Mongolian liberation movement and the proletarian world revolution, and expressed faith in the help of the Comintern and Soviet Russia. The program also noted the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character of the revolution and formulated the immediate tasks.

Party guidance was the decisive factor of the revolution. The Party organized the armed struggle and secured the support of all progressive patriotic forces against imperialism and feudalism. It recognized Soviet Russia as the citadel of national liberation and appealed for help to the Soviet government on behalf of the Mongolian people, rejecting fellow-travellers who turned against the revolution during the decisive battles for people's rule. It selected the right form for the revolution, created a headquarters for the armed uprising and formed volunteer units and partisan detachments as the main revolutionary force.

"Victory in Mongolia's national-liberation anti-imperialist revolution would have been inconceivable without the leading role of our revolutionary Party, which benefitted from the experience of the world revolutionary movement, took account of the country's historical peculiarities and secured the alliance of the *arats* of Mongolia with the victorious proletariat of socialist Russia." (*Fortieth Anniversary of the October Revolution and the People of Mongolia*, in Russian, Moscow, 1957, p. 17.)

After the revolution, which placed power in the hands of the people, the Party entered upon a new phase. Its Third Congress opted for non-capitalist development. The new program adopted in 1925 set the sights on abolishing the class of feudal lords, ousting foreign capital and remoulding political, economic and cultural relations along democratic lines. At the same time, the Party set out to build a new socialist-type economy, laying the groundwork for national industry, modern transport and communications, trade and finance.

Democratic reconstruction was completed by the forties, setting the country firmly on the socialist road. The Tenth Party Congress in March 1940 reviewed the progress made in the democratic stage of the revolution and

drew up a program for laying the foundations of socialism.

In the socialist stage, spectacular headway was made in industry and farming, and in the cultural revolution. Steady growth of socialist industry, with mining, oil, construction and many other industries built from scratch, and development of modern transport and communications—all with the help of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries—have transformed Mongolia from a purely agrarian into an agrarian-industrial state.

The Party also solved one of the most difficult and complex problems of socialist construction when it rebuilt agriculture along socialist cooperative lines.

Today, the Mongolian People's Republic has entered a new phase, in which it will complete the building of socialism. The basic economic task now, defined in the program adopted by the Party's Fifteenth Congress last year, is to convert Mongolia into an industrial-agrarian country.

This does not imply that Mongolia's non-capitalist development has been a path of roses and that the Party encountered no difficulties. "The Party," says the new program, "led the nation to historic victories by virtue of its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism creatively applied to the specific conditions of the country, its uncompromising struggle against all views hostile to Marxism-Leninism and its educating the people in the spirit of communism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism."

The Party has had to cope with the fierce resistance of the feudal class and with the pressures of the petty bourgeoisie. In the late twenties, Right opportunists denied that Mongolia could take the non-capitalist path, departed from the principles of proletarian internationalism, obstructed the struggle against the feudal elements and acted as a drag on the country's development, while in the early thirties grave damage was caused by Left opportunists, who refused to take the specific historical features of Mongolia into account.

Invariably, it was nationalism and nationalist survivals that were at the root of all the departures from the general Party line and of all the assaults on Party unity.

In conclusion, a few words about the specific aspects in the development of our Party, founded as a peasant revolutionary party and now the Marxist-Leninist vanguard in building socialism.

At the beginning, the Party admitted to its ranks all who accepted the aims set out in its program. This, while prompted by the features of our revolution, exposed the Party to strong

ideological pressures of the feudal and petty bourgeois elements, impeding its revolutionary activity and Marxist development. All down the years, therefore, the Party has striven to reinforce its ranks with the foremost *arat* herdsmen, workers and intellectuals, while periodically purging the alien element.

From the beginning we have maintained contacts with the world Communist movement and the closest of ties with the Comintern and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, taking guidance constantly from the teaching and counsel of Lenin, the great leader of the working people of the world, to which the Party owes its continuous development along Marxist-Leninist lines and its ideological and organizational strength.

Some people think that Marxism-Leninism is applicable in developed capitalist countries only and totally unsuited for backward agrarian countries where the bulk of the people are peasants. But the experience of our Party has disproved this.

Marxism-Leninism, the doctrine of the working class aimed at wiping out exploita-

tion and building a classless communist society, stands for the interests of all people of labor, not the workers alone. Our experience bears out the fact that Marxism-Leninism is the only effective ideological weapon paving the way to freedom, social progress and general development for all.

By carrying out democratic reconstruction first and then re-patterning life along socialist principles and securing a rapid growth of the productive forces, the Party has transformed colonial and feudal Mongolia into a socialist state. This is its greatest achievement. Now, the Party stands at the head of the people's effort to complete the building of socialism.

The country's accomplishments in what is historically a very short time show that the Party did not err in defining the ways and possibilities of backward Mongolia's bypassing capitalist exploitation on her road to socialism. It has succeeded in harmonizing the revolutionary effort of our people with the selfless aid of the victorious Russian workers, thus securing the victory of socialism in Mongolia and confirming the possibility of building socialism in backward countries.

TUNISIA

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IN HIS "LEFT-WING" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* Lenin stressed that the October Revolution had not only international significance in the broad sense, meaning the impact it would have on the revolutionary movement throughout the world, but also international significance in the narrow sense, namely, that besides features arising from the specific conditions of Russia its basic features would manifest themselves in one way or another in all countries taking the socialist road. "It is the Russian model," he wrote, "that reveals to *all* countries something—and something highly significant — of their near and inevitable future" (*Collected Works*, English ed., Vol. 31, p. 22).

The advance of the revolutionary movement on all continents has reaffirmed the validity of Lenin's thesis. The ways and means of the

transition to socialism are becoming increasingly varied in keeping with the peculiarities of each country, its level of development and its national traditions, but the essence is the same: any socialist revolution — whether peaceful or non-peaceful — follows definite laws, general and particular. It is not a question of the complex relationships and the living dialectics which the revolutionaries should comprehend and assimilate in order to be in a position correctly to guide the socialist reconstruction of their country. They have the valuable experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind—the era of socialist revolutions. Although our times differ from the days of the victorious October Revolution, and although peoples can take roads different from those taken by the Russian Communists

and employ other forms of struggle and other forms of leadership and organization, the basic ideas of October preserve their significance and their validity.

These dialectics of the general and the particular, of the basic demands and the specific conditions, dialectics revealed by the October Revolution, become increasingly complex when applied to developing countries in which the material prerequisites of socialism are non-existent, where the working class is numerically small, and where the party of the working people, even if it does exist, does not lead the movement.

The October Revolution took place at a time when colonialism held sway in Africa and Asia, whose peoples were mercilessly exploited and oppressed. The liberation movement was then in its infancy and its aims were limited.

For the peoples of the colonial countries the triumph of the worker-peasant revolution in such a vast country as Russia was a ray of hope, showing them above all that the oppressors, no matter how strong they are, can be vanquished. This victory gave birth to a state which became the first powerful and true ally of the nations battling for liberation.

Inspired by the October Revolution, the people of Tunisia launched a broad national-liberation struggle, braving colonial repression. The year 1920 saw the birth of a "liberal-constitutional" party, which later provided the base for the Neo-Destour party, a national party capable of organizing the struggle against colonialism.

Although at that time the national movement was headed by intellectuals from the bourgeoisie, the first trade unions were emerging, some leaders of which accepted the ideals of communism, and later the nucleus of the Communist Party was formed.

Today, 50 years after the October Revolution, the colonial system of imperialism has disintegrated. Many newly-free countries, including Tunisia, have for all practical purposes completed the tasks of a purely national revolution. At the present stage, the content of the national-liberation movement has been deepened and no longer fits the framework of the bourgeois-liberal program. The requirements of the struggle for economic independence and against backwardness make it essential to put forward new, more advanced aims, to opt for the non-capitalist path of development.

Socialism is something new for Africa. In olden times it was either unknown or used as a bogey. But today it expresses the sentiments of increasingly broad masses and many big

parties which, anxious to maintain their role in the life of their countries, include socialism in their programs. Needless to say this reflects the immense power of attraction exerted by socialism—reflects the victorious ideas of October. However, in speaking of the growing popularity of socialism some distinctions should be made. While a number of African parties proclaim adherence to scientific socialism and are approaching Marxist positions on many issues, others continue to fence themselves off from Marxism and even counterpose their socialist concepts to the theory of scientific socialism.

In Tunisia some years after gaining independence the Destour Party officially declared for socialism, but what it wanted was a Destour brand of socialism. We do not take an absolutely negative attitude to "Destourian socialism" and we reject not so much the word "Destourian" as the meaning imparted to it in order to counterpose it to scientific socialism and Marxism.

Only those who lack a sound knowledge of Marxism or deliberately distort it can claim that it is applicable only to countries with a developed capitalism, in which the class contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie stand out. This boils down to seeing the specific features of the developing countries as something absolute, and to denying the possibility of applying to them the universal laws of the transition to socialism.

If one were to probe the content of this absolute specificity, allegedly the basis of "Destourian socialism," one would encounter exceedingly strange ideas, ideas that were not born in Africa, and certainly not in Tunisia, but in the capitalist West. Far from containing anything specific, they reiterate the ideological arguments of bourgeois reformism, which is trying to halt the movement, to escape the existing social contradictions, to conceal these contradictions, reconcile them, and evade the choice of the non-capitalist way. In the face of the prevailing situation in the country, the specific features and originality which these notions are alleged to reflect, they prove to be narrow and outdated concepts incapable of providing a correct answer to the issues arising from new demands, from the perspective of the national democratic revolution.

Today the non-capitalist road is becoming a living reality. It is no longer a question whether it is possible or not, since the road exists and has been taken by a number of countries, whose experience is both a practical verification of the Leninist concept and a stimulus for further theoretical thought.

Speaking of the relationship between the non-capitalist and socialist paths of development, one might be inclined to believe that the non-capitalist path signifies some third way, some new social form. In reality, however, this is an alternative to capitalism, a transitional stage for the newly-free countries, in which the non-capitalist methods create the conditions for the transition to socialism and help steer the country toward it. This stage is not identical with the stage of building socialism, but there is no Chinese wall between them because the country's development on a non-capitalist basis can lead only to socialism. This transition does not take place mechanically—it requires qualitative ideological, political and social changes.

Thanks to the victory of socialism, first in one country and then in a number of countries, thanks to the existence of the socialist world which renders direct political, economic and military support to the newly-independent countries, a new situation has taken shape in the world, which enables each country, whether big or small, to uphold its sovereignty and achieve genuine independence. Some of them have been compelled by the logic of the national democratic revolution to go beyond the confines of capitalism and step out along the road of progress, the road of non-capitalist development.

The alliance of these countries with the USSR and with the other countries of the socialist world system is decisive for their victory over imperialism which has not renounced (and the Israeli aggression is proof of this) the struggle against the national liberation movement, and has done its utmost to abolish progressive regimes, above all in the UAR and Syria.

Taking advantage of the recent events in the Middle East, definite forces have vainly tried to undermine this so much needed unity, thanks to which many successes have been achieved and which is the earnest of fresh successes in the future.

Clearly, all the progressive forces in the Arab countries should draw a lesson from these events. The road to the complete abolition of imperialism in the Arab countries is not a smooth one. Traps and other obstacles in great numbers cut across it. In order to see and surmount them it is essential objectively to assess the situation and the current tasks, uphold and consolidate the progressive regimes—the gains of the liberation movement. It is essential to cement the unity of all the progressive forces of the Arab world and their alliance with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist world, with the

working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

The present Chinese leaders persist in directing their blows against the land of the October Revolution. Their efforts are aimed not at weakening imperialism nor at rallying the forces against its growing aggressiveness but, in effect, at isolating the national-liberation movement from its natural and genuine allies.

However, temporary difficulties notwithstanding, the liberation movement and the countries that have taken the non-capitalist road will be able to frustrate the designs of the American and British imperialists, win fresh victories and continue their advance towards socialism.

Some people argue: how can these countries advance towards socialism if power—which is, indeed, the basic issue of any revolution—does not directly belong to the working people? Is not this an “exception” to the general laws of the transition to socialism? Such a conclusion can be drawn if one narrows the content of universal laws, if one regards the prospects of these revolutions only from the standpoint of the internal development of the particular country and in isolation from the general development of society at the time of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, or if one views these prospects from immutable positions.

National revolutions are, above all, a component of the world revolutionary process. If on the scale of a capitalist country the working class plays the leading role vis-à-vis other classes, on the international scale the proletariat as personified by the socialist world system is in the van of the non-proletarian masses of the Third World. The idea that the proletariat exercises its hegemony not on the scale of each country but on a world scale, formulated some time ago, is correct since it explains the deep-going changes that are taking place in the developing countries without leadership on the part of the working class and its party. However, this hegemony is not enough to ensure the transition to socialism. Moreover, it cannot be a substitute for the socio-political forces in each country. There is a difference between the Soviet Asian republics which have developed not only in alliance with the Russian proletariat but also in close political unity with it within the framework of a single Soviet state, on the one hand, and the countries that have taken the non-capitalist road within the framework of their own state, on the other. In these countries the content of state power should be gradually deepened and radicalized in measure as the role played by the workers and peasants grows, so

that they can advance further along the road to socialism.

Experience has shown that the aims of the national democratic revolution cannot be achieved exclusively under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. Needed for this is guidance by the more advanced forces uniting the representatives of the non-proletarian and proletarian sections of town and country as well as of the small and, partly, the national bourgeoisie. There has also been an ideological and political evolution of the leaders with petty-bourgeois and intellectual backgrounds who have come closer to the standpoint of the working class and Marxism. And this trend will increase in measure with the growth of the socialist forces throughout the world. The revolutionary process is accompanied by differentiation and cleavage which result in the isolation of the right-wing element and radicalization of the process, in more revolutionary elements emerging to the fore.

The Communists should do everything to further united action in order to promote the evolution of revolutionary patriots without waiting until this process becomes perfect and faultless. They should support in every way the progressive measures in the newly-independent countries of Africa and Asia. At the same time it would be wrong to idealize these measures, to forget about the shortcomings of these patriots and the road they still have to traverse. After all, Communists are not mere onlookers from the standpoint of history. They take an active part in its making in ever closer alliance with all other revolutionary forces working to create the conditions for building socialism in their countries.

The struggle of the developing countries will introduce much that is original to the variety of roads in the transition to socialism, but its essence will remain the same—anti-capitalist. In this respect the general and the particular not only do not exclude each other but are closely interconnected.

The experience of the progressive developing countries reflects the influence of the ideas of October: concern for rallying the masses, destruction of the old machinery of state, formation of a vanguard party. The socio-economic changes, while not yet of a socialist nature, are reminiscent of Lenin's plan for building socialism (industrialization, rural cooperation, cultural revolution).

We maintain that in Tunisia too there are

positive phenomena which can be used for taking the non-capitalist road, today rejected by the government for class and ideological reasons. Needless to say, there are also negative aspects such as non-recognition of the role of the masses and persecution of the progressive forces, arbitrary denial of the existence of classes and of the class struggle, attempts to reconcile exploiters and exploited, the Left and the Right, to continue with the old foreign policy. One witnesses a desire to take the capitalist road, which finds reflection in the concessions made to private capital at the expense of the public sector. There is a tendency to reject democracy and settle issues by repressions. It will be recalled that the Communist Party and the Left press were banned in 1963, that during the recent anti-imperialist demonstrations in Tunis, Communists and other progressives were manhandled by the police. In a word, attempts are being made to ignore the normal and logical dialectics of the national democratic revolution.

While these negative aspects do exist, industrialization has been started and a prominent place is allotted to the public sector. Settlers' land is being nationalized and agricultural cooperatives set up. Planning is being made the policy of the state. And what is most important, there is a trend towards reforms, a trend which, its shortcomings and deviations notwithstanding, can play a more positive role in the life of the country provided it is supported by the progressive forces. Despite their differences with the Destourian reformist trend, Tunisian Communists, to whom sectarianism is alien, have done much to promote the ideas of unity; and they will persist in this work in order to enable all progressives and patriots both in the Destour Socialist Party and those outside it who oppose the negative aspects of the government's policy, to unite and create the conditions that will enable Tunisia to end its present inconsistency and take the only road meeting the interests of its people—the road of non-capitalist development.

As we approach the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the peoples of the newly-free countries are turning their eyes to their great friend—the Soviet Union—which is ever ready to support them, give them fraternal aid and help them avoid the sacrifices made by its own people in making their country what it is today. Its wealth of experience is always at their disposal.

PANAMA

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THE WAVES OF THE revolutionary upheaval that swept Russia in 1917 reached the distant shores of the Isthmus of Panama. The influence of this epic event, which changed the destiny not only of the peoples of Russia but also of all mankind, made itself felt more and more with the passage of time in the revolutionary movement of our country.

Prior to the nineteen twenties, the popular movements that had opposed the reactionary governments and imperialism were led by sections of the Panamanian middle class where liberal ideology held undisputed sway. After the victory of the October Revolution revolutionary theory made its appearance in the liberation movement of our country and began to challenge the dominant influence of the bourgeois liberal ideology.

At the beginning of the '20s the first Marxist groups appeared and at the end of that decade the Party of Labor was formed on the basis of the newly-born trade union movement. It included primarily handicraftsmen and also some sections of the intelligentsia. At the first conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America (June 1929) Comrade Carigani, the Panamanian delegate, said: "This was a time when imperialism particularly ruthlessly exploited the working people, when the only political parties in existence were those formed around some bourgeois caudillo. It was then that a group of trade union militants decided to set up a political party that would wrest the working people from the influence of capitalist policy." Describing this party he noted that "both as regards its program and ideology, and also its organizational principles, it meets the requirements of the Communist International. At our next congress we will join the Third International."

The year 1930 saw the birth of the Communist Party, an event of historic importance for the subsequent liberation struggle of our people.

Since then the Party has passed through three distinct phases. The first of these we

refer to as "the phase of the old Communist Party," when there was no link between Marxist-Leninist theory and our analysis of Panamanian reality. This lasted up to the beginning of the '40s. The second phase, which was one of eclecticism, began in 1943 when the People's Party was founded, and lasted up to 1950 when the Marxists were able to guide the Party along the right path. The third and present phase dates from 1950.

After its Third Congress (1951) the Party centered its efforts on applying Marxism-Leninism in our conditions, on eradicating the dogmatism, sectarianism and also eclecticism that had prevailed in its ranks. These efforts were a landmark in the Party's development. We were able, as a result, not only to consolidate and strengthen the Party, but what is even more important, to show the broad masses the road to liberation.

As Marxist-Leninist theory gained ground in Panama we had to grapple with problems relating to the leadership of the popular movement, the role of the different social classes, the history of our Party, the character and motive forces of the revolution, the ways of developing it, not to mention a host of other problems. I should like to say a few words about how we are tackling some of these problems.

In the past 15 years we have actively combatted all manifestations of sectarianism and dogmatism, for we believe that in our conditions they constitute the greatest danger and can hamper creative development of Marxist theory. After having discussed the situation that had arisen in the Party at the end of the '40s we decided to forestall in the future all occurrences that could isolate us from the working people and divert the Party from the right road.

At a Central Committee meeting in 1956 we reviewed the work of the Party and we made the point that "although communism is the ideology of the proletariat, in Panama it was not the proletariat that advanced the ideology

and at present the Panamanian proletariat is not guided by this ideology."

In the report approved by the meeting, it was noted that "our Party is the product of the political, social, economic and cultural revolution of the middle class."

Does this mean that our Party is not a Communist Party? This would be taking a dogmatic and mechanical approach to the question. It should be analyzed in the light of the actual situation in Panama, a country poorly developed economically, with a numerically weak and politically rather immature working class, a country where the "middle class" groups are in the van of the militant movement. Our Party is the Communist Party of the Panamanians because in its work it is guided by the ideology of the proletariat, and represents its class interests. The Party's aim is the conquest of political power by the exploited masses to put an end to exploitation, under the leadership of the working class, and to build a Communist society.

And so "our Party is not the product of a political upsurge of the working class; on the contrary, it arose in the absence of such an upsurge." This posed before the Party a very definite and by no means easy task, namely, "not only to instil in the working class its own ideology, but to secure its immediate participation in the democratic movement."

We declared at the same meeting that although the Party did not as yet have the support of the proletariat "it can, by relying on other sections of the population, become a political force."

In other words, while realizing how important it is for the successful outcome of the revolution that the proletariat take an active and leading part in the revolutionary movement, we do not consider hegemony of the proletariat in this movement to be an obligatory preliminary condition to beginning the revolutionary struggle. We launched the struggle, relying on the social forces that were prepared for it, for we believed that this (and not "purely propaganda" methods) was the most effective way of drawing the working class into revolutionary action.

