

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

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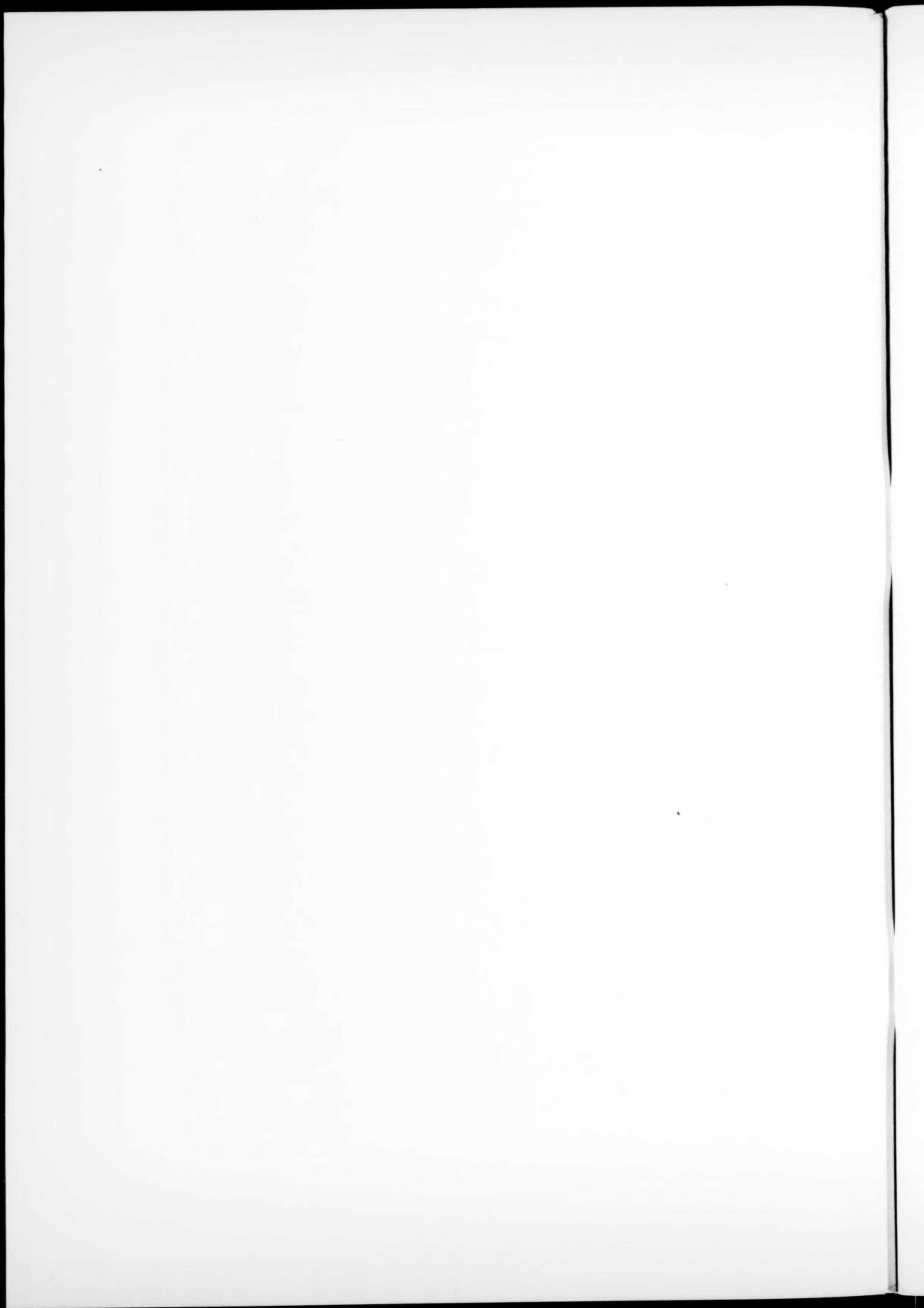
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PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

OCTOBER 1969

VOLUME 12 / NO. 10 / 35 CENTS



WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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

Theoretical and
Information Journal
of Communist and
Workers' Parties

OCTOBER 1969
VOLUME 12
NUMBER 10

Authorized as Second
Class Mail, Post Office
Department, Ottawa and
for payment of postage
in cash. Printed in
Canada.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW
is the North American
edition of the monthly
journal Problems of Peace
and Socialism published
in Prague. The North
American edition is
published by Progress
Books, 487 Adelaide St.
West, Toronto 133, Ont.,
Canada.
Copyright © 1968 by
Progress Books, Canada.
All Rights Reserved.
SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
\$3.50 a year. Single
copies 35 cents. Bundle
of five or more, 25 cents
per copy. Outside
Canada, add 15 cents
exchange.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE
AND SOCIALISM is also
published in French,
Russian, Bulgarian,
Czech, Dutch, German,
Greek, Hungarian,
Italian, Japanese,
Mongolian, Polish,
Rumanian, Spanish,
Swedish and Vietnamese.
Subscriptions to these
may be obtained through
Progress Books,
487 Adelaide St. West,
Toronto, or in the USA
from New Outlook
Publishers, 32 Union Sq.
East, Rm. 801, New York,
N.Y. 10003.