We were able, as a result, to break with the negative features of the past, with passivity and temporizing, with purely propaganda methods, to carry forward the fight to win the masses. All this helped "to awaken the working class and impel it to assume leadership" of the revolutionary, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist movement.

In the aggregate, these factors determined our future line of action. This, in turn, made it possible to direct the democratic popular

movement along the revolutionary path, to awaken the national consciousness of the people in the face of their main enemy—the oligarchy and imperialism—to promote the class struggle and draw broad social sections into it.

At a Central Committee meeting in 1962 we analyzed more concretely the character of our revolution, the forces interested in it, and the ways of winning power. We stated that "the revolution which Panama needs today must be anti-feudal and anti-imperialist in its aims and a people's revolution in its character," that the objectives of our revolution — the overthrow of the oligarchy and the expulsion of imperialism — could not be achieved simultaneously in the existing national and international situation. This does not mean that we are postponing the struggle against imperialism. The two phases of the present stage of the revolution—the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist—are not divided by a wall for an indefinite period. On the contrary, they are closely related. But, as was noted at the CC meeting, "the contradiction between the people and imperialism and the contradiction between the people and the oligarchy differ in their degree of maturity and intensity." We assume that the completion of one phase will condition — provided the necessary requirements are observed — the immediate transition to the next, which is then followed by the socialist stage of revolution.

These program theses of our Party have been confirmed by the practical experience of the Panamanian revolutionary movement, by its anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist struggle.

The Party explained to the people that revolutionary changes were needed if the country was to emerge from its critical situation. It called for national unity which is gravely injured by the imperialist presence in the country.

The Party stated at the above-mentioned CC meeting: "We entertain no illusions that this kind of change will take place as a result of elections. The factors influencing the social struggle in our country today show, independently of our desires, that a revolutionary political transformation can be effected only by force. But the violence must not come from us. It must not be something separate from the struggle of the masses, must not be resorted to artificially. Violence must be the logical outcome of the situation brought about by imperialism, the oligarchy and their agents who, faced with the danger of losing power and inevitable revolutionary actions, will destroy the vestiges of demo-

cracy and block the road to mass action. When this moment comes we will have no choice but to take action . . . We want imperialism and its allies in the country to have no choice but to discard the mask of democracy and reveal their reactionary essence. And we must accelerate the unmasking."

On the basis of an analysis of objective reality and of the concrete national problems we concluded that a revolution capable of removing the oligarchy from power and of liberating the people from the domination of U.S. imperialism is possible in Panama. "The oligarchy," the CC meeting noted, "can no longer rule without risking a revolution at any moment; objectively it has exhausted its historical role."

This is borne out by numerous facts. Take the strike movement sweeping the country, the vigorous resistance of the people which was answered by the imperialist aggression in January 1964, an aggression that graphically showed the masses the treacherous role played by the oligarchy.

But if revolution is possible in Panama, it will triumph only if "we are able to conduct it in conformity with the revolutionary process in the country, clearly to define its aims, to unite all the necessary forces, and if we choose the target that must be struck today."

We fully realize that the Communists alone will not be able to accomplish the revolution. We, therefore, are pursuing a policy of broad alliances. It is clear that there have been, still are, and may still be differences in the Panamanian revolutionary movement. These differences are not necessarily ideological (especially in the case of the radical youth). They are more political and arise not over the aims of the struggle, but around the question as to who should assume leadership, what social classes should participate in the revolution, how it is to be carried out.

Hence our conclusion is that our activity should not be centered on the contradictions in the anti-oligarchy movement, that we must avoid, to use Lenin's expression, turning the fight against deviations "into a sport." Our basic objective is to organize and launch a frontal offensive against the common enemy. And only a truly Marxist, proletarian policy can bring us closer to this objective.

There are two trends in the national movement which, despite their mistakes, should be considered as allies because the aim of both is radically to change the existing order of things. The Leftist trend does not believe in the activity of the masses as the motive force of the revolution. The reformist trend con-

siders that the leadership of the movement should be in the hand of intellectuals who come from the middle class, that violence should be avoided; they regard elections as the main means of effecting the necessary changes.

We are pursuing a flexible and patient policy towards these trends, doing our best to resolve our differences in a fraternal spirit and to help them adopt a more consistent revolutionary position.

As regards the question of leadership of the revolution we consider — and have unequivocally stated this—that "the Party is the only force capable of guaranteeing the realization of this revolution and of deepening it not only because it is equipped with the methodology of Marxist-Leninist analysis, but also because it is nurtured on all that is pure in the working class, the intelligentsia and student body, because it relies on the surging movement of the world revolution."

We Panamanian Communists do not claim to have any monopoly of political wisdom. But it is a fact that our Party, armed with the teaching of Lenin and the experience of the Great October Revolution, has achieved greater success than any other Left organization not only as regards theoretical analysis but also in rallying the masses for struggle. It is our Party that has shown the revolutionary forces the way to winning power.

I have tried to give an idea of some of the more important theoretical and political aspects of our Party's activity, to show how it is combating different manifestations of dogmatism and sectarianism, how it is, in difficult conditions, showing our people the way to a better future, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the rich experience of the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, the revolution that ushered in a new era—the era of social and national liberation revolutions, the era of the triumph of socialism and communism throughout the world.

Leninism, the compass of the October Revolution, is also the compass of the vanguard detachments of the revolutionary movement. Its creative, constantly renovating, constantly critical spirit demands of us constant self-criticism, thoughtful observation of the concrete situation if we are to make a sober and effective assessment of new phenomena. This bold approach to constantly changing reality, this bold spirit of creative analysis and creative activity in all situations is distinctive of Lenin and of the revolution which he brought to victory.

HONDURAS

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IN OCTOBER 1917 a new historical period began, the period of the general crisis of capitalism, the third stage of which is developing today.

For the Communists of Honduras the historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution is that, putting it briefly, it reaffirmed the truth of the brilliant scientific concepts of Marx and Engels, which were further elaborated by Lenin.

Experience has confirmed Lenin's thesis about proletarian revolution, the need for a party of a new type, and of the possibility of building socialism in one country. In these tenets we have the theoretical heritage of the October Revolution. This revolution has armed the working class with a theory which makes it possible to realize the aspirations of the people, the boldest dreams of mankind.

October 1917 opened up for the colonial and semi-colonial world an era of great battles now culminating in the disintegration of the colonial system to which the imperialist powers are desperately clinging with all the means they possess. They are drenching Vietnam in blood, embroiling the peoples of the Middle East in war, threatening revolutionary Cuba, resorting to the stratagem of neo-colonialism, manifested in diverse forms in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

From its very inception the world's first state of workers and peasants created favorable conditions for the national-liberation movement. Widespread liberation movements began in the Middle East and in China; the first Communist parties appeared in Latin America — conscious and organized vanguard contingents whose role has stood the test of time and, indeed, is the prerequisite for the success of our struggle in the new conditions of today.

The building of socialism in the USSR, and now the building of the material and technological base of communism, the sweeping success of the socialist system in industry be-

came an *example* that fired the minds of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, showing them new horizons, new vistas. At the same time a *material base* was built which is facilitating our liberation struggle in the new conditions forged by the working-class struggle and reinforced by the establishment of the socialist world system.

The successes of the October Revolution were not easily won. In the early days after the revolution the Soviet people had to repel the intervention of the imperialists. Guided by the Communist Party, the party of Lenin, the Soviet people had to contend with the innumerable difficulties inevitably encountered on unexplored trails.

Today, parallel with the revolutionary changes determined by the content of the era, a scientific-technological revolution is taking place. And if the obsolescent capitalist system is using it to threaten mankind with a nuclear war, the production relations within the socialist system make it possible to use the scientific-technological revolution for man's benefit. That is how we explain and how the peoples of the world understand the recent changes in economic management and planning in the USSR and in the other countries of the socialist system. The claims made by the bourgeois press and apologists for capitalism that these changes spell the revival of capitalism will be thrown, and not for the first time, into the dustbin of history.

The new conditions that have arisen as a result of the working-class struggle in different parts of the world are making for the radicalization of the national-liberation movement which has spread to three continents where vestiges of the colonial system or system of neo-colonialist exploitation still exist. The drawing of new sections of the population—primarily peasants and groups of the urban middle sections—into the national liberation struggle, which, generally speaking is a good thing, creates certain difficulties on

the ideological plane, for these sections, while waging revolutionary struggle, bring with them concepts characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie — its radicalism, its tendency to swing from one extreme to another in the political struggle, and certain elements of bourgeois nationalism. This is an integral part of an ideology that is alien to the proletariat. The ideological struggle, inevitable in these conditions, can be won by the working class only if it is led by the Communist Party. We know that behind every ideology stands a definite social class, and in this case behind the motley theses of the ideologues who deny the general laws of revolutionary development and want to minimize the significance of the experience of the October Revolution, stand the petty bourgeoisie who want to gain hegemony in the national-liberation process. Often this attitude, unconsciously taken by some of its representatives, is consciously and skilfully used by international capital under certain favorable circumstances to crush, in one or another area, the liberation movement — an irreversible process as such, but nonetheless exposed to serious pitfalls in some countries. This is particularly the case when leadership of the movement is effected in a voluntarist way.

But we Communists must not confine ourselves to merely recording these problems. The aim of Marxism is not to explain history but to remake the world. Herein lies its fundamental difference from other philosophical concepts. This is how theory and practice are combined. It is the duty of our parties, of the working class in the countries of the so-called third world, to gain the hegemony of the proletariat in the national-liberation revolution. This is the only guarantee of the successful outcome of the revolution, its relatively rapid development into a socialist revolution.

Hegemony of the proletariat is a process of struggle. It is the task of the Communist parties to guide the working class in this struggle. It would be a mistake to assume that our existence is enough for the working class to become the leading force. Such a mistake could lead to our isolation from the masses, with all the dangers following therefrom.

The Communist parties in Latin America should not underestimate the ideological struggle in the national-liberation movement on the continent. It is a struggle that should help us creatively to apply the laws of the revolutionary process, observance of which is a condition for the victory of the revolution.

I should like to quote in this connection the statement of the recent Fifth Conference of the Communist Parties of Mexico, Central

America and Panama: "As regards the problems in the Latin American Communist movement, our parties consider that the necessary efforts must be made to strengthen the militant unity of all the parties and the alliance with the Cuban revolution. In this respect they confirm the conclusions of previous meetings regarding defense of the unity of every party and the fight against factionalism, the right of every Party to elaborate its own political line in keeping with the specific conditions of the country. After examining the question of solidarity in relation to the forthcoming gathering in Havana, the present conference recommends that each party, adhering to its own political line, should make use of all opportunities to extend material and moral support to the peoples fighting imperialism and in defense of their independence and sovereignty."

We consider that solidarity is part of proletarian internationalism, that the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings contain norms obligatory for all contingents of the proletariat, battling on different fronts, which make up the great Communist family.

Speaking of the ideological struggle in the national-liberation movement in Latin America, mention should be made of the concepts of Mao Tse-tung and his group. While their organized influence on our continent is negligible, their "theories" are a factor with which we have to reckon.

True to the spirit and aims of the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings, which reflect and generalize the experience of the international Communist movement, we consider that our supreme duty is to work for world peace and save mankind from the horrors of a new war which, inevitably, would be a nuclear war that could destroy the material base of civilization. We consider that extinguishing the flames of war wherever they are kindled does not hold back the process of national liberation. On the contrary, it furthers and accelerates this process, making it difficult for imperialism to interfere in our affairs. What better proof of this than the fact that it is in the conditions of peaceful coexistence that the national-liberation movement has achieved its greatest successes?

To regard the Leninist thesis on peaceful coexistence, creatively elaborated at congresses of the CPSU, as being contrary to the interests of the national-liberation movement of our peoples is not only erroneous, it is also dangerous. In practice it engenders a tendency to split the social base of the broad peace movement and to oppose the interests of the

national-liberation movement to the general interests of humanity.

Communists hold that peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the two systems representing on a government level the two basic classes of our society, presuppose an uncompromising *ideological* struggle: first, a struggle to disseminate Marxism and second, a struggle to keep pure the theory with which the experience of the international Communist movement has enriched us. It also presupposes a *political* struggle which eventually flares up into an armed clash. It is for the parties of the countries concerned to determine whether the objective and subjective conditions are ripe for armed insurrection and to decide on the means of winning political power. In the case of Honduras we believe that the main contradiction of our society will in all likelihood be resolved through force.

Speaking of the lessons of the October Revolution, we should regard them in the context of Lenin's counsel that we must work in close contact with the masses, particularly with the working class. Only then can we call ourselves an organized and conscious vanguard of the working class. It was from this premise that the Party declared in a spirit of

self-criticism at a plenary meeting (the fourth) of its Central Committee: "The Fourth Plenum will go down in the history of our Party as the meeting that established closer contacts with the working people, as the meeting that unified our efforts, that rectified our mistakes, acknowledged our setbacks and introduced a principled Marxist-Leninist policy in every sphere of our activity."

In view of the new world war threatening mankind, in view of the aggressiveness of imperialism—U.S. imperialism in the first place—and of the rebirth of fascism in Europe, it is essential to restore unity of the international Communist movement. A meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties would be a big step in this direction. It would enable us collectively to summarize the results of the activity of the international Communist movement since the 1960 Meeting.

As conscious processes come to play an increasingly important part in the revolutionary activity of the masses, the greater will be the impact of the experience of the October Revolution which not only blazed the trail to the building of socialism but also created the material base for many new exploits by man, the base of the future world revolution.

GUATEMALA

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NO OTHER EVENT in history has affected man's destiny so powerfully as the October Socialist Revolution, to which Lenin's genius contributed so greatly. It rang in a new era, the era of world socialism.

It is in these or similar terms that progressives assess the significance of the October Revolution, and the question to which we shall essay an answer here, invoking the recent past and the events of today, is to what extent this applies to Latin America.

Any impartial study will show that the destiny of the Latin American peoples, formerly enslaved by traditional colonialism and now by imperialism, was influenced most of all by two great social upheavals—the revolution of 1789 in France and the socialist revolution of 1917 in Russia.

Yet the impact of the two revolutions was different, both from the standpoint of ideals and the results of the struggle for them.

During the first visit to the Soviet Union, Fidel Castro said that the Cuban revolution "became possible solely because the Russian revolution had taken place years before. If no Soviet Union had existed, the socialist revolution in Cuba would have been unthinkable." This is, of course, an unquestionable fact which, in my view, contains two ideas—the idea of the continuity of the October Revolution on the national scale, betokened by the development of the Soviet system (which in itself characterizes this system), and betokened on a world scale by the relationship to the revolution in Cuba.

Certainly, a new situation has emerged in

Latin America under the influence of the Cuban revolution, above all in regard to the subjective factor of the movement, though there are those who refuse to see it or who, seeing it, take little or no advantage of it in the practical struggle. By pioneering the materialization of Marxist ideas in the Western Hemisphere, the Cuban revolution has, so to speak, projected the possibility of socialism, the aims and purposes of the October Revolution, on to the contemporary Latin American scene. At the same time, it is one more model of creative interpretation of Marxism, bearing out those principles of its methodology that Lenin so skilfully applied before and after the revolutionary explosion.

For us the substance of the October Revolution is contained in the realization in Russia of the cherished aspirations of the international working-class movement, but also, and more, in its being the outcome of a *creative interpretation of Marxism and of the concrete revolutionary activity* of the men who headed and accomplished the revolution. If this had not been so, the results of the Russian revolution would have been quite different.

The revolutionary concept in Lenin's *April Theses* is a testimonial to his masterly analysis of the situation in Russia after February 1917. Nothing could have been more ineffective at the time of the dual power (the bourgeois government, on one hand, and the Soviets, on the other) than to insist on the 1905 formula of carrying the bourgeois-democratic revolution to completion by fighting for a revolutionary-democratic worker-peasant dictatorship, since one of the forms of power inaugurated by the February revolution was precisely a dictatorship of that kind. Lenin, then, had to dislodge from the minds of the "old Bolsheviks" formulas which had been part of their political thinking since 1905.

Lenin's profound grasp of Marxism, his capacity for advancing theory yielded at short notice the strategic line that enabled the Bolsheviks first to win the masses and then to seize power. Lenin's foresight stemmed from his deep knowledge of the workers' revolutionary history and its lessons. Genuinely creative Marxism must distinguish between two diametrically opposed dangers. It must avoid the temptation of clinging to the past (no matter how right its formulas may have been in their day) and, at the same time, it must not let the useful lessons of the past be lost. We speak of this now because the same dangers beset us—the danger of clinging to the outdated schemes and that of a new kind of schema, whose supporters, while they may say they are not copying the past, are really inventing patterns which, though new, are

afflicted with the same rigidity as the old.

The main methodological lesson of the *April Theses*, we think, is that revolutionary practice must discard slogans devaluated by, and inapplicable to, new situations produced by specific social, political or historical conditions, even though on the face of it these situations may resemble others.

The Cuban revolution, retracing the path blazed by the October Revolution, reaffirmed the general Marxist-Leninist prevision of the forms of revolution in imperialist-dominated countries. For this reason we, when speaking of the great revolutions that laid a decisive imprint on Latin American development, do not see the Cuban revolution as a *specific historical trend* because the influence which it exerts on our continent is the historical continuation of the influence exerted by the ideas and achievements of the Russian socialist revolution.

The October Revolution did not evoke the overnight response in Latin America that it did in Europe. It did not stir up tempestuous revolutionary feeling. But in the subsequent stages of the struggle its influence was continuously felt. The social and political action of the workers and the people in the more developed countries acquired an entirely new complexion. Among the foremost workers and many intellectuals the concept of national and social emancipation became concrete. In addition to fighting for their everyday demands, they mounted a political attack against the ruling classes and imperialism under the banner of struggle for socialism, human dignity and genuine freedom. No longer was communism, the end to exploitation of man by man, a pipedream or a spectre haunting Europe. It was a tangible thing that had turned into reality in the world's first socialist state, a beacon lighting their path.

The impact and the example of the October Revolution brought to life many Communist parties, advanced organizations of the working people with a fine record in the fight for democracy, for the anti-imperialist revolution and socialism. The trade unions, many of them led by Communists, have grown considerably. They have won important victories—reductions in working time, higher wages, social insurance, and other benefits. True, these gains were made within capitalist structures, with the usual limitations, and are tainted by bourgeois reformist humbug. Yet none will deny that working class conditions have improved in the past decades, which goes on the credit side of the ledger when speaking of the worldwide influence exerted by the October Revolution.

It may be asked why most of the Latin

American Communist parties are not yet mass parties. This is a difficult question, because it entails an analysis of the historical, national and social peculiarities of the countries concerned. To my mind, however, two general factors have acted as a drag on the Latin American Communist movement. One was the sectarianism of its early stages, the "infantile" disease that afflicts all revolutionary bodies in their formative phase. The other was the vicious and systematic anti-communism, accompanied in most of the countries by ruthless repressions. Possibly, too, some revolutionary situations were allowed to go by the board. However, those who cast doubt on the significance and role of the Latin American Communist parties should recall some of the things Lenin said. Here is one of them:

"Repudiation of the Party principle . . . is tantamount to completely disarming the proletariat in the interests of the bourgeoisie. It all adds up to that petty-bourgeois diffuseness and instability, that incapacity for sustained effort, unity and organized action, which, if encouraged, must inevitably destroy any proletarian revolutionary movement" (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 31, pp. 43-44).

Commending revolutionaries for working in non-revolutionary situations, Lenin wrote in 1920:

"It is far more difficult — and far more valuable—to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle do not yet exist, to be able to champion the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organization) in non-revolutionary bodies, and quite often in downright reactionary bodies, in a non-revolutionary situation, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action" (*Collective Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 31, p. 97).

And Lenin seems to have anticipated the historical conditions in Latin America fifty years later when he added: "To be able to seek, find and correctly determine the specific path or the particular turn of events that will lead the masses to the real, decisive and final revolutionary struggle—such is the main objective of communism in Western Europe and in America" (*ibid.*).

The tremors of the October revolution also reached Guatemala. The first Guatemalan Communist Party was founded in the twenties, but it was crushed by the blood-stained Ubico dictatorship (1931-1944).

The world war against fascism, in which the Soviet people, heirs to the October Revolution, smashed Hitler Germany and her allies, stimulated the political consciousness

of the petty bourgeoisie and other sections of the people, awakening their desire for freedom. The situation ripened for a bourgeois-democratic revolution. On October 20, 1944, young army officers distributed arms among the people and overthrew the military dictatorship.

The Communist Party was reborn five years later, in September 1949, during the democratic government of Juan Jose Arevalo, and in the early fifties, having gained strength, contributed to a decisive degree to the revolutionary, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist policy of the Arbenz government. At its Second Congress in 1952, it was renamed Guatemalan Party of Labor.

The Guatemalan revolution was crushed in 1954 by the flagrant intervention of the United States. The subsequent terror assailed all democratic groups. But the brunt of it was directed at the Guatemalan Communists, who had to go underground. Yet the enemy could not destroy our Party. Slipping out of his clutches, gathering strength, uniting the democratic elements, the Guatemalan Party of Labor effected a reorganization and extended its political influence, growing into a revolutionary force that none in Guatemala can afford to ignore.

A succession of counter-revolutionary governments slammed the door to any peaceful solution and democratic alternative, though this is essential, in view of the chronic political crisis and the dire plight of the people, to end backwardness, poverty and oppression. The present civilian government of Mendez Montenegro, exposed to the *diktat* of the Guatemalan military establishment and U.S. imperialism, is much the same. Like its predecessor, the Azurdia military government, it is identified with persecutions, assassinations and brutal terror. With its tacit approval gangs of killers have been formed into organizations like MANO (Organized National Anti-Communist Movement) and NAO (New Anti-Communist Organization) by top-ranking officers, who hold the real power in the country, to kidnap, torture and assassinate patriots and revolutionaries.

On weighing the national realities and the problems and prospects of Guatemala's development, and on determining the potential of the people's revolutionary sentiment, our Party embarked on armed struggle aimed at a popular anti-imperialist revolution and its subsequent growth into a socialist revolution. The success of the guerrilla movement and the armed resistance groups under the leadership of the Rebel Armed Forces, in which our Party plays a prominent part, shows that we have chosen the right course. We know that

revolutionary war entails bloodshed and sacrifice. Thousands of peasants have been killed. Hundreds of patriots have fallen in battle, many have been assassinated. In less than a year four members of our Central Committee were murdered. We have lost Major Luis Tursios, a leader of the Rebel Armed Forces, a member of our Party and a man of courage beyond compare. But we know the future is ours. We never forget what Lenin said: "Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, go to extremes, commit follies, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance, and endeavor to kill off . . . more hundreds, thousands and hundreds of thousands of yesterday's and tomorrow's Bolsheviks. In acting thus, the bourgeoisie is acting as all

historically doomed classes have done. Communists should know that, in any case, the future belongs to them" (*Collective Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 31, p. 101).

The Guatemalan Communists are undaunted, fired by their aspirations for socialism and communism, by the example of the October Revolution, which will always be topical because it embodies man's eternal longing for true freedom, human dignity and a better life. Our future is reality in revolutionary Cuba, which is part of Latin America, and it is the present in the socialist world, in the Soviet Union, whose economic, scientific and technological achievements, international solidarity and fortitude are an earnest that what we are striving for will materialize.

COLOMBIA

ALVARO DELGADO

Member, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Colombia

THE ECHO OF THE October Revolution reached Colombia in the nineteen twenties, at a time when the proletariat was just emerging as an independent class, when the first anti-imperialist actions took place and when strikes gripped the country.

The political obscurantism of the 45 years of Conservative Party rule was splitting at the seams. The first socialist groups were familiar with the ideas of the October Revolution and the teachings of Lenin. Lenin's image figured in our prose and in our poetry. The ideologists of the bourgeois national bourgeoisie referred to him in their writings.

In 1926 progressive artisans and intellectuals founded the Socialist Revolutionary Party (from which the Communist Party emerged four years later). More than sixty different workers' newspapers were published. Though still influenced by utopian socialism and not devoid of anarchist practices, our socialist movement made its first steps under the sign of the Bolshevik revolution. The hitherto undivided sway of the Liberal and Conservative parties was now seriously challenged. The idea of immediate and direct seizure of power originated among the working masses who had enthusiasm in abundance

but had no idea of the complexities bestrewing the path to power.

In December 1928 the Conservative government brutally suppressed a strike of workers on United Fruit plantations. More than a thousand people, including labor leaders, were killed, many were imprisoned. Butchery on such a scale was unknown in our country until then. This dreadful carnage marked the birth of the organized labor movement.

The Bananeras massacre became a landmark in the development of revolutionary consciousness among our workers. In less than a year a vigorous mass movement, aided by the students, put an end to the reactionary government. Again, carnage accompanied the birth of another important political force—the militant student movement.

The Communist Party of Colombia was founded on July 17, 1930. Revolutionaries were beginning to realize that the objective aim was not a mere change of government but national liberation, resistance to imperialism and seizure of power on behalf of the people.

The October Revolution, which had withstood the ordeal of civil war and foreign intervention, steadily forged ahead in the late

twenties and early thirties, whereas the capitalist world was shaken to its very foundations by a devastating economic crisis. This made a deep impression on the Colombians, for the 1929-32 crisis was an important watershed in our history. It hit our economy and brought home the pressing need for industrial development and reconstruction of the outworn political institutions.

The first general strike dates from 1933, and international labor day has been marked since 1934. A trade union center came into being, with the workers wresting from the Liberal Party government their first big gains, to this day the basis of our labor legislation. The national bourgeoisie assumed power for a time. Similar developments were taking place all over the continent, as shown by the revolutionary reforms enacted by Cardenas in Mexico, the collapse of the Machado and Gomez dictatorships in Cuba and Venezuela, and the Popular Front victory in Chile.

The battle for land grew in intensity, erupting into an armed struggle. The Communist Party established contact with the peasants, which later enabled it to survive the onslaught of successive dictatorial regimes and build up the now crucially important peasant movement.

Lenin's works were circulated in the trade unions and in remote mountain villages. Marxist literature was widely read, and Marxism was taught — a rare thing on the continent at the time—in the first and then the only free (secular) university of Colombia.

After diplomatic relations were established with the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik revolution and its successes were no longer unknown to Colombians. The achievements of the Soviet workers, who had gained their social rights and become the masters of their country, were identified in our minds with the aims of our own struggle.

The thirties were a time of trial, for we were still under liberal-bourgeois influence. While mistakes, both Left and Right, affected our work until the end of the Second World War, the Party, from the very outset, championed national independence, proletarian internationalism and world Communist unity. Always, it held aloft the banner of friendship with the CPSU and the Soviet people, of solidarity with all Communist parties and, like other Latin American parties, benefited from the ideological help of the Communist International.

We Colombian Communists have always admired the October Revolution and the CPSU. We have cultivated affection and respect among our members for those who

drove the first breach in capitalism for the gains of the first socialist revolution and for the invaluable help this has been to the emancipation of the peoples. Lenin was right when he said "the workers of the whole world, no matter in what country they live, greet us, sympathize with us, applaud us for breaking the iron ring of imperialist ties, of sordid imperialist treaties, of imperialist chains—for breaking through to freedom, and making the heaviest sacrifices in doing so—for, as a socialist republic, although torn and plundered by the imperialists, keeping out the imperialist war and raising the banner of peace, the banner of socialism for the whole world to see" (*Collected Works*, Engl. ed., Vol. 2, p. 65).

Our anti-fascist movement during and after the war was an expression of this sense of closeness. Even those who were too young to participate in the political struggle remember the Communists who came to their doors to speak about the war, about the Red Army and about Stalingrad.

Further proof, albeit negative, of the influence exerted by the October Revolution is forthcoming in the fact that the dictatorial regimes which came to power in the late forties began by breaking off diplomatic relations with the USSR. The ruling class was well aware of the influence exerted on the people by the Russian revolution. This is why it obeyed Washington's orders so willingly, showing by inference that the aspirations of our people coincide with those of the world working class as represented by the Soviet Union.

The failure of the popular uprising in Colombia in 1948 showed that the Communist Party was still unable to head the mass movement. Brutal reprisals were taken against the people. The generation just entering politics at that time has never seen open Party offices and libraries and legal meetings, for the Party had to go underground. One took a big risk by possessing Lenin's works. We learned about the Soviet Union and the October Revolution from literatures passed on from hand to hand. But in our country, too, the October Revolution withstood the trial. Its banner was in good hands, in the hands of men who taught us to fight back. In those grim years which claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of our countrymen October, its example and spirit, always inspired us. I sincerely believe that in many respects the Colombian Communists owe their clear thinking and fortitude to the lessons of the October Revolution.

We have changed since those days. Latin American revolutionaries are now grappling

with far more complicated political and ideological problems. In speaking about the revolutionary struggle and in developing that struggle, it is most essential to define the situation accurately, to see all aspects of it and to single out the new factors emerging in the struggle; especially is this the case since the victory of the Cuban revolution. Lenin always warned against oversimplifying the political struggle. "A revolutionary," he said, "would not 'agree' to a proletarian revolution only 'on the condition' that it proceeds easily and smoothly, that there is, from the outset, combined action on the part of the proletarians of different countries, that there are guarantees against defeats, that the road of the revolution is broad, free and straight, that it will not be necessary during the march to victory to sustain the heaviest casualties, to 'abide one's time in a besieged fortress', or to make one's way along extremely narrow, impassable, winding and dangerous mountain tracks. Such a person is no revolutionary" (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 28, p. 68).

The class enemy does not always retreat. Sometimes he advances. When he withdraws, he leaves behind strongholds that have to be taken by assault. Today, it is easier to pinpoint the peculiarities of the political struggle on our continent, and our revolutionaries are perfectly justified in wanting the revolution to conform with the conditions of Latin America.

This, of course, leads to the question of how the model of October can be useful to us. We Colombian Communists are proud (as proud, in fact, as if it had been our own doing) that the Soviet Union has never countenanced export of revolution. We are proud that Soviet revolutionaries have always respected our Party's right to analyze, discuss and elaborate our own tactics and strategy. If we have ever mechanically copied the experience of other countries, this was entirely our own fault, stemming from deficiencies in our own Party and the Communist movement as a whole.

We in Colombia never ask ourselves whether or not the experience of the Russian revolution is still valid and whether or not it can enrich the revolutionary struggle, notably that of the Communists. The revolution, which lights the way for freedom fighters, is always a practical example and stimulus, and will always serve the people.

What we are trying to grasp now are the causes behind the successes and setbacks of the world revolutionary process. We know that the destiny of the people who have built a society without exploiters is our destiny as

well. We are grieved when the building of socialism encounters difficulties in any country, nor are we guaranteed against mistakes and failures.

Out of the lessons we have learned from the October Revolution, from Lenin and the policy of the CPSU, there is one that, I feel, should be stressed: it is our determination to devise no artificial situations and thereby to avoid artificial solutions to any of our problems.

The armed struggle now being fought by our people is not of our making. The possibilities for legal struggle were not exhausted when the peasants were forced to take to arms. It was the anti-national government that, alarmed by the vigor of the independent peasant movement, mounted an offensive against them. The armed struggle was forced on us by the enemy, and the peasants under our leadership responded to the challenge without hesitation. It is the class enemy who is blocking the way to legal, democratic political struggle. We are fighting for democratic rights because the regime is constantly whittling them down. We do not tell the masses to make the supreme sacrifice in all circumstances. We tell them that they must organize and fight for power, that the fight will be long and arduous, and that at one stage or another it is likely to entail armed struggle.

It is not a question of our wanting or not wanting armed struggle. The facts are that we have to fight. We cannot choose or decree the form of struggle. The Colombian Communists are not committed to the existing state of affairs any more than they are committed to any specific form of struggle. We employ a variety of forms not because we like variety but because the practical battle of the masses and the people's unity are developing on this basis.

The Communist Party is the only revolutionary organization that has survived the vicissitudes of the past four decades. It is the only Left organization which the civilian and military dictatorships could not sweep off the political scene. Today, it is the third party in importance and the best organized. There is nothing fortuitous about this, for it is a result of long efforts based on the tested principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, cooperation and world Communist unity.

The differences in the Communist movement are impairing unity. The Communists of Colombia are determined to uphold Marxism-Leninism and work for unity along the principles of the 1957 and 1960 meetings. As Comrade Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of our Party, said: "We are certain that the

dialectics of historical progress will help to iron out these differences and prove right those who stress the need for the broadest possible struggle for peace and peaceful co-

existence, those who reject the personality cult and ultra-revolutionary phrasemongering, those who fight on for the final victory of the revolutionary forces of our time."

COSTA RICA

HUMBERTO C. VARGAS

Member, Political Committee,
People's Vanguard Party

IT IS FIFTY YEARS since the peoples of Russia, led by Lenin's party, overthrew the exploiters, established the world's first worker-peasant state and opened a new era in history. These five decades have seen a thorough reshaping of the world. Never before did the people succeed in bringing about such far-reaching changes in such a brief space of time.

More and more people are taking the road of the Great October Socialist Revolution to end all oppression and win happiness for mankind.

The rise of the first proletarian state inspired the revolutionary activity of the people everywhere. No sooner had the first reports about the October Revolution reached Costa Rica than a solidarity movement was launched, guided chiefly by leaders of the Joiners' Union. Under the impact of the revolution, our nascent labor movement began to assimilate Marxist-Leninist ideas, though this was no easy task in a backward, predominantly agrarian country, with the working class only just taking shape.

The economic crisis of 1929-33 which shook the very foundations of capitalism and worsened the plight of our working people gave rise to a broad movement among the population, first of all among industrial workers. The patient ideological and organizing work carried out by Marxist groups defeated reformist concepts and cleared the ground for founding the Communist Party in June 1931. A big strike in 1934 which paralyzed all work on the plantations of the United Fruit Co., greatly helped the Party to assert its role and promote the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The strike had repercussions throughout the country and revealed both the possibility of independent action by the working people and the need for the Communist Party.

The success of Marxism-Leninism, which expressed itself primarily in the emergence of the Party, initiated a new phase in the development of our society. The possibility of our people gaining complete and final national and social freedom appeared.

The People's Vanguard Party is doing its utmost to maintain and extend democratic rights, to establish closer contact with the masses and to rally them for ultimate revolutionary action via struggle for everyday demands.

The historical evolution of Costa Rica together with the progress made in rallying the masses and upholding democracy make possible a peaceful course for the revolution in our country. Our efforts to uphold and extend democracy and to combat the danger of a military coup is part of our advance to revolution and towards genuine democracy.

"Genuine democracy," said the 10th Congress of our Party in its general resolution, "implies, first of all, people's rule which we do not have in our country. This is why our struggle today is aimed at winning a people's government that would rid the country of imperialist domination and transfer power from the reactionary classes and forces to the people—the workers and peasants, to the small and middle bourgeoisie, and to those segments of the big national bourgeoisie that have not surrendered to imperialism."

We are working to strengthen the Party as the principal instrument for fulfilling these tasks. We therefore regard the harmonious scientific theory of the Party—a theory borne out by the remarkable achievements in renovating society and, above all, by the rise of the socialist world system—as a contribution of fundamental importance made by Lenin and the Bolsheviks to the world revolutionary movement. In our day Lenin's ideas on this

issue are even more valid than before. Lenin warned revolutionaries against the danger of trends weakening the party. "Serious politics," he wrote, "can only be promoted by the masses; non-party masses that do not follow the lead of a strong party are, however, disunited, ignorant masses, without staying power, prone to become a plaything in the hands of adroit politicians, who always emerge 'opportunely' from the ranks of the ruling classes to take advantage of 'favorable' circumstances." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 19, p. 436.)

Imperialism and the oligarchies on our continent no longer confine themselves to naked interference or "gorilla" terror. They resort to more subtle methods such as reformism, "revolution in freedom," etc. Often the two devices go together. Faced with this challenge, we hold that it is essential to strengthen the party ideologically and organizationally if we wish effectively to lead the masses along the road of revolution. In keeping with Leninist principles the 10th Congress stated: "In contrast to certain propositions that have again become fashionable among extreme Lefts, who allege that the tasks of the national-liberation revolution in some Latin American countries can be accomplished without the leadership and even without the participation of the working-class party, we Costa Rican Communists, educated in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, have always held Party building to be a decisive task of our revolution. We can and do conceive of many parties and classes taking part in fulfilling our revolutionary tasks at this stage. We agree that after the revolutionary forces have won power it may be necessary to form a multi-class and multi-party government to see to the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks of the socialist stage. But however the issue of the future revolutionary power may be posed, there will be a need, always and in all circumstances, for a powerful, well-disciplined and seasoned vanguard educated in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, that is, the working-class party."

We try to take a creative approach to the Leninist concept of the Party by constantly adjusting it to the actual conditions. Our experience will bear us witness. We have passed through very different periods—complete illegality, legality (with a parliamentary group comprising over 20 per cent of the deputies), armed struggle and semi-legality. Hence we consider it unscientific and therefore politically harmful to assert that the Leninist concept of the party and the historical experience of the October Revolution are valid only for definite geographical regions or at particular

stages of political development. The universally valid principle is not to borrow that experience mechanically and blindly but to apply its essential aspects flexibly and creatively to a specific reality. Some apparently think that parties hamper development both before and during the deep revolutionary crisis. Nothing could be farther from the historical truth. "The greater the spontaneous upsurge of the masses and the more widespread the movement, the more rapid, incomparably so, the demand for greater consciousness in the theoretical, political, and organizational work of Social Democracy," wrote Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?*

In this period of deep crisis, when imperialism displays greater aggressiveness than ever and when, on the other hand, millions of non-proletarians are joining in the revolutionary movement, the political activity of the working class becomes more complicated and there is a greater need to safeguard the Leninist character of the Party and to follow the Leninist principle of fearlessly combating our own errors.

Soviet society has made steady progress in various spheres under the leadership of the Communist Party. The revolution, going from strength to strength, has demonstrated the superiority of socialism over capitalism; it overcame fearful difficulties and emerged victorious from terrible wars. Today the Soviet people are laying the scientific, technological and material foundations of communist society. All the socialist countries have registered impressive successes in the economy, in science, technology and culture. Imperialist propaganda is finding it more and more difficult to ignore socialism and communism, to misrepresent what working people liberated from exploitation can do. The opportunities opening up before the working people oppressed by capitalism and imperialism have become a mobilizing factor of the first magnitude. Our party has repeatedly stressed the importance of the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for our effort to bring the masses into the struggle against imperialism, for the reconstruction of Costa Rican society.

Lenin referred to the international value and revolutionizing effect of the progress made in building socialist society. One must do the maximum that can be done in one's own country, he said, to promote, support and awaken the revolution in all countries. This thesis, valid for the building of socialism in one country—the Soviet Union—is even more valid today when the socialist system

encompasses countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America.

The socialist countries are fulfilling this international obligation. The socialist world system is now the decisive factor in the development of human society.

Lenin's point about the international significance of internal successes is based on the Marx-Engels idea of the impossibility of exporting revolution.

True, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have stimulated historical processes through something more than the force of example. They have become a solid material base for the peoples aspiring to socialism, national liberation and peace. This role of the socialist countries was seen, for example, during the recent Middle East events. When ultra-Lefts and other elements tried to use the difficulties created by those events for an anti-Soviet campaign, the Arab peoples rebuffed the slanderers.

History has shown that the existence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has helped in large measure to thwart attempts at exporting counter-revolution. We realize that this process is not a straight line, that it is taking place amid an exceedingly complex set of contradictions, against a brutal and aggressive adversary. But the process of building socialism is irreversible. Furthermore, over sixty countries have cast off colonial tyranny. In the fifty years since the October Revolution the peoples have made remarkable progress, and experience tells us that they will

go on until every form of exploitation and oppression has been abolished everywhere.

The mighty wave of change started by the October Revolution reached the shores of Latin America. Long years of courageous struggle culminated in the Cuban revolution—the first socialist revolution on the American continent. Cuba became a beacon whose bright light is being kept up by the struggle of its heroic people and by international solidarity. Cuba today is in the van of the peoples of the American continent, to whom it shows the way to revolutionary action. Cuba attests to the might of socialism, the strength of the peoples and the inevitable defeat of imperialism. In this new stage of the struggle in Latin America, each people is advancing to national liberation and socialism in keeping with local conditions and in step with the maturing of the revolutionary process. Imperialism cannot reverse the wheel of history on the American continent.

Our movement began a little over a century ago. This year we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the first socialist revolution. This half century has been one of severe trials for Communists, of battles against the class enemy and those who strove to smuggle alien ideas into the labor movement. Many of the finest sons of the working people have given their lives in battle. The fight is going on unabated. But then, the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, first translated into reality by the October Revolution, have become an irresistible force dominating the thoughts and actions of hundreds of millions.

MALI

MAMADOU TALLA

Sudanese Union—RDA

THE GREAT OCTOBER Socialist Revolution and the subsequent progress made by the people of the Soviet Union opened broad vistas before the colonial nations who saw the real possibility of ridding themselves of colonial oppression and regaining freedom. Affirmation of the right to self-determination, the right to follow one's chosen road, was one of the major contributions made by the Leninist party to the fight of the peoples.

October demonstrated that it is fully

within the reach of the backward countries to build and develop their own economy and to raise the standard of living of their peoples to the level of the more advanced countries. It reaffirmed that this goal can be reached by taking the socialist path of development.