Published by
PROGRESS BOOKS
487 Adelaide St. W.,
Toronto 133, Ontario,
Canada.



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In his article on the 20th anniversary of the GDR, Walter **ULBRICHT**, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, writes: "Of the utmost importance in building socialism is close and broad cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. For by pooling their material and intellectual potential they can accelerate progress and concentrate on key industries for the expansion of which the various countries possess the necessary resources and, in the end, advance to the highest world standards. In this way each country makes a maximum contribution to strengthening the socialist community as a whole."

Aarne **SAARINEN**, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, writes about the importance of the Appeal in Defense of Peace adopted at the recent International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Raymond **GUYOT**, member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, analyzes the results of the International Meeting in Moscow and tells the reader about what is being done by his Party to popularize the Meeting documents and to achieve the aims set by the international Communist forum.

Josef **KEMPNY**, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, comments in his article "Adhering to Conclusions of the International Meeting — Decisive in Party Work": "There is no doubt that by implementing the ideas of the Meeting we will be able to put an end to the intrigues of the enemies of socialism in Czechoslovakia, consolidate our Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and reinforce its role as the leading force of society."

The section "Towards the Lenin Centenary" contains an article by the French historian and writer Jean **FREVILLE** "Lenin and the French Experience of Revolution" and communications on the Lenin centenary preparations in different countries of the world.

The section "The National Liberation Movement Today" opens with an article on the May 25 revolution in Sudan by Abdel Khalek **MAHGOUB**, General Secretary of the Sudanese Communist Party. Cheddi **JAGAN**, Leader of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, has contributed an article entitled "What the Future Holds for Guyana." Tunji **OTEGBEYE**, a prominent public figure in Nigeria, discusses the national question in connection with the struggle for the unity of his country.

The section "In the Communist and Workers' Parties" carries the articles: "Guadeloupe Communist Party: Its Present Tasks" by Euvremond **GENE**, General Secretary of the Guadeloupe Communist Party; "Communist Advance in Israeli Trade-Union Elections" by Wolff **EHRlich**, member of the Political Bureau of the Israeli Communist Party, and "The Fight for Civil Rights in the Argentine" by Julio Laborde, member of the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist Party, as well as an item on the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of the USA and brief notices. Under the heading "Theoretical Work in the Fraternal Parties" are published materials from the GDR and Chile.

Twenty fruitful years of building socialism

WALTER ULBRICHT

The German Democratic Republic was founded in October 1949 after the Western imperialist powers and their West German accomplices had split Germany. The Soviet Union was preparing to celebrate the 32nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. At a special meeting held by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the government of the German Democratic Republic to mark this occasion, the national anthem of the peace-loving German state, "Arising from ruins . . .", was performed for the first time. Our anthem did indeed resound amid the ruins and spiritual wilderness left by the Second World War and the bloody rule of nazi German imperialism.

The German Democratic Republic was at the time the youngest member in the family of the people's democratic and socialist states in Europe. The universal transforming value of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the conquest of state power by the working class and its allies, the building of socialism and communism, which had proved its viability and soundness in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, had yet to be demonstrated in the young people's democracies, and especially in the GDR.

The past 20 years, although short in terms of history, have been long enough to demonstrate this on the basis of what has been accomplished by the socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe. And, naturally, it affords us particular pleasure that the twenty years of building socialism in the GDR have likewise furnished proof of this and have been fruitful not only for the German nation, but also for the theory and practice of socialism.

The situation in Germany after 1945 was

totally different from that in Russia in 1917. The difference was not only in the level of industrialization and, consequently, the different social structure of capitalist society. German fascism had caused incredible chaos in Germany: thousands upon thousands of anti-fascists—among them Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, Chairman of the Communist Party, not to mention other party activists, both Communists and Social-Democrats—had been murdered in the prisons and concentration camps. Fascism had left behind it a wilderness of ruins and devastating confusion in the minds of millions of people. Things were aggravated by the policy of division pursued essentially by U.S. imperialism and by those German industrial and financial circles which wanted, with the former's help, to get back into the saddle and which in order to salvage their dominant imperialist positions at least in one part of Germany, tore away West Germany from the German national community.

During the Second World War, and particularly after the Soviet Army had inflicted crushing blows on the Wehrmacht, the resistance to Hitler grew and a certain differentiation began. Many people, even though not involved in active resistance, did some hard thinking. The objective and subjective conditions for starting a broad anti-fascist democratic movement increased. Unity of action between Communists and Social-Democrats grew in the course of the underground struggle, in the prisons and in the concentration camps, in emigration; they broadened their contacts also with other opponents of Hitler.

In July 1943 the "Free Germany" National Committee was set up in Krasnogorsk, near Moscow, on the initiative of the Cen-

tral Committee of the German Communist Party and with the broad support of the Soviet authorities. In this Committee war prisoners, soldiers and officers alike, anti-fascist workers, peasants, and intellectuals united with Reichstag Communist Party deputies, trade unionists and progressive writers. Some had found themselves in the Soviet Union as part of the invading army, others as opponents of Hitler and as revolutionary emigres had found in the world's first workers' and peasants' state security and the possibility to carry on their work.

Of course, there were profound differences on many questions between us, Communists, and Wehrmacht officers educated in the tradition of Prussian militarism, and who believed that they were in duty bound to fight for the Fatherland and be true to their military oath. We, however, put the accent on what united us.

All were agreed that ending the war by overthrowing Hitler and establishing peace was the only way to save the German people. The "Free Germany" National Committee therefore called for the overthrow of the Hitler government and the establishment of a truly democratic government. The aims of this movement received support wherever German anti-fascists lived and fought. That is how the German anti-Hitler coalition originated, the aims of which accorded with the military aims of the Soviet Union and the agreements of the Allied powers. For the German Communist Party the fight for the national interests of the people and the fight for democratic change were two aspects of one and the same cause.

The military defeat of Hitler, the Potsdam Agreements as the legal basis for democratic reconstruction, and the unfailing assistance extended to us by the Soviet occupation authorities created the necessary conditions for developing a broad anti-fascist democratic alliance. The difficulties and obstacles with which we had to contend were truly enormous. A larger part of Germany's territory was occupied by the Western occupation powers who after a brief transitional phase used their military and political might to bolster the German monopoly bourgeoisie and big landowners. After the unconditional capitulation of Hitler a large section of the people, seeing no way out, became apathetic. In the light of the bitter experience of the fascist policy of war and plunder, many Germans decided to give politics a wide berth. Anti-communism, which as early as 1917

had been the ideological weapon of German reactionaries, was widespread among the population. With the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship in 1933 the German working-class movement was virtually deprived of all legal possibilities of effectively combating anti-communism.

In addition, there were specific problems stemming directly from the disastrous legacy left by the criminal rule of the nazis. There was a big influx of re-settlers to the Soviet zone. And despite the material difficulties a place had to be found for them in society. Sooner or later the question would arise: what about the millions of Nazi fellow-travellers — those working people who had been duped by the Hitler demagoguery? Were they to become reserves for the new revanchist movement or, having admitted their complicity, be given a chance to make good and redress a great wrong?

ANTI-FASCIST DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

And so, the Communists and Social-Democrats and other enemies of Hitler returning from emigration or released from prisons and concentration camps, were faced with formidable problems.

But the Communist Party was well prepared to cope with them, for it had a program of action. Concretized in the course of intensive research in the closing months of the war, this program set out the essential first steps in all areas of public life. Its underlying principles were amplified in the Central Committee appeal of June 11, 1945, addressed to the workers of town and country. This was a broadly conceived program of anti-fascist-democratic revolution based on the cooperation of all the anti-fascist and democratic forces in extirpating nazism and building an anti-fascist democratic German Republic.

In this the Communist Party was guided wholly by Lenin's idea that the historical mission of the working class was central to Marxism. Consequently, re-establishment of a strong workers' movement committed to united action became the focal point of all our efforts. In the final analysis, the task was to solve, in the course of the anti-fascist-democratic revolution, the crucial question of "who will win" in favor of the working class and its allies. And it could be solved only by a united working class, which alone possessed that power of attraction needed to bring together all the opponents of Hitler and all the anti-monopoly forces.