The Second World War, the victories won by the Soviet people, and the defeat of fascism, weakened the world system of imperialism, and ushered in a new era for Africa—an era of liberation from oppression.

It was at that time, and as a result of the process the development of which was accelerated by the Popular Front in France, that a new party was formed 21 years ago—the Sudanese Union—RDA.

In effect, our Party is the product of the merger of groupings such as the branches of the Socialist Party (SFIO) and the Democratic Party formed from Marxist study groups organized by the French Communist Party. Its mainstay were working people, the vast majority of whom were united in the main revolutionary organization of our country at the time—the local branch of the French General Confederation of Labor.

Throughout its existence our Party, acting in the framework of the anti-colonial RDA Party and taking guidance from Lenin's counsel, has had to tackle the problem of alliances. It has traversed a difficult road which led to the formation of a united patriotic front and to the country's independence.

The Republic of Mali, whose independence was proclaimed on September 22, 1960, opted for the socialist road. In the light of the lessons of October we set about resolving the concrete problems of decolonization and evolving new social structures.

Today all industry is publicly owned. The state took over the agricultural sector by nationalizing the plantations in the Niger Valley—the biggest in Western Africa. Trade too, is part of the public sector. Export and import of the 11 basic consumer items, the book trade, without which no cultural advance is possible, rail, motor and air transport, the grain trade, large-scale construction projects, animal products, prospecting and mining, power resources, banks—in short, all branches of the economy are controlled by state-owned enterprises and companies and managed by committees consisting for the most part of elected representatives of the working people. A campaign to unite the peasants and artisans in cooperatives has been under way for four years.

To cut short the subversion of the counter-revolution a people's militia was formed five years ago under the auspices of youth and women's organizations. Besides, Party and government leaders and functionaries annually attend a one-month course in militia training.

School attendance has increased more than twofold, and an education reform has been carried out. The health services now cater to most of the population.

Throughout these years the Party has done much to rally the people for the main aim—the building of a socialist society.

The Sixth Congress of our Party, held in

September 1962, decided to open a network of three-year schools to train personnel for the Party. Their curricula include the study of the economic, historical, social and cultural conditions in Mali and elsewhere in Africa, and study of scientific socialism, without knowledge of which the building of socialism cannot be successfully completed.

Scientific socialism is taught to technical and Army personnel. It is studied by the workers and peasants, in particular, through a network of schools set up by the National Working People's Union, as well as in the people's militia. It is part of the curricula in schools and colleges.

These measures, needless to say, called for hard and persevering work. Success has reinforced our people's faith in socialism and its ultimate victory. And our Party, voicing this aspiration of the people, has declared that the choice made by Mali in favor of socialism is irreversible; the working people have taken the defense of socialism into their own hands.

The Sudanese Union has always considered it its duty to strengthen friendship and solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries and with all the forces of the working-class and national-liberation movement. Our Party, the leading organization in our country, regards attacks on the socialist countries as attacks against socialism as such, against the choice made by the people of Mali. This attitude requires that relations between the parties develop on the basis of a community of ideas, i.e., it calls for close mutual relations. Our Party and its leadership feel that these relations should develop on the foundation of proletarian internationalism, and that their consolidation will be conducive to the success of the Mali people in building socialism, to the victory of the anti-imperialist forces and to the triumph of the cause of peace.

October has illumined the ways of building the new society. Countries that have just broken away from colonialism and have chosen the socialist road are, generally, at a low level of development. Most have no national capitalism. From the outset they are confronted with the pressing tasks of economic upbuilding, tasks whose solution is by no means facilitated by the existing inequality in international exchange.

The young revolutionary movement in Mali has had the backing of the friendly countries in developing its economy and in meeting the minimum requirements of the people. From the beginning the Sudanese Union stressed the need for constructive effort, and certain sacrifices, by the people to guarantee the country's freedom.

The experience of the Soviet Union and the successes achieved by all the socialist countries have inspired the revolutionary people in Mali. We have always felt the support of the socialist countries and of all the anti-imperialist forces. Our people are becoming increasingly conscious of their strength and confident of the victorious outcome of the battle for economic progress.

Internationally, our government pursues a policy of non-alignment. But when the point at issue is freedom of the peoples, independence of the states and struggle against imperialism, we are not neutral. We are with those who are fighting in Vietnam, in the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia and Southwest Africa, we are with the Arab people in their struggle against imperialist aggression.

Mali has no outlet to the sea. Its frontiers stretch over five thousand kilometres, half of which cuts across the desert regions of the Sahara. Its neighbors are Algeria, Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Niger. It is the paramount duty of Mali to pursue a policy of friendship and fraternal cooperation with the neighboring states, a policy of peace

and mutual understanding with all African countries, a policy of furthering African unity so ardently desired by the peoples of Africa.

Even this brief survey should make it clear how great is the significance of Lenin's ideas for our people and our country.

Our Party has benefited from studying the theory and practice of socialist countries, the reasons for their successes and reverses, problems of harmonious balanced development, strategy and tactics of the struggle against imperialism, their experience and methods. That is why I would like on behalf of the Sudanese Union to thank the Editorial Board of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* for their initiative in sponsoring conferences like the present one.

I join with the many speakers who, from this rostrum, voiced the desire that the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution be marked by creative development of the ideas of October, by further success in the fight of the peoples against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism and communism, and for peace.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

PULA KEKHOTSO

South African Communist Party

THE GREAT OCTOBER Socialist Revolution was an event of profound and universal significance the impact of which was felt and is still being felt in every corner of the world.

Beginning with February 1917 the momentous events in Russia began to attract increasing attention in South Africa, especially in the revolutionary sections of the labor movement. In *The International*, organ of the International Socialist League, a debate took place concerning the meaning of the February Revolution. One writer contended that this was a revolution in the interest of the capitalists, and could not be expected to advance further because in "backward" Russia the conditions favoring this did not exist. He was answered in a remarkable article by the brilliant Editor of *The International*, Comrade D. Ivon Jones. "This is a bourgeois revolution," wrote Jones. "But, coming when the night of capitalism is far spent, it cannot be a repeti-

tion of previous revolutions. It partakes infinitely more of a victory for the proletariat . . . This is a half-way house to the Socialist Revolution."

In November 1917, immediately after the socialist revolution, D. I. Jones, greeting the victorious Russian workers, wrote: "Our task in South Africa is a great one. We must educate the people in the principles of the Russian Revolution as we have never done before. We have to prepare the workers against any attempt to mobilize them against their Russian comrades, and in preparing spread the flames of the most glorious and most peaceful revolution of all times.

It should not be forgotten that this remarkable insight by Jones was achieved in the face of a torrent of lies and misinformation from the bourgeois press, then as now owned by the big monopoly mining interests.

In the first years after the October Revolu-

tion the labor movement in South Africa was represented by the trade unions and the Labor Party, both formed by workers of European descent.

Prior to the 'twenties the trade unions had been organizations exclusively of white men. Their function was twofold. On the one hand, they fought to maintain their wages and conditions against the employers. On the other, they fought against their non-white fellow workers, to prevent them entering into skilled trades. Rarely if ever did they extend a helping hand to the oppressed Africans against their intolerable conditions.

The Labor Party, at its beginning, reflected this backward and narrow racist outlook. Since its main purpose was to win parliamentary representation, and since only whites could vote, it pandered to the endemic white chauvinism which infected the workers as much as it did other sections of the electorate. Moreover, the Labor Party was by no means united ideologically. Like the British Labor Party, it embraced reformists and revolutionaries.

A great turning-point took place with the outbreak of the imperialist war in 1914. A section, including Bill Andrews, leader of the parliamentary caucus and Chairman of the Party, Secretary-General Ivon Jones and S. P. Bunting, stood firm for adherence to the Basle declaration of the Second International concerning opposition to war. But Right-wing elements launched a campaign of jingoism behind the Smuts-Botha government backing British imperialism. A split took place in which the anti-war leaders and their supporters established the International Socialist League, outside of and separate from the Labor Party. Its leaders moved consistently towards revolutionary Marxism.

A revival of working-class political organization took place under the direct influence and example of the October Revolution.

Lenin's proposal to form a new worldwide working-class organization, the Communist International, evoked a warm response in South Africa. The International Socialist League was among the first parties to affiliate. It called on all Marxist groups in the country to unite in establishing a single revolutionary party.

On July 29, 1921, a public meeting, attended by over two thousand people, was held at the City Hall, Cape Town, to celebrate the inauguration of the Communist Party of South Africa. The formal proceedings of the founding conference began the following day. Agreement was reached on aims and on the constitution, and the first Central Committee was elected headed by David Ivon Jones, W.

H. Andrews and S. P. Bunting, the leaders of the International Socialist League.

An invaluable part, which would be difficult to overestimate, was played by the study of Lenin's profound analysis of the national question and the national-liberation movement. Applied to the South African situation, and expressed in the 1962 Program of the Party, *The Road to South African Freedom*, this analysis makes it clear that the primary duty of Communists in a country such as ours is to fight for the national democratic revolution whose main content will be the national liberation of the African majority from the vicious type of colonialism embodied in the political, economic and social structure of South Africa and carried to extremes under the neo-Nazi rule of the Nationalist Party of Verwoerd and Vorster.

The building of socialism in the Soviet Union, accompanied by achievements which have carried the first workers' and peasants' state to the front ranks among modern powers; the glorious victory of Soviet arms in the Second World War, which saved the peoples of the world from the horrors of fascism; the firm Soviet policy of internationalism, support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and determination to achieve world peace, have likewise exerted a profound influence on the African National Congress and other liberation movements of the oppressed sections of our population.

The firm and unbreakable unity of Communists and non-Communists in our national-liberation struggle established at that time has survived and grown stronger with the years, sealed in a thousand battles, in jails, in illegality, in endless trials and in exile, and cemented by the blood of the martyrs murdered by the brutal apartheid regime.

Today, when the repression of the vicious Vorster regime has left no alternative to armed struggle in addition to other forms of militant mass struggle, the Communists and non-Communists of our liberation movement are united in their firm support of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation)—the fighting detachment of the movement.

The European Communist parties that sprang up under the impact of the October Revolution have also been a strong source of encouragement and enlightenment to our people. Communist parties like those of Britain, France, Italy and Portugal have stood up valiantly to the vicious colonial wars, plots and conspiracies launched against our people by their imperialist ruling classes. These parties have also helped, especially through their publications, to train many of

the militant African leaders who today are leading figures in their countries' independent governments. In this connection, I should mention that the South African Communist Party, too, though always engaged in a hard struggle against terror and repression, has helped to spread the invigorating ideas of the October Revolution far and wide in Africa through its publications. This tradition is continued today by the Party organ, *The African Communist*, which has a widespread and ever-increasing readership in many countries of Africa.

The October Revolution and its far-reaching consequences made a tremendous contribution towards assisting the peoples of Africa in their long and many-sided struggles for independence. These struggles have made striking advances over the past decade, securing — apart from the enslaved Southern areas where Portuguese and local white imperialism still dominate—nominal and constitutional independence for most of our Continent and its peoples.

But, as our peoples have learned through bitter experience, formal "independence" alone has conferred upon us the appearance but not the substance of self-determination. Imperialism still holds powerfully entrenched positions in nearly all African countries. For the most part it has retained key positions in our economy.

Unfortunately, in nearly every African country, it has found allies and agents among the feudal and tribal aristocracy, among the parasitic bourgeoisie, among the corrupt, Western-oriented, educated and trained military and administrative "elite." Often (though with shining exceptions), these have seen in independence merely a means of enriching themselves and replacing the former imperialist military and civil apparatus as beneficiaries from the oppression of their own people.

Where genuinely patriotic governments exist, determined to follow up political with economic independence, these sections of Africans have conspired with the imperialists against their own people, to carry out coups and other forms of treason. Often, under the cover of patriotic and even socialist slogans, they have connived at the extension of neo-colonialist influence and capitalist tendencies in African countries.

On the other hand, it must be said that the healthy, working-class, peasant and patriotic elements in every country of Africa are learning from experience that hard and relentless struggle for economic and social, as well as political emancipation is the only road to real independence. They are learning that genuine democracy—based on the full participation of the working people at every level—cannot be

secured along the path of bourgeois parliamentarism, as advocated by the colonialists. And they are learning that scientific socialism is the sole key to Africa's freedom, to unity and equality among the peoples of the world.

Today, an international imperialist counter-offensive is in progress, using methods ranging from outright military intervention to intrigue, assassination and military coups, to oust patriotic leaders in Asia—as in Indonesia, Africa—as in Ghana, and Latin America—as in the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere. The aggressive American imperialists are conducting a war of Hitlerite ferocity and barbarity against the heroic freedom fighters of South Vietnam and against that unconquerable bastion of socialism and national liberation, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Israel, armed and backed by international imperialism, has launched an outrageous war of aggression against the Arab peoples, seeking to enlarge her own boundaries, to expel, with barbarous cruelty, whole populations of Arab peoples, to overthrow progressive governments such as those of the United Arab Republic and Syria, and to preserve the millionaire American, British and other oil interests.

In Southern Africa — despite overwhelming opposition by African and world opinion — the imperialists are deliberately fortifying the Smith regime, the Portuguese colonialists and the fascist stronghold of the Republic of South Africa, as a base for the future, planned recolonization of the African continent.

Unfortunately this imperialist counter-offensive, which must be viewed as a globally planned operation, takes place at a time when much division exists among the anti-imperialist forces, and even within the ranks of the world Communist movement—this as a result of the lamentable breakaway of the leadership of the Communist Party of China from the principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism. The imperative of the present time is to recover unity of action and unity of strategy of Communist and revolutionary forces.

For us South African fighters for the freedom of our people, this is no abstract or academic question. Fourteen million of our fellow-countrymen are suffering the most brutal oppression and indignity. The finest sons and daughters of our people are suffering the most barbarous treatment and indignities in Vorster's fascist jails. They include Communists like Bram Fischer — Lenin Prize Laureate for 1966—Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada, and illustrious South African patriots like Nelson Mandele, Walter Sisulu, Denis Goldberg and thousands of others.

We ask not only for solidarity with them. We call upon all our comrades for unity to ensure fresh advances in the common struggle against imperialism and fascism, for socialism, freedom, peace and national liberation. Only thus can we put an end rapidly to the sufferings of our people, and win in the near future fresh triumphs along the glorious road to the liberation of mankind.

THE SUDAN

TIGANY BABIKER

Member of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Sudan

THE IMPACT OF OCTOBER did not influence our country directly. Our people were still smarting from the defeat inflicted upon them by British colonialism in 1899. For the preceding 17 years they were completely encircled by British, French and Italian colonial armies, cut off from the outside world. At the time of the October Revolution our people were slowly restoring contacts with the outside world. The movement for national freedom was still weak. It was only in 1924 that this movement, influenced by the Egyptian revolution, culminated in street demonstrations and a short-lived but bloody mutiny by Sudanese soldiers and officers. This first attempt was cruelly suppressed.

But if the Sudanese people were deprived of the opportunity of directly responding to the call of October, they came, many years later, to love and hold in high esteem its offspring, the Soviet Union.

The British colonialists managed for long to conceal the facts about the Land of Soviets. That vast land, stretching across the North-eastern part of the globe, was no more than a "geographical expression"; at school we learned about its steppes, its mountains and its rivers, but its political and social system remained a closed book to us.

That, however, could not go on forever. The Second World War provided the opportunity for the Sudanese people to discover the Soviet Union. And the discovery compensated, in impact, for the lost chance of October, 1917. Our people followed with admiration the heroic feats accomplished against the fascist

As we look back with pride, and treasure the memory of the great Lenin and his comrades who made possible the great victory of fifty years ago, let us also look forward to the future, with confidence and determination that we shall be their worthy followers and continuers of the glorious cause for which they fought.

hordes. In the conditions of the wartime anti-fascist alliance literature about the Land of Soviets reached our country. Despite the tight filter of the colonial censorship facts about the life in the USSR were made known to our people.

The support rendered by the Soviet Union to the national-liberation revolutions after the war further confirmed the growing conviction among our people that here was a state of a new type, a state which stood by the cause of freedom and justice. This was enhanced by the firm stand taken by the Soviet government in helping Syria and Lebanon to gain independence in 1946. In the postwar struggle for which our people were preparing they counted on Soviet support, and they were not disappointed.

With the discovery, so to say, of the Soviet Union, the progressive youth of our country discovered Marxism-Leninism. Significantly, they were attracted above all by the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the national and colonial question. This helped to dispel illusions concerning the nature of the struggle against colonialism and to win tens of young revolutionaries to the cause of communism.

The success of the Soviet Union in solving the national question and the grand achievements registered in the former Tsarist colonies of Central Asia inspired, and continue to inspire, countless progressives in our country. This success provided ample proof that not only can backward countries attain and uphold their freedom, but that they can develop into really advanced countries with a prosper-

ing economy and culture. To Sudanese progressives the Soviet Central Asian republics symbolized the future of their own country for which they should work.

And so the Communist Party of Sudan was founded in 1946. Since then our Party has been loyal to the behests given by Lenin in 1919, when he addressed the Communist organizations of the East. "The task is to arouse the working masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and to organization, regardless of the level they have reached; to translate the true communist doctrine, designed for the Communists of the more advanced countries, into the language of every people; to undertake the immediate practical tasks, and to join the proletarians of other countries in the common struggle.

"Such are the problems whose solution you will not find in any textbook on Communism, but which you will find in the common struggle begun by Russia. You will have to tackle that problem and solve it through your own independent experience."

The history of our Party, brief though it is, has fully borne out the wisdom of these behests. The science of Marxism-Leninism proved capable of solving African problems. Relying on the general teachings of Lenin and on the "common struggle begun by Russia," ours was the only Sudanese party to pose correctly the needs of our country and to propose solutions for them.

Since its founding our Party has striven to create close contact with the working people. Thanks to its initiative the first trade unions, student unions and peasant unions were formed in the Sudan. In contrast to the petty-bourgeois parties which confined themselves to denunciations of colonialism our Party did its best to make the struggle against colonialism the concern of the broad masses by organizing public meetings and mass demonstrations.

Our Party organized and led independent actions by the workers, peasants and students against the colonial rulers. Conscious of the immense importance of international solidarity our Party counselled the mass organizations to establish close contact with similar international organizations. For many years now our trade union, student and youth organizations have actively participated in the work of respective international bodies. The benefits derived from this cannot be overestimated. The support extended to us on the international arena greatly encouraged us in our struggle for freedom.

The Sudanese Communists tirelessly disseminated socialist ideas. In February 1956,

barely one month after the declaration of independence, the Third Congress of our Party pointed out that independence could not be safeguarded without radical social changes in the life of the working people. The Congress adopted a realistic program envisaging a national-democratic regime leading to socialism. Holding up the example of the Soviet Central Asian republics, the Party explained again and again the feasibility of the non-capitalist way of development. Experience since then has more than corroborated the soundness of the general line of our Party.

After more than half a century of colonial rule, the declared mission of which was to "civilize" our country, and after twelve years of independence, the Sudan, rich in natural resources, is still an extremely undeveloped and poor country. Our country is a glaring indictment of the capitalist way of development. Bitter experience has demonstrated that the capitalist way of life can be maintained not only at the expense of the majority of the population, but also at the expense of independence. More and more people are drifting away from those "traditional" parties and politicians standing for development along capitalist lines and joining in the fight for socialism. This is evident in the growing influence wielded by our Party.

This trend, inseparable from the decisive changes wrought in human history by the October Revolution, is irreversible. It has become the content of the national-liberation movement, fusing it wholly in the common struggle against international capital. The changed character of this movement, rousing hundreds of millions to independent action, is striking deeper roots and delivering heavy blows at the world capitalist system. Day by day it is extending its bonds of alliance with the socialist countries and the working-class movement. Hence the underlying basic explanation for the preponderance of the world revolutionary movement. Such is the sole conclusion of any objective assessment of the international situation.

There can be no denying that imperialism is bent on reversing the present international situation. And it cannot be denied that it has achieved certain success. But we should also stress that in certain cases it has suffered defeat. It is a far cry from wishes to their realization. One should recall the aggressive actions of imperialism during the period 1948-1953. Prominent in the long list one could mention the policy of atomic blackmail, the establishment of NATO and other military blocs, McCarthyism in the United States, the counter-revolutions in Greece, Guatemala and

Iran, the "dirty war" in Vietnam, the aggression against Korea, etc., etc. The jubilant imperialists boasted that they had succeeded in "containing" communism. But the "contagion" of revolution could not be contained. In a few years the movement not only recovered, it was also able to deliver heavy blows to its enemies. It is enough to recall that although, during the aforementioned years, virtually the whole of Africa was outside the orbit of the revolutionary movement, by the 1960's the vast colonial empires on our continent had crumbled. Even the scope of the efforts undertaken by the enemy is proof of not only his increased aggressiveness, but above all of the huge proportions to which our movement has grown.

In their frenzied appraisal of the international situation some people would like us to believe that nothing short of a world war can save the revolution. Dismissing the consequences of such a war, if it is possible for any sane person to do so, what these people propose means practically that the Soviet Union should assume the burden of carrying out the revolution on behalf of each and every people. This, of course, would be very comfortable. It would relieve everybody of the arduous work of preparing for the revolution and of ensuring its victory. But no such comfort can be obtained. Revolution in each country is the duty of the revolutionary forces in that country. Each will make its own revolution when all the conditions are ripe for this. Then, given the proper leadership, revolution will triumph, regardless of the strength of its enemies.

This should be particularly stressed at the present time when the Mao group in China is hurling charges at the Soviet Union and the other internationalist socialist states to the

effect that they refrained from rendering effective aid to the Arab countries against the imperialist aggression. In this respect the Mao group is at one with the imperialists and the Arab reactionaries. Their common aim is to discredit the Soviet Union and to inculcate defeatism among the Arab peoples. But charges levelled by the Chinese splitters lack any foundation. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have rendered, and are rendering, all possible aid. And relying on this aid the Arab countries withstood the onslaught of imperialist aggression. The main aim of the aggression—to topple the revolutionary regimes in the UAR and Syria — was foiled. These regimes have emerged politically stronger and are now the better prepared for further struggles against aggression. The Arab peoples are forging a greater unity against U.S. and British imperialism. Only the blind can be pessimistic about the revolutionary prospects in the Arab world. Only the blind can ignore the role of the Soviet Union and the other internationalist socialist countries in this respect.

Adventurism cannot be the policy of Marxist-Leninists. Only a policy based on the unity of the three contingents of the revolutionary movement can ensure victory. Towards this end are working all genuine internationalists, all genuine Communists. The Mao group, by their splitting activities, are rendering an invaluable service to imperialism. But they have been exposed on an international scale. The revolutionary movement is treading on firm ground. The issues are becoming clearer. Unity of the revolutionary forces is gaining the upper hand.

In this the great Land of October and the Party of Lenin occupy a place of honor.

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Contributions by J. Duclos (France), B. Lkhamsuren (Mongolia), M. G. Mendis (Ceylon). I. Norlund (Denmark), B. Ponomaryov (USSR), W. Jarosinski (Poland) and other participants in the international symposium will appear in the coming issues of the journal.

The USSR today

Facts and Figures*

VII. SCIENCE

IN APRIL 1918, five months after the October Revolution, Lenin drew up the famous Draft Plan of Scientific and Technical Work gearing science to the needs of production.

From the first, science became a national concern, a concern of the Party and the people. Among the scientists were such outstanding men as the physiologist Ivan Pavlov, botanist Kliment Timiryazev, Vavilov, founder and first president of the Agricultural Academy, the father of Russian aviation Zhukovsky, ship designer and mathematician Krylov, the geologist Fersman, Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, father of astronautics, and the physicist Abram Joffe.

The State Optical Institute which engaged in atomic research and the Leningrad Technological Institute of Physics, where Kurchatov, Kapitsa, Khariton, Alexandrov and other world famous scientists began their careers, were founded in 1918.

Soviet scientists have worked out new production techniques, developed a nuclear industry and energetics, tapped the country's mineral wealth and made advances in crop raising and in animal husbandry. Spectacular headway has been made in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, geology and in other fields. The Soviet Union orbited the first artificial earth satellite and launched the first manned space flight. The name of S. P. Korolyov, designer of Soviet rockets, is now known throughout the world.

The social sciences found methodological guidance in Marxism-Leninism. Acting in the Leninist Party spirit, they gained prime importance in the communist education of the people and in combating bourgeois ideology and various opportunist trends.

A few figures will illustrate the growth of Soviet science over the past half-century.

Tsarist Russia had 10,200 scientific workers in 1914. By 1940 the Soviet Union had 98,300 and by 1966 over 700,000 or 70 times as many as before the Revolution. Physics and mathe-

matics alone are staffed by more than 60,000 researchers.

The number of top-level scientists has risen sharply. In 1966 as many as 16,600 held the degree of D.Sc. and 152,300 other academic degrees. Post-graduate training of young scientists is promoted on a grand scale, with more than 90,000 doing post-graduate work in higher educational establishments and research institutions.

Every fourth science worker in the world is a Soviet researcher. Approximately 40 per cent of the Soviet researchers are women, more than 1,000 of whom hold the rank of Academician, Corresponding Member of the Academy or Professor.

In 1914 the country (within the borders of September 1939) had 289 research institutions. By 1940 their number had increased to 1,821 and to 4,724 by 1965.

The 1940 budget allocations for scientific development totalled 113 million rubles, rising to 524 million in 1950 and to 4,265 million in 1965.

In 1917 the Academy of Sciences comprised 52 research institutions staffed by 154 scientists, including 45 Academicians. By 1965 the number of Academy research institutions had risen to 193, staffed by more than 25,000 science workers, including 538 Academicians and Corresponding Members of the Academy.

The geography of science has changed. Before the revolution research institutions were concentrated in Petersburg and Moscow. Now there are science centers in every part of the country from the Baltic coast to Kamchatka in the Far East and from the Kola Peninsula in the North to the Pamirs in the South. The Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine, the first academic center of the fraternal Union republics, was founded in 1919 and the newest Academy of Sciences of Moldavia in 1961. A big contribution to science is also being made by the recently-founded Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Soviet scientists are representative of more than 40 nationalities in the Soviet Union, including some 70,000 Ukrainians, 50,000 Jews, 12,000 Georgians, about 7,000 Uzbeks, and over 1,000 Bashkirs.

*This is the seventh of a series of surveys of the Soviet economy.

Permanent scientific contact is maintained with nearly 100 countries. In 1965 about 3,000 Soviet scientists went abroad under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, with more than 4,000 foreign scientists visiting the Soviet Union as guests of the Academy. Also in 1965 the Academy sent delegations to 230 international gatherings abroad and played host to 18 international congresses and conferences attended by over 1,000 foreign scientists.

The number of joint research projects involving Soviet and other scientists, chiefly those of fraternal socialist countries, is increasing steadily. The Joint Nuclear Research Institute

in Dubna, of which the socialist countries are members, is a major science center.

Soviet scientific achievements are gaining worldwide recognition. Soviet Academicians and Corresponding Members of the Academy N. G. Basov, L. D. Landau, A. M. Prokhorov, N. N. Semyonov, I. E. Tamm, I. M. Frank and P. A. Cherenkov are winners of the Nobel Prize.

In the present period of building communist society the importance of science is gaining steadily. The 23rd congress of the CPSU set the task of improving and expanding scientific research and reinforcing the bonds between science and production.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

THE POPULAR MOVEMENT for peace, the peasants' fight for land, the fight of the oppressed peoples of Russia against national oppression and the struggle of the working class, the leading revolutionary fighter for socialism, steadily gained momentum in September 1917.

By March there had been 111 workers' demonstrations, the number rising to 1,093 in September, peasant demonstrations numbered 1,057 and 2,442 respectively, and in the army 40 between March and June, and 406 between June and September. The Bolshevik Party succeeded in fusing these movements into a concerted assault against capitalism.

On August 31 (September 13) the Petrograd Soviet adopted a Bolshevik-sponsored resolution "On Power." Salvation, the resolution read, lies in transferring power to the revolutionary workers and peasants. The resolution set forth the fundamental principles of the new worker-peasant power—a democratic republic, immediate abolition without compensation of private ownership of the landed estates, workers' control over production and distribution, nationalization of the key industries, high taxes on big capital and confiscation of war profits, annulment of the secret treaties and an offer to all belligerent countries of a universal democratic peace.

On September 5 (18) the Moscow Soviet, followed by the Soviets in other cities, sided with the Bolsheviks.

The renewal of the Soviets, which again became militant revolutionary bodies, prompted the Party to restore the slogan, "All Power

to the Soviets!." At this point, the transfer of power could still have been peaceful. The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries had, in combating the Kornilov insurrection, agreed to exclude the Constitutional Democrats from the government, thereby clearing the ground for a Bolshevik promise of support for a government of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries that would be responsible to the Soviets, which would assume full power in the capital and locally.

However, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who gravitated towards bourgeois policy, rejected this opportunity of a peaceful solution. And so the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!," became the battle-cry of insurrection.

The revolution entered upon its decisive phase. Seizure of power was on the order of the day.

On September 12-14 (25-27) Lenin addressed letters to the Central, Petersburg and Moscow committees of the RSDLP (B), headed "The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power" and "Marxism and Insurrection," demonstrating the necessity for assuming power. "The active majority of revolutionary elements in the chief cities," he wrote, "is large enough to carry the people with it, to overcome the opponent's resistance, to smash him, and to gain and retain power."

In the letters Lenin outlined a plan for the armed uprising in Petrograd. He suggested organizing a headquarters, distributing forces, concentrating the more reliable units at the vital points, to surround government offices and occupy the telephone exchange and telegraph.

Problems of building a highly-developed society in the GDR

ERICH HONECKER

CONDITIONS AND PRE-CONDITIONS FOR HIGHLY-DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

THE DECISION of the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, held in April, to build a highly-developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic rang in a new phase in the development of our worker-peasant state and evoked a lively response. Our people are tackling the new tasks with initiative, and initiative, coupled with the creative powers of the people, is the motive force behind the building of socialism in the GDR.

All further expansion in the country, based on the level already attained in socialist construction, will now be geared to the building of a highly-developed socialist society.

The workers and peasants hold political power, and the basic means of production are in their possession. This is the fundamental pre-condition for the all-round development of socialist relations of production. Socialist ideology and humanist culture, the key to social progress, prevail. But the greatest gain of our two decades of social reconstruction is the development of our people. Socialist consciousness is manifestly an element of their attitude to the state, to work and to public relations.

The security measures taken along our frontiers, especially in Berlin, have been beneficial. After the diversions of West German monopoly capital were effectively curbed, we were able to make the most of the economic laws of our society and to secure a considerable increase in production. Between 1962 and 1966 industrial output went up 25 per cent, with the electronics industry, all-important for our

future economic structure, expanding 47 per cent and as much as 85 per cent for measuring, control and regulation devices. The considerable growth of the national income derives from the higher labor productivity, lower costs and greater profitability. Agriculture, too, has made impressive headway. The alliance of our workers with the class of cooperative farmers has grown stronger. Despite the rising consumption, the supply of staple foods is essentially home-produced. The rise in farm output was secured by a gradual conversion to industrial methods of management and organization, expansion of the cooperatives and greater application of science.

Economic development based on growth of the productive forces and impelled by the worldwide scientific and technological revolution needs a new kind of planning and management. The new economic system projected by the Sixth Congress and gradually introduced into the economy is proving its worth.

It has become obvious that the conscious activity of the people increasingly accords with economic laws and that new possibilities are opening up for broader mass activity. After a thorough study of our economic, political and ideological development, the Seventh Congress could summarize the results of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, survey the experience of the all-out building of socialism and *define the tasks of the next stage, that of building a highly-developed socialist society in the GDR.*

The degree of development in the country provides the essential objective and subjective requisites for a uniform socialist society, making the building of a highly-developed socialist system a natural, historically necessary phase

in completing the building of socialism.

All spheres of socialist society must be laced together and brought into line with the future development of the system as a whole. The highly-developed socialist society we have in mind presupposes a rapidly growing productivity of labor and stable socialist production relations. A smoothly operating machinery of state, a high level of democracy, high standard of education and an equally high standard of living—these, too, are features of the new system. What makes matters difficult is that we have to carry this complex, long and multi-staged process into effect in an environment of acute struggle, both on a world scale and in Germany, between socialism and imperialism.

A high standard of planning and guidance is needed for the various processes. Not all problems have yet been elaborated in sufficient detail or tested in practice. But we are tackling our tasks with the requisite scientific knowledge and revolutionary experience, drawing on the theoretical riches of Marxism-Leninism and on the experience of building socialism in the fraternal countries, above all in the Soviet Union, and we are firmly determined to double-check our every step and steer clear of "leaps" and unrealistic targets.

SCIENTIFIC REGULATION OF THE SOCIAL PROCESSES

Our general political line is carried forward through the strategy and tactics charted by the Party. But strategy and tactics geared to our specific conditions must be based on a scientific preview of social development. Marxist-Leninist social forecasting is, therefore, necessary for the new approach. Forecasting, essentially the general social forecast, embraces the main trends in the class struggle and in the balance of world forces, the trends in social reproduction, in science and technology, the classes and social groups, social relations, socialist consciousness, education and culture—all in the context of their interconnection in the various decisive stages.

We are now working out forecasts for the period up to 1980 and, utilizing the results, we are setting targets for the years up to 1970 and beyond. What this amounts to is long-term projecting of the future world.

Our Party treats forecasts of the main trends in science and technology and their likely effects as the key element of the general social forecast because they are essential, among other things, for solving vital structural problems of economic management. Furthermore, they have a bearing on the future inter-

lacing of our economy with that of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries and on the expansion of our productive forces as the foundation of economic progress in completing the building of socialism.

Regulating social processes presupposes extensive scientific knowledge. One needs a vast amount of knowledge to chart the perspective of social development, to investigate the objective laws operating in the various spheres of life and to orient the masses on building a highly-developed socialist society with the least expenditure and in an historically short time. A clear social perspective moulds social consciousness. Our people must know that they and their children will live under socialism and should, therefore, know how it works. Given this knowledge they will have a better grasp of the political processes and interrelations and will cope more effectively with their daily tasks.

The art of guiding social processes consists of scientific foresight, the ability to adopt the right decisions at the right time, discuss political, economic and cultural matters with the people, and to concentrate the conscious initiative of the workers on strengthening the socialist state. One must make the most of the economic laws of socialism, of the advantages and potentialities of the socialist system. Also, the political consciousness and activity of the citizens must be continuously advanced, for participation by the people in planning and in management is decisive in building socialism. Hence the Party considers politico-ideological work the core of scientific leadership.

Acting on the decisions of congress, steps are being taken to ensure that Party and government officials at all levels will have the requisite knowledge to guide the new processes and cope with the new tasks together with the people. The accent is on modern methods, particularly in the sphere of information and planning, and on computers and other technical auxiliaries. This will secure a quicker response to the urgent problems and give a fuller picture of them, ensuring better political guidance.

In July a meeting of our Central Committee studied the matter of Party and government guidance closely. It decided on working out a model that would put guidance on a scientific basis. What this calls for is skill in carrying forward theoretical and practical solutions in the context of our competition and fight against the class enemy, for the West German imperialists are seeing to it that their state apparatus should function with the utmost efficiency.

THE ROLE OF CLASSES AND SOCIAL GROUPS

All classes and social groups in the GDR are developing on the basis of socialist production relations, on the concomitant new social relationships and on greater socialist consciousness. Their interests coincide and their relationships become closer.

Under the leadership of our Party, the working class has proved itself a capable organizer of socialist society. This bears out the universal validity of the Marxist tenet that the workers are the most revolutionary and the most progressive force of our time. The objective grounds for the leading role played by the working class in relation to the other classes and social groups stem from its direct association with modern socialist industry, to which the workers owe their high degree of organization and discipline. They are the main class and produce the bulk of the public wealth. "The working class is the core of the free, socialist people," says the Seventh Congress report, "enjoying the fruits of its labor and satisfying its material and spiritual requirements to an ever increasing extent." Its responsibility and significance will continue to rise in the process of building a highly-developed socialist society. So will its responsibility in effecting the scientific and technological revolution, since it is the vehicle of revolutionary development. Its decisive participation in planning and guiding the social process and in collective socialist labor, coupled with its increasing awareness of its leading role and responsibility in guiding the complex processes of modern production are typical of its new make-up. It is the working class of a highly industrialized socialist country in which the number of highly skilled workers is steadily increasing.

The socialist construction has solidified the worker-peasant alliance, an enduring component of our socialist society. By virtue of the increasingly industrial nature of agriculture, the farming class is gradually fusing with modern industry. The relationships developing between the farming cooperatives and the publicly-owned estates (state farms), with the various processing industries and trading agencies necessitate mastery over the processes engendering new forms of the worker-peasant alliance. The emancipation of the peasants in the German Democratic Republic, sparked by the democratic land reform and culminating in the emergence of a class of cooperative farmers, has yielded good results, contrasting with the situation in West Germany, where monopoly domination is stripping farmers of their rights and property.

Our socialist intelligentsia, essentially of working-class or peasant origin, has won the respect of the people by its dedication to socialism. Together with the industrial workers, it is helping to build modern industrial centers, acquitting itself splendidly in all areas of research and in advancing the scientific and technological revolution. In the enterprises we see the intelligentsia drawing closer to the workers and peasants with marked benefits for mutual cooperation and socialist society.

The formerly independent employers, now co-proprietors of semi-state-owned enterprises, and private owners of enterprises, as well as craftsmen in producer cooperatives and small proprietors, have also found their place in our reconstruction.

The working class, the leading social force, is linked closely with the other classes and social groups, promoting the common interests of socialism. Our projected highly-developed socialist society, plus further extension of socialist democracy, will pave the way for still more extensive joint activity by all classes and social strata. Socialist relations of production and fruitful politico-ideological work are moulding truly socialist relationships, which evolve in labor and daily life and are marked by mutual respect and aid, notably in work and in the formation of socialist collectives. These new relationships and the new attitude to labor and to the state are moulding such admirable qualities as labor valor, love of socialist country, class solidarity and readiness to sacrifice. The socialist ideology and ethics, coupled with free creative labor, is producing innovators respected and honored by all, especially the youth.

Naturally, these relationships and qualities do not spring up spontaneously. They evolve in the struggle against old habits and the influences of hostile ideology. The political and moral unity of the people is growing and the identity of the social requirements and interests of individuals and collectives, the motive power of our development, is seen in bolder relief. We can be proud of the new relations between people in our society, for we are working for their vital interests. Socialism, to which we are devoting all our energy, presupposes a better and richer life for the people.

ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST STATE AND DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY

The people built their socialist state under the leadership of the working class. They are taking part in government in many ways and are helping strengthen the state and improve its functioning. The socialist state was the

instrument that completed the bourgeois-democratic revolution and carried through the socialist revolution. We needed a strong worker-peasant state to protect the socialist gains against counter-revolutionaries at home and against West German monopoly capital and militarism. The national and international role of the socialist state as a bastion of peace in Germany is acknowledged by more and more people. Through identity of vital interests the GDR is closely linked with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries and is conscious of its mission as a peace-loving German state contributing to the creation of a European security system.

Our state is a political organization. It is based on socialist relations of production and the expanding productive forces of socialist society, on working-class leadership in social development headed by the revolutionary party in close alliance with other classes and social groups, and on the increasingly conscious activity of the people.

The role of the socialist state will be greater during the period of building a highly-developed socialist society. The chief purpose of the socialist state is to augment the public wealth, the ground work of national welfare, and it is highly important that personal interests should coincide in ever greater measure with those of society.

A highly-developed socialist society can secure a continuous expansion of the productive forces, with such a productive force as science gaining immense importance. The state is responsible for the socialist educational system. It safeguards the peaceful life of its people, their socialist gains and sovereignty. Its duty is to raise the standard of living and enforce the rules of socialist behavior obligatory for all citizens.

Further extension and deepening of socialist democracy is necessitated, among other things, by the fact that the conscious cooperation of the people and their broad participation in government is an imperative feature of a highly-developed socialist society. Socialist democracy is unity of action by elected bodies, unity of action by all bodies of state and active cooperation by all citizens. It is a decisive social factor in reaching all major targets. The logical effect of every extension of socialist democracy is greater public activity which, in turn, necessitates scientific principles of guidance, especially in the relationships between governmental bodies and the people. The public function of the representative decision-making bodies, which also control fulfilment, will thus become greater and

will be of a much higher standard. The local authorities will have additional powers, making all decisions related to their precinct within the framework of law. As socialist democracy develops, there will be more forms of voluntary participation in government and public affairs, notably in standing committees of the representative bodies, mediation boards, parents' councils, and so on. The rights of citizens, too, will be more extensive. The election to the People's Chamber in July was a striking example of socialist democracy. Numerous suggestions and criticisms were made in the countrywide exchange of views preceding the election.

A NEW STAGE IN PARTY DEVELOPMENT

The success of the Seventh Party Congress and its decisions on completing the building of socialism in the GDR show that our Party, the organized vanguard of the working class, is able fully to cope with the new tasks. This is guaranteed by its unity, its political maturity and above all by its close contact with the people.