The path to unity began by promoting

united action between Communists and Social-Democrats, by an agreement between the central committees of the two parties and the establishment of united trade unions. Towards the end of 1945, the progress made in this direction by the combined leaderships, and the mounting rank-and-file demand for unity, made merger a practical issue. *And merger became a reality at the joint Party Congress in Berlin on April 21 and 22, 1946.* The handshake of Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl symbolized the end in East Germany of the division of the workers' movement. Now there was a united workers' party based on a single will and common action, and it was joined by hundreds of thousands. But it required several years before this new party, the Socialist Unity Party, assumed the shape of the party Lenin had visualized. Following the example of the CPSU, the SUPG became the leading force of the people, demonstrating its leadership ability in the most complicated situations.

The basis was thus laid for applying in East Germany the lessons of history—the basis for the first German peace-loving state, the German Democratic Republic. An industrial country, it extirpated imperialism and fascism, established rule by the people under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, in alliance with the peasantry, intelligentsia and handicraftsmen. This translated into reality our slogan: everything through the people, everything with the people, everything for the people!

It was a tortuous road. U.S. imperialism was banking on the partition of the country, anxious to keep German imperialism alive as a spearhead against socialism. We had to begin building socialism in conditions of a divided country, and moreover with open boundaries. But the transition to socialism was successfully accomplished, for the party consistently and creatively applied Marxist-Leninist principles and the laws governing the building of socialism to our specific conditions, and furthermore, was fraternally associated with the CPSU.

The momentous task of uprooting imperialism and militarism in Germany and building an anti-fascist-democratic state imperatively required agrarian reform: the landed estates, those of 100 hectares and upwards, had to be distributed among the peasants. The property of leading Nazis and war criminals had to be made public property. Nazi ideology in the schools had

to be eliminated by a democratic educational reform. However, we did not expropriate all the capitalists, only war criminals and active Nazis.

Alongside our united working-class party there emerged the Liberal-Democratic Party, the Christian-Democratic Union and, somewhat later, the Democratic Peasants and the National-Democratic parties. At first they were petty-bourgeois in outlook and policy. Differentiation came in the process of struggle to implement the agrarian reform, rehabilitate industry and trade and organize proper management of the enterprises now under public ownership. And as we made progress along these lines, the bulk of the membership of these parties came to appreciate the need to pass from the formal bourgeois democracy of the Weimar days to genuine democracy, that is, to rule by the people. In accordance with this anti-fascist democracy, universal, equal and direct elections by secret ballot were held in all the Lands and communities for candidates nominated by the various parties. The SUPG polled 51 per cent of the vote, and since it had contested the elections on a joint platform with the other parties, this was a big success for all the anti-fascist-democratic forces.

The crucial achievements of our reforms—transfer of the land to the peasants, farm laborers and re-settlers, the rise of the public sector in the economy, abolition of monopoly on education, cooperation of the parties in the new government organs which were by nature organs of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants with the participation of other sections of the population, but in the form of a parliamentary democracy—all this consolidated the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the urban middle strata and intelligentsia. Above all, the democratic land reform which liberated the peasants, laid the cornerstone of their indestructible union with the working class.

The new socio-economic structure made for the sweeping extension of democracy and for constructive initiative by the working people in economic upbuilding. Employers' associations were banned—in fact there was no longer any rational reason for their existence. Economy was guided on the basis of planning, with the participation of public organizations. For instance, we established a Peasants' Mutual Aid Association while the old cattle buyers' organization ceased to function.

The most difficult aspect was struggle

against the residue of Nazi and bourgeois reactionary ideology. In the cultural sphere we concentrated on promoting the classical German humanitarian tradition. We began the publication of political literature, at first popularizing the *History of the CPSU*; the *Communist Manifesto*; Lenin's *State and Revolution*; *Imperialism*; the *Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and many other Marxist-Leninist works.

In this way we tackled all the problems of the new Germany — from government and economic questions to cultural matters.

TRANSITION TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The special conditions in the German Democratic Republic enabled us to carry out the transition from anti-fascist-democratic to socialist revolution by peaceful, democratic means. But this has nothing in common with "peaceful growing into socialism," a favorite reformist propaganda formula. The determinative factor in our policy was Lenin's point that the issue of power is the "fundamental issue of any revolution," and that socialist revolution can be carried out only by establishing and consolidating working-class power. We were able to organize joint action of all the democratic forces under working-class leadership in the process of revolutionary reconstruction, and in class struggle against external attempts to restore capitalism and internal reactionary resistance. We were thus able to consolidate socialist rule as a broad working class alliance with all sections of the people. The Socialist Unity Party developed as a party of the Leninist type. It resolutely combated all manifestations of revisionism, which was especially deep-rooted in Germany, and all "Left" radical trends. A careful analysis of the level of social development enabled us to chart the next steps in the revolutionary reorganization of society, and to solve the problems this involved with the support of the people.