The Socialist Unity Party is the most experienced and successful party in German history. It did not close its eyes to the lessons of the past, and it deposed monopoly capital and militarism. In close alliance with the democratic bloc parties and all other anti-fascist groups it established the first German state governed by the people. Today, it is orienting the country on completing the building of socialism, ushering in a new period of social progress in the GDR, which will tip the scales still more in favor of socialism and peace.

A firm socialist power has come into being, embodying socialism on German soil and showing the nation the way forward. The Party owes its success to Marxism-Leninism and its skill in adapting the experience of the fraternal parties, above all that of the CPSU, to our own conditions. By building socialism in the GDR it is enriching Marxism-Leninism.

The Party has struck deep roots among the people. Its ranks are being reinforced constantly by thousands of the finest workers and cooperative farmers. Workers comprise 45.6 per cent of the membership and 62.4 per cent of the 245,692 members admitted since the Sixth Congress up to December 1966. Leninist norms are observed in Party life and extensive political education is conducted among its members. Party members promote socialist democracy among the people and acquit themselves splendidly in the daily fight for the new.

New tasks have arisen in the period of

building the highly-developed socialist society. The Party must embrace all spheres of public life and reinforce its ties with the people. Party activity concerns itself with man, his political convictions, professional training and cultural interests, his leisure and his problems, worries and aspirations, for in the final analysis the success of building socialism depends on his labor and on his initiative.

The need for a higher standard of leadership geared to the new conditions is prompting the Party to afford all its functionaries and members a greater measure of knowledge to ensure effective guidance of the people and to master the complex processes in all spheres of public life.

What is fundamentally important is that Party work should be concentrated on the key tasks: achieving a higher scientific and technical standard in the basic industries, higher quality and lower costs. The battle for higher production targets promotes socialist consciousness and helps to develop the people of socialist society. Work with cadres is an important area of Party guidance and an essential precondition for the fulfilment of its decisions. New criteria have emerged in the approach to the training, allocation, use and promotion of cadres, oriented on the proficiency a leading functionary is expected to attain before 1980.

Our cooperation with the friendly parties has done much to further our socialist construction. The socialist multi-party system has proved its worth. The Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National-Democratic Party and the Democratic Farmers' Party, once distinctly petty-bourgeois parties, have espoused the socialist way and are active in resolving the new tasks under the leadership of the SUP. The Seventh Congress commended their cooperation, and their readiness to help in building a highly-developed socialist society. This cooperation is becoming closer as time goes on, bearing out the benefits of joint action by the democratic forces and showing that our policy of rallying all peace-loving and democratic people for the building of socialism has been correct. In the past, the friendly parties worked mainly for the specific interests of farmers, craftsmen, small proprietors or other social groups. Now that we are completing the building of socialism they are working for the common interests of socialist society.

Since the state is the decisive instrument in building a highly-developed socialist so-

ciety, the Party has worked out a plan for improving its efficiency. The Party cannot encroach on the functions of government bodies but lays down the basic guidelines for their work, exerting an influence on them and helping them make the right decisions. This influence is exercised through the members of the primary Party organizations, which are expected to ensure that government bodies function independently. Also through its primary organizations Party influence is exerted on the top economic committees and on the top committees of the public organizations.

The public organizations with their millions of members will play a more active role as socialist democracy expands and the people take a bigger part in running society. Through its members in these organizations the Party has close links with all strata, and the force of example and close cooperation of Party members with non-members is helping these organizations carry forward their specific tasks in building socialist society. The top Party committees are in close touch with governing boards of the public organizations, discussing important aspects of their activity and benefiting from their experience in guiding the general process of social development.

The trade unions are the biggest and most influential class organizations of the working people. The fact that they function in the production sphere makes their work doubly important. Their aggregate membership exceeds 6,600,000, and they are rightly considered schools of socialism, doubly so in view of the part they will play in building our highly-developed socialist society. They are independent bodies and occupy a prominent place in our life. Through the trade unions many people are drawn into elaborating, discussing and fulfilling our long-term production plans; they are active in factory committees, at production conferences and other public functions, taking a hand in managing the enterprises. The unions act as organizers of the socialist emulation movement. Working and living conditions is another of their concerns, and they have been entrusted with important functions in the cultural field.

The Party members know that the new stage of our social development calls for much energy, new ideas, intelligence, enthusiasm and courage. They consider it their supreme revolutionary duty to create a happy life for our people, and to this task they are devoting all their strength.

New features in Czechoslovak agriculture

JAN HAVELKA

I

THE IMPORTANCE of agriculture does not diminish in the period of full-scale socialist construction—it must satisfy the rising food requirements of the population. That is why the Czechoslovak Communist Party has instituted far-reaching measures to maximize farm output and enable agriculture to play its full part in the national economy.

The following is a brief summary of agricultural development since the war.

The socialist reconstruction, complete in the late fifties, sharply raised farm output, most of which now comes from the socialist sector. The prewar level was surpassed in the early sixties, though crop areas were down about 10 per cent from prewar. The supply of modern machinery had the dual result of freeing a considerable number of workers for other industries and raising productivity on the farms. The number of persons engaged in agriculture declined from 3,340,000 in 1937 to 2,200,000 in 1948 and 1,190,000 in 1966. Productivity increased roughly threefold over the same period, and the number of agricultural technicians more than doubled between 1960 and 1966, when it stood at 67,670. Last year was a fairly good one, with gross farm output 9.4 per cent above the five-year average, and a good harvest is expected this year.

Czechoslovak agriculture, confidently advancing along its socialist path, is making a weighty contribution to the national income. However, we cannot be content with present production levels and are implementing comprehensive measures to attain higher levels through intensive farming.

The Twelfth Party Congress (1962) pointed to the need to raise agriculture to the level

of industry by greater intensification of production and higher productivity. That, in fact, is one of the country's main goals. For without a substantial rise in farm output we cannot achieve either balanced development of the economy or a higher standard of living. Besides, this is the only way gradually to obliterate the main distinctions between town and country and bring the position of the cooperative farmer closer to that of the urban worker.

The Thirteenth Party Congress (1966) reaffirmed and elaborated this policy. Farm output had to grow, it stressed, by wider use of industrial methods and by bringing all other branches of the economy to contribute towards that goal. The congress formulated the underlying principles of the new agricultural management system.

II

Its object — to reinforce the alliance of workers and peasants who share common political and economic interests — is to be achieved by evening out the character of farm and industrial work, and gradually eliminating the main distinctions between town and country. Full use will be made of the experience accumulated under the old system, the progressive features of which will be developed and new elements introduced. In combination, this will make for fuller use of all the advantages inherent in socialist agriculture. Central planning will be coordinated with economic leverage, that is, indirect ways of influencing the economy, to provide an ample initiative margin in maximizing per hectare output with minimum expenditure. Proper use of these economic levers is the surest way of boosting production to meet the nation's requirements.

And increasingly fuller satisfaction of these requirements will be the chief criterion of the new system's efficacy.

Of course, it takes into account all the specific aspects of our agriculture. And first of these is the limited size of cultivable land—0.36 hectares per capita. Consequently, the principal means of increasing production is by maximum efficiency. And to keep all available land under cultivation, we have promulgated a law levying a tax on land used for non-agricultural purposes. The revenue thus obtained is invested in agriculture, notably in improving fertility. But this should not be regarded as the price of the land. The levy, high and progressive, is tied to the value of annual per hectare output. For instance, if per hectare gross output is valued at 1,500-3,000 korunas, the levy is fifty times that figure; one hundred times if the value is assessed at between 4,000 and 10,000 korunas, and two hundred times if the value is 10,000 korunas or more. This has the effect of compelling investors to choose non-agricultural land, or in any case low-fertility plots.

Differential rent is a category of socialist agriculture too. The limited size of the arable makes it necessary to cultivate low-fertility lands. This reflects both on total production and incomes of individual farms, but by using the differential rent lever we can create more or less uniform conditions for extended reproduction on all the farms.

There are two forms of public property in agriculture: cooperative, or group, property in the cooperative farms, and national property in the state farms. Both follow from the nature of socialist society and, essentially, there is a definite difference in distribution of the product.

Technically, agriculture is at a lower level than other branches of the economy. This is attributable to historically-formed conditions, for it is only recently that Czechoslovakia shifted to large-scale mechanized farming.

Such, in broad outline, are the chief peculiarities of our agriculture, and they have been carefully taken into account in drafting the new management system.

The cardinal factor here is *planning* which assures the necessary balance between agriculture and other industries, and at the same time creates the necessary conditions for increasing production and productivity.

Agricultural planning falls into three closely linked groups. The accent, as in all other industries, is on long-range planning, the foundation of our five-year and one-year programs. *Their drafting is primarily the responsibility of farm managements* — every farm is in a position to work out an optimal plan in con-

formity with natural conditions and economic potentialities. This encourages specialization, initiative, higher production and, consequently, higher profits.

District agricultural amalgamations (which are discussed below) are given three groups of plan indicators. The first group concerns marketable output of the various crops, the second equipment (machinery, buildings, etc.), and the third economic levers (prices, subsidies, etc.).

The district amalgamations pass on the plan to the farms, which use it as a general outline in drawing up their programs, and these, in turn, go into the drafting of the overall state plan.

The central planners examine the drafts submitted by the districts from the point of view of their conformity to national-economic requirements and potentialities. Material differences, if any, are resolved by modifying the use of economic levers, or by structural changes in consumption, imports and exports. If the draft plans fall short of national requirements, the central planners can set new targets in marketable produce (chiefly cereals) by issuing binding directives.

The farm's marketable produce plan is the basis for its contracts with buyers, and the contracts are binding.

However, it should be noted that discrepancies between farm plans and national requirements, as defined by the central planners, are minimal. Where there are such differences, they are usually due to faulty price fixing. Public consumption is relatively stable, and much the same is true of agricultural output. So far as the latter is concerned weather and other conditions and production experience all play their part. This has been confirmed by our work on the 1967 plan.

Needless to say, the very best plant cannot of itself increase production. It has to be complemented by an integrated system of economic levers combined harmoniously and to maximum effect, with central plan indicators and incentives. These economic levers, and the way they are applied, become a crucial factor in plan fulfilment. On the one hand, their application eliminates, or at least restricts, the use of rigid directives, and on the other stimulates production in the desired direction.

By employing the market mechanism, the new management system helps to adapt production to national requirements. Prices have a definite influence on the structure and results of production. There are fixed prices on most farm products to tie up with the fixed retail prices of food. Fixed procurement prices are based on average production costs in re-

gions accounting for the bulk of the given product. But in addition, there are extra differential payments, bonuses for higher output, etc.

The differential payments compensate farms operating in less favorable conditions. And since extra payment is made for every 100 korunas' worth of produce sold to the state, this tends to encourage higher output. Farms operating in more favorable conditions contribute part of their profit (differential rent I).

Farm subsidies are still another valuable economic lever that can be used to influence production in the direction desired by society. It should be said, however, that subsidies, both to cooperative and state farms, have not always been used for this purpose; as a rule they were designed to pull backward farms up to the average. Under the new system the chief purpose of subsidies is to facilitate expansion and stimulate better use of the land. In fact, a considerable part of the subsidies goes into land improvement, building, and so on.

Credits, granted at differential interest rates, are used for much the same purpose, i.e., to promote development of individual farms and encourage needed lines of output. Most of the credits go to farms that make adequate use of their own resources, rather than to farms that lack funds as a result of inefficient management.

The new system facilitates continued extension of socialist democracy, for it gives the farmer a greater say in management. The broadening of socialist democracy finds expression also in the greater share farmers now have in drawing up current and long-range plans. In practice, this will mean more effective barriers against bureaucracy in the farms and in relations between management bodies. Some of the distortions of the past, the result of too many rigid directives can now be removed by continued promotion of socialist democracy.

Membership participation in management is a key principle of our cooperative farms; democracy is central to their functioning. Cooperative members share in drawing up the plan and devising ways and means of its fulfilment. They discuss the farm's finances, distribution of products, etc. But that is only part of cooperative activity. For the cooperative is also a social organization that looks after the material and cultural needs of its members, providing training and welfare facilities, etc. Not all cooperatives fulfil this function. The new system, while solving several economic problems, will at the same time

provide bigger scope for these social activities.

III

Progress in science and technology has made agriculture a component of the national agrarian-industrial complex, and it can advance only in close cooperation with other branches of the economy, notably industries essential to the farming cycle.

The agrarian-industrial complex includes the following elements among others:

- industries producing farm machinery;
- agricultural production as such, the crucial factor in the nation's food supply;
- enterprises engaged in the procurement, storing, processing, transport and marketing of farm produce;
- various service enterprises catering to agriculture.

The overall tendency is towards expansion of this complex and towards reduction of farm employment. How this has affected Czechoslovakia will be seen from the following figures of percentage employment in the various elements of the agrarian-industrial complex:

	1955	1960	1965
Agriculture proper	79.6	73.3	68.8
Industry, transport, etc., servicing agriculture	7.5	9.2	10.9
Procurement, processing, marketing	12.9	17.5	20.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

These changes, the result of the division of social labor powered by advances in science and technology, can be taken as a gauge of the country's productive forces. The separation of some processes from agriculture proper has led to the emergence of new industries (for instance, concentrated fodder). Consequently, the structure of the agrarian-industrial complex is expressive of the degree of specialization in food production.

Of particular importance in this context are industries supplying machinery, chemicals, building materials, etc. The amount of producer goods supplied to agriculture is increasing every year; in 1965, 51 per cent of the products of other industries went into agriculture, compared with only 24 per cent in 1948. This increasing proportion of materialized labor is having a stimulating effect on productivity.

Enterprises and organizations servicing agriculture are also coming to play a much bigger part and are likewise contributing to higher productivity. In some cases they actually take over much of the work of the farms—fertilizer

application, for instance, processing farm produce, certain cultivation operations, production of concentrated fodder, expert consultations.

But, of course, the decisive factor in providing an adequate and high-quality food supply is agriculture itself. In a country like ours, with a small per capita arable, higher output can be obtained only through more intensive farming. But intensification must lead to higher productivity, and that is possible only with the simultaneous development of industries that supply the farms with machinery.

IV

Integration is a key factor in boosting agricultural output. And by integration we mean full development of the productive forces, full utilization of all the potentialities offered by technological progress and available material and technical resources. Or, to put it more concretely, efficient use of the facilities, often fragmented, at the disposal of amalgamated agricultural enterprises and their more rational and purposeful organization. Integration is carried out as an objective economic process.

It has been carried to a very high stage in capitalist countries. In the United States, to take one example, there is practically complete integration in broiler farming, citrus fruits, about 90 per cent in vegetable canning, etc. Things are much the same in a number of other capitalist countries. Integration here takes the form of agreements between producer and buyer and often entails limitation of the former's independence. Gradually the farmer becomes completely dependent on the purchasing agency not only for supplies and marketing, but also for technical facilities. The end result more often than not, is expropriation of the farmer. The most common practice is vertical integration, which stimulates expansion of all the elements of the agrarian-industrial complex.

In socialist countries integration differs fundamentally from the capitalist variety. And the main difference is that seller and buyer enter into a voluntary agreement based on mutual advantage and beneficial to the entire community. The difference concerns not only content, but also aims and methods.

Integration can take on diverse forms. There is horizontal integration between enterprises cooperating in the production, processing and marketing of their produce. This follows for optimal concentration and specialization. A number of such integrated enterprises have been started here in Czechoslovakia, specializing in eggs, animal husbandry, etc. The usual procedure is to pool investment capital, construction facilities and labor power, each part-

ner making a stipulated contribution which entitles him to a corresponding share of income.

Vertical integration is usually between farms and other elements of the agrarian-industrial complex, the food industry, say, or plants making concentrated feeds. This creates a new type of relationship between supplier and consumer, with the former helping to smooth out supply, marketing and other difficulties. To cite one example: one of our big amalgamations supplies pedigree stock to poultry farms, another supplies concentrated fodder, etc.

Though integration is only just beginning in Czechoslovakia, it can safely be said that it has a very promising future.

V

The new system presupposes a proper organizational structure, a vital factor in raising agricultural output. The basic unit is the cooperative or state farm, and under the new system both will enjoy much broader rights and greater independence, but they will also bear greater responsibility to the community. The farms are completely independent in shaping their economic, operational and technological patterns. But it should be observed that a farm which tries to maintain its universal pattern, that is, excessive diversity in production, will find that it cannot use modern technology to maximum effect. To avoid that, the new system provides much greater scope for specialization and socialist enterprise.

It also creates conditions for a more objective assessment of farm operation. Fuller use of economic levers will, ultimately, create more or less uniform conditions for all the farms, so that output and profit levels will immediately show whether or not a farm is being efficiently run. The relative stability of these economic levers, and the part they play in the new management system, will encourage farms to make wider use of latent reserves, and this, too, will tell in gross income and individual earnings.

Putting all cooperative and state farms on a paying basis will provide a greater incentive not only to managers, but to every tractor driver, milkmaid and cattle tender.

Far-reaching organizational changes are being made also at district level. The District Agricultural Administration, the lowest administrative unit of the Ministry of Agriculture, is being replaced by a new body, the District Agricultural Amalgamation, the highest economic unit, comprising the farms of the given district united on a voluntary and profit-making basis. It will direct agriculture to produce the needed amount and quality of produce.

The amalgamations will not follow the old organizational and operational patterns, but will adapt their methods to the specific conditions of their district. And conditions are bound to differ in areas where cooperatives predominate and areas where state farms account for most of the output.

Much will depend upon the way the progressive forms of management and organization are introduced. The amalgamations will pay special attention to framing long-range plans, to more efficient techniques, fuller use of machinery and of the experience of the best farms. The main job of amalgamation personnel will be to provide guidance and training for the people who do the actual farm work.

VI

Socialist construction in Czechoslovakia is based on the alliance of the working class and the laboring peasantry. In the transitional period from capitalism to socialism the main aim of the alliance was working-class assistance, political and economic, in reshaping agriculture along new lines. By supplying machinery socialist industry provided the material and technical basis for the cooperative farms and for the change-over to the new rural economy. The peasantry relied on the political support of the workers in the battle against capitalist elements, whose economic base had to be abolished before socialism could triumph.

But with the triumph of socialist relations in the countryside, with the reconstruction of small farming into large-scale, socialist farming, there arose and developed a new class, the cooperative peasantry. This led to important qualitative changes. The peasantry, up till then a heterogeneous mass drawn from different social strata, now took shape as a new class with a new attitude to public property and a new outlook. This did much to consolidate the unity of our society.

The working class is the leading force also

in the period of all-out socialist construction. But its composition, too, is changing as a result of technological progress. The proportion of highly-skilled workers increases, and the working class as a whole is moving closer to the status of the technical intelligentsia. This process will doubtlessly be accelerated by the technological revolution.

The continued development of our socialist society calls for still closer unity of workers and cooperative farmers. Consequently, the significance and role of the worker-peasant alliance as the cornerstone of our socialist society remains unchanged. But the alliance has attained a higher qualitative level, for whereas in the past we were building a socialist society, now we are developing it in preparation for the gradual transition to communism. Therein lies the significance of our efforts to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance. And this will depend on expansion of the economy and on perfecting the relations of production. Here the aims are:

—to raise the level of agriculture to that of industry, which means productivity standards, working and general conditions similar to those in industry;

—to increase farm output so that it will fully satisfy the requirements of the country, both in quantity and quality, and will ultimately become a major component of the material and technical base of communism;

—to assure identical conditions for both forms of socialist public property in agriculture and gradually obliterate the difference between cooperative and state farms.

Economic growth will continue to exert an increasing influence on the alliance of the working class and cooperative farmers. The development of the agrarian-industrial complex and its gradual integration will, undoubtedly, make for still closer unity between the working class and the peasantry and at some future time will merge them in a single socialist society.

Paraguayan Communists prepare for congress

THE FORMATION OF A Commission for the Defense and Reorganization of the Paraguayan Communist Party in August 1965, the establishment of a National Committee for the Defense and Reorganization of the Party in May 1966, and the exposure of a number of police agents—Oscar Creydt, Arturo Lopez and Raul Ramirez—were steps that completed a rather tragic period in the history of our Party and initiated the difficult process of rebuilding it on the solid basis of Marxism-Leninism. The anarchy, disorganization and confusion to which the Party had been reduced made it necessary to postpone the date of the Party Congress. A national conference to prepare the Third Congress, held in April, was an important step towards complete consolidation and normalization of Party life.

The conference discussed and approved the efforts made by the National Committee, its Political Commission and Secretariat to imbue the entire Party with the spirit of loyalty to the basic principles and general line of the international Communist movement adopted at the meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960. New tasks were set for the period before the Third Congress.

The conference denounced the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and voiced determination to support the Vietnam people in their valiant struggle. It expressed warm solidarity with the Cuban revolution and with all the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, for the right to decide their own destiny.

Special attention was paid to unity of the international Communist movement as the decisive factor in securing united action by the revolutionary forces throughout the world. Differences in the international movement facilitate the aggression of U.S. imperialism. The clearest proof of this is the continuation of its aggression in Vietnam.

The results achieved in the course of rebuilding the Party as well as the shortcomings in Party work were subjected to a profound analysis. Tasks were set and practical organiza-

tional measures to ensure their fulfilment mapped out. The conference noted such successes as the contact re-established with the big organizations in the capital and in the rural areas, which had been able to keep going despite the destructive work done by police agents and despite the police persecution. These organizations took a resolute stand in support of rebuilding the Party under the leadership of the National Committee. This provided the basis for forming the leading committees at lower levels and for re-establishing branches in the capital and in the countryside. The bulk of the membership and the guerrilla units spurned the provocateurs and are now taking part in reorganizing the Party. Most of the Party organizations in emigration have likewise been reorganized, and the biggest of them held a regional conference last January.

Adelante, the Party's national paper, reappeared in the second half of 1966, after three years of silence, and is being circulated among workers, peasants and students along with *Unidad Paraguaya*, a periodical published by the Party in emigration, the Party bulletin *Kavichu-i*, and *Lo Mita Sapucaí*, the paper of the Communist youth in emigration.

The weekly *Noticias del Paraguay* (an information bulletin) appears regularly and plays an important role in breaking through the conspiracy of silence around the situation in the country and the fight waged by our people.

Draft Rules have been worked out and sent to all Party organizations, by which they should be guided at the time before the Third Congress.

Contact between the Paraguayan Party and practically all other Communist parties has been re-established. Our representatives attended the last Congress of the CPSU, the Congress of the Communist Party of Chile, the Congress of the Communist Party of Uruguay and the Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. One of our representatives was present at the First Tricontinental Conference in Havana.

With the solidarity of the CPSU and prac-

tically all other fraternal parties the international campaign for the release of Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas, Alfredo Alcorta and other imprisoned patriots has gained momentum.

We have made good progress in applying the principle of collective leadership, in normalizing relations between Party committees on the basis of democratic centralism, and in steadily enhancing conscious discipline.

Most of our organizations have resumed work among the masses, and some have already made headway in winning new members. Initial success has been achieved in working with allies and in the process of winning unity. Among these was the formation of the National Committee of Tricontinental Solidarity.

The National Committee for the Defense and Reorganization of the Party, its Political Commission and Secretariat, have fulfilled their main task of holding a national conference with a view to preparing the Third Congress. Splendid work was done by comrades who, although not members of the national leadership, carried on valiantly in the difficult and dangerous underground conditions, reorganizing the Party in the capital and in the countryside.

Elections for the Central Committee, its Political Commission and Secretariat, were an important step towards normalizing the leading committees which, in our conditions, are charged with the task of building and consolidating the national leadership inside the country. These committees consist of tried and tested functionaries who have displayed firmness and persistence in the fight for reorganizing the Party on a sound Marxist-Leninist foundation.

We must objectively examine our shortcomings in fulfilling the basic tasks and take practical steps to eliminate these drawbacks as early as possible.

Our organizational work, propaganda and agitation are not yet satisfactory. Hundreds of members dispersed all over the country do not belong to a branch. Nor are our positions strong in the factories and in the trade unions.

A similar situation exists in the rural areas, in the agrarian leagues, student organizations, and also among teachers and professional people generally. Initial success achieved in the fight for the unity of the democratic forces has not been adequately developed.

There is an urgent need for a ramified network of branches deeply rooted in the masses. Without such a network the Party's program and political line will remain on paper and will not reach the masses, nor will the force be created that is needed to overthrow the reactionary regime, to win genuine freedom, and deliver the country from U.S. domination and from exploitation by the big latifundists.

"In its struggle for power," Lenin said, "the proletariat has no other weapon but organization." And he added "... the proletariat can,

and inevitably will, become an invincible force only through its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism being reinforced by the material unity of organization . . ." (*Collected Works*, English ed., Vol. 7. p. 415).

The building and gradual consolidation of a broad network of branches requires that the Party concentrate now on training cadres, who must assimilate the basic elements of its program and political line and whose main sphere of activity is work among the masses.

While drawing into organized activity the hundreds of Communists dispersed throughout the country, we must observe vigilance and security.

Decisive for training cadres is theoretical education, provided it is closely linked with practical implementation of the political line, the program of national liberation and the Leninist principles and standards of Party life. The national conference instructed the new Central Committee to regard educational work at all levels as one of its main tasks and to draw a concrete plan in this field for the period up to the Third Congress.

* * *

The Party sees its main political task as that of expediting the building of a broad national front of the revolutionary democratic and patriotic forces against the dictatorship and against the North American agents in the latifundist and bourgeois "opposition" parties. In undertaking this task the Party bears in mind the distinctive features and the new factors in the deepening crisis of the anti-national military regime, and the efforts of U.S. imperialism to bolster up the regime. The growing disintegration of the ruling camarilla has its sources in the worsening economic crisis, in the spreading mass struggle and radicalization of the political forces, in the growing militancy of the workers and peasants, in the trend towards unity of the democratic forces, and in the prospect of a still broader revolutionary struggle.

The Party has set the task of intensifying the fight for higher wages, for timely payment of wages, for observance of the law on the 8-hour working day, against victimization, for more jobs and unemployment benefits, for the repeal of the fascist labor code, against police interference in trade union affairs, and for broad trade union and democratic freedoms.

The peasants should be urged to step up the struggle for the land, for transferring to them free of charge holdings ranging in size from 20 to 50 hectares in zones adjoining communication lines, against evictions, for long-term low-interest credits, for higher prices for their products and timely payment in cash, not in promissory notes. We should advocate trade with the socialist countries, work to secure the marketing of the entire mass of agricultural products, the sale of farm implements to the peasants on favorable terms and at low prices

through the National Bank of Development, annul the peasants' debts to this Bank, and for the right to form agrarian leagues and other peasants' associations.

Students should be rallied in the fight against high tuition fees and against other obstacles in the way of education, against the so-called "general education" higher school and against the Yankee-Stroessner interference in the affairs of the university, for genuine university autonomy and discontinuation of the dictatorial intervention in the affairs of the student centers and federations.

All democrats and patriots should take part in united and concerted actions for the release of Antonio Maidana, Alfredo Alcorta, Julio Rojas and their comrades, for ending the state of siege, for a general amnesty without exceptions and for abrogation of the notorious Law 294 "on the defense of democracy".

The Party, then, while working to promote the mass struggle for the vital economic, political and democratic demands, is at the same time calling for arming the masses. It advocates people's self-defense groups to resist the violence and terror of the regime, the setting up of the first armed groups of peasants with a view gradually to building a guerrilla movement on a nationwide scale.

Rallying the forces in the course of mass actions, combining peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle and gradually uniting all progressives in a broad front, we shall pave the way to a people's uprising on a national scale, to the overthrow of the dictatorship and its replacement by a provisional democratic government. This government will extend broad freedoms to all political, trade union and public organizations and, observing the necessary guarantees, will hold genuinely free elections. The result will be the formation of a genuinely representative and sovereign Constituent Assembly capable of drawing up a new Constitution that will ensure realization of the deep-going changes needed by the country. On this road Paraguay will advance to national liberation and social progress.

The task of our publicity work in the pre-Congress period is to ensure that our national paper *Adelante* appears regularly and to double its circulation. The resumed publication of this militant paper and its circulation among the masses will, to a large extent, contribute to bringing about a change in the political climate of the country. Everything must be done to ensure that all links of the Party get the paper quickly and in good time.

While displaying strict vigilance needed to

protect our organizations, the Party will make full use of every opportunity for legal action. Every member of the party should be a member of his trade union and work selflessly, upholding the economic and political rights of the working class. Each member is obliged to work in one of the mass organizations—be it an agrarian league, sugar-cane workers' association, student or women's organization or an organization of teachers and professional workers generally.

A democratic revolution of national liberation is the need of the day. The terror regime—an instrument of the U.S. monopolies, big latifundists, profiteers and contraband smugglers—bars the peaceful way of this revolution. Hence in their day-to-day work with the masses the Party and its members are concentrating on mustering forces and combining various forms of struggle. This will open the way to a people's uprising which will overthrow the military regime. As in the past the Party must display the utmost caution and responsibility in tackling the complex tasks arising in the course of preparing this uprising. We must take a resolute stand against, and rout, all the adventurous trends of toying with guerrilla warfare and insurrection. But with equal determination we must combat and defeat those who retreat before the difficulties and sacrifices that the armed mass struggle may involve.

Victory in the people's uprising calls for a high degree of unity and organization, for determination to fight on to the end. In the course of the uprising victory will be won all the more quickly and painlessly if soldiers and patriotic officers side with the revolution and fight alongside the workers, students and peasant guerrillas.

Carefully assessing the sentiment of the masses and pursuing the consistent line of gradually mustering forces, the Party must be always on the alert for possible sharp changes in the political situation, changes that may further deepen the crisis of the dictatorship and activate the entire revolutionary movement of the people. In this event we Communists shall not hesitate to take our stand at the head of the masses and vigorously intensify our work among workers, peasants, students, soldiers and all sections of the people so as to channel the movement along a truly democratic and progressive road.

The organization, unity, militancy and discipline of the Paraguayan Communists must be equal to these grand and difficult tasks posed by history.

Gustavo CORVALAN

The unity of the democratic forces in Ceylon

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS of the Ceylon Communist Party, held in April 1964, while condemning the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and their stooges in Ceylon for their splitting activity, nevertheless appealed to all misguided comrades to return to the Party and strengthen the democratic movement. Within a short period a large section of those who had broken away admitted their error and rejoined the ranks of the Party, thus reducing the splitters to a miserable tiny group.

The split in the trade unions and other mass organizations has also been overcome. While the Communist Party is forging ahead uniting with all progressive and democratic forces in the country, the splitters are pathetically isolated and treated as pariahs by the progressive movement in Ceylon.

The period following our Seventh Congress was a period of upheavals and intense political activity. The defeat of the coalition government headed by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike in December 1964 and the ending of the democratic progress made during the Bandaranaike regimes since 1956 was a major setback for the anti-imperialist and democratic movement.

This catastrophe took place shortly after the nationalization by Mrs. Bandaranaike's government of the distribution of petroleum products and the formation of a coalition government with one of the Left parties.

This major shift to the left in the Bandaranaike regime was opposed by the Rightist sections in her own party and government who broke away and joined the reactionary forces in parliament and defeated the government by one vote.

The defeat of the Bandaranaike regime was a major plot hatched by the foreign imperialists through their agencies such as the CIA, the Asia Foundation, etc., together with the local reactionaries. Immense sums of money were used to carry out this plot.

The Communist Party had earlier warned both the government and the people about the possibility of such a conspiracy, and that it could be prevented only by the inclusion of all the Left parties in the government and the mobilization of the entire progressive and Left movement around the government.

However, immediately after the defeat of the government in parliament, the Communist Party was at the forefront in the campaign to rally the people to demand that the government should continue since it had the backing of the working class and the majority of the people. Mighty militant demonstrations were held in Colombo and other towns to protest against this plot and urge the government not to resign. But the government preferred to dissolve parliament and call a general election. This general election, held in March 1965, took the form of a major class struggle. Foreign imperialists and the reactionaries in the country rallied all their forces to defeat the three progressive parties, namely the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party. Although the major reactionary party, the United National Party, did not get a sufficient number of members to form a government, it formed a coalition government with six other groups.

The Communist Party emerged stronger from this election, winning four seats and increasing its vote and its influence.

Of the two million wage earners in the country over 800,000 are organized in trade unions. This is a high percentage for an underdeveloped country. The unions are affiliated to a number of federations but there are only two distinct major groupings. One is the Ceylon Workers' Congress, an organization of tea and rubber plantation workers which is affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and the other is the Joint Committee of Trade Unions composed of eleven trade union bodies six of which are federations of workers in the private and the public sectors. This confederation, the strongest, is friendly to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

The trade unions in this confederation have militant traditions, and have always been in the forefront of the struggles fought by the progressive movement for workers' economic and social demands, and in the struggle for national independence, peace and social progress.

One of the first acts of the present government was the large-scale war of victimization

against the trade union movement. The government carried out vindictive acts against the working people, especially after the powerful one-day token strike on January 8, 1966 against the partitioning of the country and the repressions carried out by the government. Following the general strike a state of emergency and a curfew were proclaimed. The state of emergency, declared over one and a half years ago, still continues. Over 6,000 workers in the public services and state corporations were interdicted from service, some 40,000 workers were fined and hundreds more were transferred to distant localities.

But due to the spirited campaign carried out by unions and the progressive movement both inside and outside parliament 90 per cent of the dismissed and victimized workers were reinstated.

The trade unions soon recovered from the setbacks suffered as a result of the attacks by the government and are now preparing for large-scale struggles.

Ever since the present government came to power, the economic situation has gone from bad to worse. To meet this serious economic crisis the government has already begun to slash import quotas leading to a shortage of essential commodities and consequent spiraling of prices. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other U.S.-dominated financial agencies have been demanding a cut in the rice subsidy and the slashing of expenditure on education, health and other social services as a prior condition to aid from the USA and its agencies.

This government, since it came to power, has been taking steps to undo the popular measures taken by the Bandaranaike regimes. The wholesale import of essential goods which was nationalized and carried out by a state body is being handed back to private wholesale dealers. Proposals are under way to hand back to the churches and various private organizations the denominational schools taken over and run by the state. The Sinhalese language, which was adopted as the state language since it is the language of nearly 75 per cent of the population, is being replaced by English. Steps are also being taken to de-nationalize some of the enterprises and services such as milk distribution, bus transport, petroleum products distribution, etc. Trade union rights are being curtailed and the progressive legislation enacted by the previous regimes is being annulled. In the public services and local government, progressive and liberal-minded officials are being replaced by reactionary stooges of the men in power.

Offers made by the socialist countries to build enterprises for manufacturing various goods locally on terms favorable to Ceylon are not accepted. The industrialization program carried out by previous regimes has been abandoned at the behest of the foreign imperialists and local reactionaries. The aid to private entrepreneurs to manufacture essential goods

locally has been either stopped or reduced for the benefit of foreign firms and big import agencies.

Another reactionary measure of the present government was the weeding out of the patriotic officers from the armed forces. On the pretext of foiling an attempted coup d'état it arrested a large number of high-ranking officers and junior officers. The sole "offense" of these men was their patriotism and that they happened to be Buddhists by religion. Buddhist officers were replaced by Catholics and reactionary officers.

Due to the deepening of the economic crisis and the bankruptcy of the government and the disastrous pact with the Federal Party (the party of the reactionary Tamil bourgeoisie) to partition the country, the government is hated by the people. This is clearly seen in the results of the parliamentary by-elections held during the last two years.

In 1966 three by-elections were held on the same day. The contest assumed the form of a miniature general election since the whole country was keenly interested in its outcome.

The government made full use of the means at its disposal—corrupting young voters, promising jobs and giving money and clothes and promising to meet all their needs if its candidates were returned to parliament. Yet with all the massive effort they could not win a single seat. Another four by-elections took place in recent months between the government and the progressive forces, the government using the same methods and even the CIA and other agencies doing all they could to save the prestige of the government. However, it lost those four by-elections, too, destroying the prestige of the regime completely.

The three progressive parties—the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Ceylon Communist Party—worked as one party on one common platform. This unity of the three parties was the key to the victory in all the by-elections. The Communist Party can justly be proud of the part it played in these elections.

Although the USA, Britain and West Germany displayed great eagerness to assist the government soon after its formation, and promised much aid to strengthen it, they now realize that the days of this regime are numbered and, consequently, have slowed down their aid.

The western imperialist powers and their various agencies like the IBRD, etc., have never given us any useful aid for the economic development of our country. Their so-called "aid" took the form of supplying Ceylon with goods on credit and at high rates of interest.

It was only after the Soviet Union and the socialist countries established contact with the underdeveloped and colonial countries that the latter could think of embarking on industrial development.

Ceylon is a living example of this. Ceylon was able to build a steel plant only after it established diplomatic relations with the USSR. The

Soviet Union also gave aid in building a tire plant, a flour mill and other enterprises. Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR and China also extended aid to start new industrial enterprises. If we utilize this aid to the full, Ceylon should soon be self-sufficient in all her requirements.

Recent events in Ceylon such as the victory in the by-elections, the great May Day rallies under the leadership of the three progressive parties and other mass actions clearly indicate that the people are firmly determined to sweep the reactionaries out of power and take the country onto the path of progress to complete the unfulfilled tasks of the national-democratic revolution. The three progressive Left parties are now conducting discussions with a view to evolving a common program for the defeat of the hated seven-group coalition regime and to replace it with a progressive democratic government.

We only hope that the forces of the present regime will respect and maintain the parliamentary traditions which they have always lauded. In this significant and favorable situa-

tion the Communist Party is preparing for its 8th Congress. The Central Committee meeting held over June 7-8 approved a report on the organizational tasks of the Party in the coming period and discussed the methods of their implementation. The Central Committee noted the advances made by the Party in the fields of organization, publicity and propaganda and in the work for unity with the democratic and Left forces.

The Central Committee noted the progress made by *Maubima* (Motherland), the weekly Party journal. The Party daily paper *Aeththa* (Truth) is competing with bourgeois daily papers for circulation. It helps to unite the people and to deepen their political consciousness.

The Central Committee adopted a resolution condemning the Israeli aggression which is supported by the U.S. and British imperialists, and pledged full support for the Arab peoples in their heroic struggle to defend their motherland against U.S.-British intrigues and Israeli aggression.

M. G. MENDIS

The new in the political line of the Communist Party of Venezuela

RECENTLY THE CENTRAL Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela held a plenary meeting, the eighth since the Third Congress in 1961 charted the Party's present general political line.

The meeting was a big event in the life of the Party, and its decisions were awaited with keen interest. This interest is explained, in particular, by the fact that the Party, which is outlawed and hounded by a reactionary government, has had to combat damaging factional activity; the interest is explained further by the public debate conducted over the past two years—extending far beyond national frontiers—concerning the Party's tactical line elaborated at its 1965 plenary meeting.

The content of the main resolutions of the recent meeting can be summed up as follows:

- uphold the unity of the Party and its existence, essential for the victory of our revolution;

- reaffirm the Leninist principles of Party organization and leadership;

- initiate a critical examination of the Party's work since the time of the Third Congress;

- confirm the correctness of the decision to take the way of armed struggle, and define the *non-peaceful revolutionary path* as the axis of the Venezuelan people's strategy of struggle for national and social liberation, for socialism;

- assess the current political and social situation which is characterized by an unfavorable change in the balance of forces and also in the conditions for armed struggle, a weakening of the democratic movement, the isolation of the revolutionary forces and their disunity, and by the influence exerted on the country's political life by the preparations for the 1968 general election;

- elaborate tactics to restore the unity of the popular forces, using the election campaign to combat the militarist and pro-imperialist policy of the Democratic Action Party, the principal ruling party, and its attempts to retain power, to prevent its replacement by the Right Social-Christian Party.

The purpose of these decisions is to check these negative trends, to accelerate and be prepared for a new revolutionary upswing and to provide the conditions for the victory of the revolution.

DEFENSE OF UNITY AND EXISTENCE OF THE PARTY

The attempts by the ultra-Left group to push the Party into the background, to divide and destroy it, was one of the most severe tests to which the unity and the very existence of our Party have been subjected. We can repeat what Lenin said in 1909: "A year of disintegration, a year of ideological and political disunity, a year of Party driftage lies behind us . . . Things reached a point when some elements within the Party . . . began to ask whether it was necessary to preserve the old Social-Democratic Party, whether it was necessary to continue its work . . ." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed. Vol. 15, p. 345.)

"The errors committed in the recent period," states a resolution of the CC meeting, "led to a dangerous situation, a situation in which the Leninist principles of organization and leadership were frequently violated. The norms of democratic centralism were not observed, the higher committees were ignored."

Hence the need for greater vigilance, to restore discipline, fraternal exchanges of views, collective leadership—in short, all the norms of democratic centralism.

Thanks to the consciousness and loyalty of most Central Committee members, of the overwhelming majority of Party and Youth League members, the Party emerged from the recent test with credit. The breakaway group who tried to make the Party subordinate to the command of one of the guerrilla detachments was expelled.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PARTY'S WORK SINCE THE THIRD CONGRESS

The foregoing does not signify any "suppression of criticism." On the contrary, the resolutions initiate a discussion in the Party in which all members are urged to participate and which should prepare the Party for its Fourth Congress.

The past decade has been the most intensive period in the history of the Party and the Communist Youth and the richest in experience. After the insurrection, headed by the Communists, toppled the military dictatorship on January 23, 1958, the Communist Party became the main opposition to the Betancourt government which pursued a policy of increasing subordination to Washington, world anti-communism and displayed an obvious tendency to become the base of a crusade against revolutionary Cuba. The conflict between the people and the government, exacerbated by an economic crisis, erupted into a national political crisis which spelled the end of the Betancourt regime.

In 1962 a revolutionary situation matured in the country which, it is true, did not develop into a victorious revolution, despite the armed actions in Carupano and Puerto Cabello (unsuccessful because the Party had not yet

mastered the art of insurrection). That same year a guerrilla movement started in which four groups—military and civil—participated. At one period the movement spread to half the states of Venezuela.

However, beginning with 1963 the political and economic pattern of the struggle began to change. The economy was gradually put on its feet. The ruling classes, despite the armed frontal opposition of the revolutionary forces, staged new elections in December 1963. The outcome of these elections was that Betancourt handed over the presidency to his confederate Leoni. The revolutionary forces were isolated.

The C.C. meeting drew the conclusion that the Party "failed to make the maximum use of the election campaign," that "we should have taken part in the elections—temporarily suspending the armed operations—and put the accent on a policy of a broad alliance with a view to regrouping the democratic opposition; this would have made it possible to defeat Betancourtism at the polls and, at any rate, to create a broad Left mass movement . . ."

"After the 1963 elections the change in the correlation of forces became evident and the conditions for insurrection—which had deteriorated as a result of the aforementioned errors—became even more unfavorable, ending ultimately in the situation confronting us today."

WE SHOULD HAVE TAKEN TO ARMS

In its critical assessment of the situation, the Central Committee paid particular attention to the question of armed struggle. It noted that the decision to meet the violence of the Betancourt gorillas with violence, "the decision to uphold the gains of January 23 by using all forms of struggle, including armed action, to overthrow Betancourt, was absolutely correct." By fighting in the front ranks of this struggle the Party and the Communist Youth showed themselves to be truly revolutionary organizations.

However, mistakes were made in this struggle, and the meeting noted the following:

a) "We assessed as a 'revolutionary war for national liberation' a movement which had not yet acquired such a character and which was directed chiefly at overthrowing the government . . .";

b) "The Party did not take the necessary action, using all its forces, to carry out an armed uprising when the conditions for this existed";

c) "Subjectivism in applying the different forms of struggle; a tendency towards adventurism . . . manifestations of sectarianism";

d) "Mass work was not adequately geared to our general line; we underestimated the role of various sectors of this work," especially in the trade unions;

e) From the aforesaid it follows that the problem of combining the different forms of struggle "was raised in a very inconsistent and desultory manner." This was evident in the

fact that "we were unable at the time to chart a correct and substantiated military line, one based on the political exigencies and on the basic features of national reality."

THE MAIN FORM OF ARMED STRUGGLE

While not rejecting the experience of guerrilla warfare as a specific form of armed struggle, and while not taking the view that it has outlived its purpose in our country ("the Party holds that guerrilla warfare in our country, waged in keeping with the specific features of our revolution, will play a significant role"), the C.C. meeting noted at the same time that in the present conditions to regard guerrilla warfare in the rural areas as the *main* form of revolutionary struggle would be to mechanically transfer an experience which, while successful in other countries, does not correspond to the peculiarities of national reality.

We proceed from the fact that nearly three-fourths of our population are urbanized, that the radicalized masses and the main motive forces of the revolution are concentrated in the towns. We also proceed from the fact that the foreign monopolies—which dominate our economy—and native capital have their principal industrial centers in the towns and in the adjacent areas. Furthermore, Venezuela's history since the turn of the century shows that as a rule it was in the cities and towns that the main political conflicts erupted and were resolved. Revolutionary armed actions were therefore mostly in the form of *urban insurrections* in which patriotic military men participated with civilians. This was particularly the case after the events of January 1958.

In other words, the Central Committee meeting held that the guerrilla movement is an auxiliary form of struggle in Venezuela and for Venezuela. The concrete conditions of our life and the course of events completely disprove the view that the guerrilla unit is "the embryo of a real Communist Party" which is counterposed to the existing Communist Party, disprove the claim that the guerrilla movement is the decisive strategic force of *any* national-revolutionary struggle.

Critical discussion of this problem helps the collective thinking which aims at defining the Party's strategic line, and contrasts sharply with the attitude of the factionalists who persist in the old errors. As the C.C. meeting noted, "the deviationists, by exaggerating the importance and possibilities of the guerrilla movement, are steering it towards defeats, which we are witnessing today." Furthermore, this deviation with its "under-estimation of work in the towns, weakens revolutionary activity in general."

CONFIRMATION OF THE NON-PEACEFUL REVOLUTIONARY PATH

The aforesaid does not signify in any way complete or partial rejection of the concept or the general line charted six years ago. "The

Central Committee confirms the Third Congress thesis on the non-peaceful character of the Venezuelan way to national liberation and socialism." Hence its call to the Party and to the youth "to raise the level of preparation in all spheres," "to master . . . all forms of struggle, to learn to combine them correctly and flexibly, and to be prepared in all contingencies to fulfill their revolutionary mission and to win power for the working people."

These points, in our view, are of enormous significance not only because they confirm the soundness of our strategic line, but also because they bring us a step closer towards elaborating the all-important question of the aims of the Venezuelan revolution today.

As we look back over the ten years of revolutionary battle in Venezuela, we recall Lenin's words when summarizing the results of the first Russian revolution: "The correctness of revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics . . . is confirmed by the experience of the mass struggle in 1906-07. The defeat of the revolution resulting from this first campaign revealed, not that the tasks were wrong, not that the immediate aims were 'utopian', not that the methods and means were mistaken, but that the forces were insufficiently prepared, that the revolutionary crisis was insufficiently wide and deep." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 15, p. 351.)

The struggle to achieve the ultimate aim of the revolution must therefore be continued, bearing in mind that ". . . the great wars in history, the great problems of revolution, were solved only by the advanced classes returning to the attack again and again — and they achieved victory after having learned the lessons of defeat . . . In new forms and by other ways, sometimes much more slowly than we would wish, the revolutionary crisis is approaching, coming to a head again. We must carry on with the painstaking work of preparing larger masses for that crisis; this preparation must be more serious, taking account of higher and more concrete tasks; and the more successfully we do this work, the more certain will be our victory in the new struggle." (*Ibid.*) That is the essence, spirit and meaning of the resolutions of the recent meeting of the Central Committee.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND OUR TACTICS

Unfortunately the situation at present does not allow for advancing as an immediate tactical task the conquest of power. This is something that does not depend on somebody's will or subjective qualities.

It is a situation (we consider it temporary) when the mass movement is at low ebb, when the revolutionary forces are divided and defeated, when there is no acute economic crisis. U.S. imperialism is reinforcing its domination and its penetration into all spheres of national life; so too are the reactionary groups on which

it relies. The Betancourt camarilla have consolidated their grip on the machinery of state—despite the fact that they are in conflict with other groups of the ruling classes. As a result of this, military and police repressions against the popular movement have been stepped up. The economic conditions of the people are deteriorating. Discontent is smouldering. However, the weakened democratic and revolutionary movement has been unable to give proper direction to this smouldering discontent and mass protest, to merge them into one. Even more. The anarcho-terrorist acts of the ultra-Lefts in the past year, which sowed confusion and disorganization in the popular movement, were used as a pretext by the government to launch a counter-revolutionary offensive. The C.C. meeting noted in this connection that "the armed movement is not in a position at the moment to play a decisive role owing to the stagnation characteristic of the present situation on the guerrilla fronts and of the armed struggle generally."

In these circumstances political life is at present colored chiefly by a pre-election atmosphere; the general election scheduled for next year is likely to see a substantial renewal of the machinery of state. This being so, there is little the revolutionary forces can do to change this trend.

In this connection it is instructive to recall, again, what Lenin wrote in 1909: "Otzovism and ultimatumism, the thin end of otzovism, are incompatible with the work which the present circumstances require of revolutionary Social-Democrats. During the revolution we learned to 'speak French', i.e., to introduce into the movement the greatest number of rousing slogans, to raise the energy of the direct struggle of the masses and extend its scope. Now, in this time of stagnation, reaction and disintegration, we must learn to 'speak German,' i.e., to work slowly (there is nothing else for it, until things revive), systematically, steadily, advancing step by step, winning inch by inch. Whoever finds this work tedious, whoever does not understand the need for preserving and developing the revolutionary principles of Social-Democratic tactics in this phase too, on this bend of the road, is taking the name of Marxism in vain" (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed. Vol. 15, pp. 458-59).

This is the underlying principle of the political line for the immediate future, charted by the C.C. meeting, of the need to activate the mass movement for economic demands, against the terror, for the release of the prisoners, autonomy for the universities, legalization of the Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement, for democratic liberties. The immediate political objective is to oust the reactionary leadership of the Democratic Action Party from power, foil the designs of the Right Social-Christians to come to power, and create conditions for a "progressive nationalist and democratic change."

"In the interests of this national movement,"

states the resolution, "the Central Committee has decided actively to participate in the coming election campaign under the slogan: NO to continuation of the old policy, NO to Caldera, we are for change!"

This tactic is by no means the fruit of election illusions. "While proclaiming more emphatically that Venezuela's main problem is to win complete independence and overcome her backwardness, the Central Committee realizes that these goals cannot be achieved through elections."

But they cannot be achieved through armed struggle either, *unless we achieve an upswing of the popular movement*, secure its support and participation in decisive revolutionary clashes, and unless we are able to stimulate the maturing of the conditions essential for posing the question of decisive revolutionary actions.

This is the question we are concerned with today. *Right now* it is the crucial question.

The conclusions drawn by our Party from its analysis of the present situation in Venezuela chime with what Lenin wrote 60 years ago in his article "Against Boycott": "Now we are at a period of a lull in the revolution when a whole series of calls systematically met with no response among the masses . . ."

"Since the accursed counter-revolution has driven us into this accursed pigsty, we shall work there too for the benefit of the revolution without whining, but also without boasting . . ."

"We shall prepare the conditions for a new upswing, and until it takes place, and in order that it may take place, we shall work still harder and not launch slogans which have meaning only when the revolution is on the upswing" (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 13, pp. 35, 42).

And the purpose of our tactics in finding ways of restoring revolutionary unity is not to postpone our strategic aims but, on the contrary, to bring them closer. Here it is pertinent to note that Lenin's oft-quoted views refer to 1907, that two years later a new revolutionary upswing began in Russia, which in 1914 grew into a revolutionary situation, interrupted by the world war, and that three years later the revolution which had been on the order of the day in Russia since the turn of the century triumphed in February 1917, erupting eventually in an explosion that changed the course of human history.

The revolution continues to be for us a question of *today*, a duty which we must carry out, a perspective which we must translate into reality in the limited period put at our disposal by the inability of the ruling classes to resolve the basic problems of independent economic and social development. But we must not lose sight of the present feverish counter-revolutionary activity of our enemies who are trying to unite their forces and actions on a continental scale.

The profound crisis in Venezuela's socio-economic structure, caused by foreign monopoly

capital and the landlord-bourgeois oligarchy, continues; it is bound to erupt before long, further exacerbating the class struggle. We believe in the revolutionary potential of our people, who have shown that they are worthy of their history and of the future they are preparing today.

Our hopes for a "better future" are not something intangible and indefinite. The Party's political and ideological work, its efforts to improve its inner life and its organizational

activity—efforts which were characteristic of the stage which closed with the C.C. meeting—are already yielding results. We see this in the understanding with which our members received the decisions of the meeting and which they are beginning to put into effect, achieving particularly encouraging results in the mass organizations. In this sense we can say that the process of restoring the forces of the Venezuelan revolution has already begun.

Juan RODRIGUEZ

Congress of Swedish Communists

THE DATE OF the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden, May 13-16, 1967, coincided with the date of the Party's inaugural congress fifty years ago. At that time, it was known as the Social-Democratic Left Party. It became known as the Communist Party after the Communist International, of which it was a charter member, issued its 21 conditions of membership.

A lively discussion of program issues preceded this year's Congress, for the previous Congress in January 1964 had instructed the Party executive to appoint committees, duly formed in autumn 1964, to draft a new program and new rules. In 1966 the rules' draft was circulated for discussion among the Party organizations. The program draft, on the other hand, was not submitted to the executive until January 1967.

The drafting committee failed to achieve unanimity. One member thought that the draft should be rejected, that Congress be recommended to submit a new variant and that adoption of the program be put off until a further congress. Other members, too, differed on particular points. The executive discussed the draft and the proposed amendments, made the appropriate modifications and submitted them with all the suggestions to the membership and to the Party press.

A lively discussion ensued. The new program was debated by hundreds of weekend study groups, at conferences and meetings of Party organizations, embracing all Party members and numerous sympathizers. The press, radio and television showed a lively interest.

As a result, about half of the 160 suggestions tendered to the Congress concerned the program. Congress devoted most of its time to these suggestions and to the two reports on the subject by Lars Herlitz, secretary of the program committee, and C. H. Hermansson, Party chairman. A working committee was

appointed during the congress to finalize the draft.

After a number of modifications, the final text was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The proposal for rejecting the draft and appointing a new drafting group was defeated. Eight of the 333 delegates went on record with particular opinions, and another 19 expressed divergent views on particular points.

The first of the three parts of the new program is devoted to principles of theory and the international situation, the second to modern Swedish society and the third to a plan of political action.

The pre-congress discussion centered chiefly on the Party's attitude to the Social Democrats, aspects of the development of the socialist countries, the name of the Party, and the attitude to the country's military establishment (unilateral disarmament or some form of national defense). Congress, too, devoted much time to these issues.

The discussion touched on whether the program should refer to communism as the ultimate aim. The rapporteur recalled that before the October Revolution the Russian Bolsheviks did not mention this aim in their program. "The socialist revolution," he said, "is the culminating point of a definite stage in the development of society. So long as this stage is not consummated it may appear unjustified to put forward the aim of the next stage." And, as we know, Sweden has not yet had its socialist revolution.

Another controversial issue concerned development in the socialist countries. The authors of the draft felt that in addition to the positive features, and the brighter side, something should be said about the difficulties encountered along the way. Their proposal, however, was somewhat modified. The final text presented a balanced picture, accentuating the successes of the socialist countries, their rapid and construc-

tive progress, how they weakened capitalism and facilitated the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries, but noting as well that certain negative features had been in evidence.

Although the working committee suggested amending the original text, some delegates wanted the subject to be taken out of the program. They pointed out that the negative things related to the past and that in general the matter was irrelevant in a Party program devoted to the issues of the day and oriented on the future. Besides, they felt it was not the business of the Swedish party to criticize the situation in the socialist states. However, the majority supported the proposal of the working committee.

The third point at issue concerned the Party's attitude to the Social Democrats. After the debate, the following formula was recorded in the program: "The policy of the Social Democratic government has not been aimed at effecting decisive change in the relations of production and the correlation of forces. That government has been acting as the manager of capitalist society. The politically aware socialist forces were not strong enough to abolish class society."

Critics had suggested dropping this passage. They thought that, as it stood, the program overlooked the big changes that had taken place in society and in policy, the rise in the standard of living, and that it depreciated the significance of the activity of the state, its intervention in regulating relations between labor and capital, in financial policy and in the economy in general. They were told, however, that 90 per cent of the economy is still privately owned and that no shift has been seen for some time in the relationship of the public (state, commune and cooperative) to the private sector. Only four votes were cast against the formulation.

Prominent in the pre-congress discussion was the question of whether or not the party should change its name. The program committee had raised the issue in view of the Party's aim to unite all the politically active Left forces.

The cracks in the social-democratic front against the Communists are traceable chiefly to the setback suffered by the Social Democrats in the 1966 local elections, presaging a possible victory of the capitalist parties in the 1968 general election and the formation of a bourgeois government. To avert this, the Communist Party is striving to unite the Left and to bar the way to the capitalist offensive. The proposal to change the name of the Party should be seen in the light of this background.

As a basis for the pre-congress discussion on changing the name of the Party and on the relations with the left groupings the executive issued a document headed "For Activity and Cooperation." A debate ensued on whether the Party should be renamed Left Socialist Party or whether it should, irrespective of keeping or changing its name, take a hand in building

a new socialist organization and cooperate with it in elections.

In his congress speech, Party Chairman Hermansson noted that cooperation within the labor movement was a highly topical matter. The socialist Left, he pointed out, "is a fact of Swedish politics. It includes us as the biggest organized force, but also a number of other groups, trends and movements. These we have to treat with the utmost respect. Cooperation is important today and will be doubly important in the future." Hermansson did not believe that changing the name of the Party was a matter of principle and felt that the question of unifying all Left forces into one party was premature, the conditions were not ripe for this. Such organizational unity, he said, could be part of the long-term perspective, so the Party must be prepared to help create the essential preconditions. The new name, Left Party—Communists, which the Congress adopted at the proposal of the executive, was a compromise.

Military spending has been causing discontent in the Swedish labor movement for two specific reasons. For one thing, military expenditure has been rising steadily (now 5,000 million kronor or 17-18 per cent of the budget) and, for another, the outlay is made without a free public discussion, being left to the discretion of a group of officers and a handful of men including the chairmen of parties represented in parliament, but not the chairman of the Communist Party. Many, especially young people, think that it is senseless for a small country like Sweden to be spending so much on arms in view of the new weaponry. This view is also widespread in the Communist Party.

The Party leadership suggested singling out the military question for a special discussion. All agreed that the existing military establishment was expensive and ineffective. The debate centered on whether the Communists should back armed defense of neutrality in any form or work for complete unilateral disarmament. Opinions differed. The executive's proposal that defense of neutrality should be approved in principle, but that it should be of an entirely different nature, was carried by 197 votes to 94 cast for complete unilateral disarmament. In view of the sharp difference of opinion, the executive was instructed to appoint two working groups for a supplementary study of the problem, with the majority decision serving as a guideline until the next Congress.

According to the newly-adopted rules the Party executive was reduced from 45 full and 15 alternate members to 30 and 10, respectively, with the Party chairman elected by congress, not by the executive as before, C. H. Hermansson polling 303 out of the 324 votes. The other nominee polled 3 votes, with 18 votes blank or invalid.

The Congress proved that the Party is a predominantly working class body. Out of the 368 delegates, including the full and alternate

members of the executive and the auditing board (65 in all), 202 were workers, 3 farmers, 42 office employees, 7 employers, 33 professional workers (teachers, doctors, engineers, etc.), 7 housewives, 5 pensioners and 69 Party functionaries, parliamentary deputies, etc. Of this number, 269 were members of trade unions, with 140 union officials at different levels. Average age of the delegates was 45.3 years, and average membership record was 19.1 years.

Invitations to the Congress were sent out to North European Communists only, with Vietnam being the sole exception, for solidarity with its people is now the touchstone of proletarian internationalism. In keeping with the striving for Left unity, invitations were also sent to the socialist parties of Norway and Denmark, the Democratic Union of the People of Finland and the People's Union of Iceland. The Vietnamese and Icelanders were unable to attend. The speeches of the foreign guests were imbued with friendship and solidarity and expressed an identity of views on practically all the basic issues.

Messages of greeting came from 24 fraternal parties, testifying to the internationalist character of the Swedish Party. A message from Bertrand Russell thanked the Party for what it had done to make the Vietnam war crimes tribunal in Stockholm a success. Russell wished our Party success in its work for socialism and the happiness of the Swedish people.

The Congress was highlighted by solidarity with Vietnam, issuing a protest against the U.S. aggression and an appeal to the nation for greater support of the Vietnamese cause.

"For Sweden it was an honor that the international tribunal convened in our country," the appeal said. "Russell's initiative owed its success largely to the political and economic support of individuals and organizations representing a broad section of opinion."

"In our country, as in many other capitalist states," the appeal said further, "the Vietnam solidarity movement has assumed many forms—partly political, such as demonstrations, meetings and our Party's parliamentary proposal to recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to establish contacts with the National Liberation Front, and partly practical, such as fund collections for economic and humane aid to North Vietnam and the NLF. We welcome everything that directly or indirectly promotes a broad and massive movement in support of the embattled Vietnamese against U.S. imperialism. We urge all Party members to consider this their task of the day and to help promote the broadest possible movement supporting the Vietnamese by all means and through all channels, notably the trade unions."

The Congress also instructed the executive to initiate concrete actions in support of fighting Vietnam.

The Twenty-First Congress sparked off lively discussions and—outside the military problem—yielded practically unanimous decisions, advancing the basic trends charted by the Twentieth Congress oriented on unifying the Left and thus achieving a socialist renovation of Swedish politics.

Fritjof LAGER

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