In building socialism we had to contend with especially difficult conditions. Germany was divided, its eastern part representing only one-third of the country. The three imperialist occupying powers, working hand in glove with Big Business, held sway in West Germany and in West Berlin. Moreover, the frontier between the two German states was open, with the result that the economic laws of capitalism exerted a definite influence in the GDR and hampered effective application of the economic laws of socialism. Moreover, in this period the

GDR made substantial reparations payment on behalf of all Germany. Nor should the fact be overlooked that friendly countries sustained terrible losses during the war, and moreover some of these People's Democracies had to develop from agrarian-industrial to industrial-agrarian structures. The generous political and economic aid of the Soviet Union was a factor in our favor.

A glance at our socialist reconstruction will reveal two distinct stages of development. *In the first stage we laid the foundations of socialism.* Its features were gradual transfer of industry to public ownership and voluntary organization of the peasantry in producers' cooperatives. Public ownership of the basic means of production facilitated socialist planning. The basis was also laid for a socialist educational system, and headway was made in developing our socialist national culture. At that time, however, there were still many private industrial and handicraft enterprises, and the individual farm was still the prevailing form in agriculture. Our priority task, therefore, was to achieve better results both in the public and private sector by use of incentives.

We had to devise the forms socialist agriculture would assume in our highly industrialized country. Here, too, our starting point was Lenin's cooperative plan but, of course, we could not simply copy the pattern of Soviet agriculture. Instead, we had to find solutions, in cooperation with the peasants, suitable to our conditions and the peasant's level of political understanding.

Agrarian reform was followed by the organization of machine-hiring depots which were subsequently developed into an integrated system of machine-and-tractor stations. The Soviet Union gave us valuable help by supplying tractors. Naturally, the small peasants were the first to join the cooperative farms. The central figure in the rural community was the middle peasant, but there were still many big farmers, even after the land reform. Our main concern was to bring the middle peasants into the cooperatives. The organization of different types of agricultural cooperatives did much to convince the farmer that his future lay in large-scale agriculture. A contributory factor, an important one, in attracting him was that all cardinal questions of farming were democratically discussed and resolved at peasant congresses. Model rules for cooperative farms,

and also operational arrangements were adopted by the congresses after thorough discussion. The same procedure was used in relation to fundamental economic problems. Inasmuch as we drew on Lenin's works in developing our policy of alliances in adaptation to our conditions, we succeeded in attracting to socialism all working peasants and, in the end, also the rich peasants.

The first stage of socialist reconstruction culminated in the triumph of socialist production relations and the economic laws of socialism.

FROM TRIUMPH OF SOCIALIST PRODUCTION TO BUILDING THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL SYSTEM

Now, in the second stage, as we complete the building of socialism, the task is to make full use of its economic laws and create an integral socialist social system. This stage was ushered in in 1963 with the adoption of the Party Program by the Sixth Party Congress. Later, in 1967, the forecast of scientific and technological development up to 1980 enabled the Seventh Congress to produce a forecast of social development and to define the principal tasks in building a comprehensive socialist society.

The Party's long-range forecasting takes into account the link between the socialist and technological revolutions. The Seventh Party Congress declared that a developed socialist system implied a rapid growth rate of the productive forces, stable and developing socialist production relations, firm socialist state power, all-round development of socialist democracy, a high educational level, and uninterrupted improvement of working and general conditions. Another characteristic is that socialist ideology and culture permeate every sphere of public life.

Consequently, a comprehensive socialist system must embody the objective dialectical unity of all the elements of the social process in their interconnection. In working out this strategic aim, we were guided by Lenin's definition of socialism as a whole historical period separating capitalism from the classless society, from communism, and Lenin's conclusion that socialism is not a brief transitional phase in the development of society, but a relatively independent period in the historical epoch of the transition from capitalism to communism on a world scale.

The most important, and at the same time the most dynamic, element of the so-

cialist system is its economic structure. Its shaping was a long and complex process. The prerequisites were provided when, in 1961, the GDR took steps to safeguard its frontiers. This had a decisive influence on paralyzing imperialist economic subversion in an attempt to torpedo the socialist construction. For only after safeguarding our boundaries, could we concentrate on elaborating the economic system of socialism, test it in practice, and apply it in a way that would give maximum scope and effect to the economic laws of socialism.

The socialist economic system, based on a conscious use of the socialist economic laws by the state, links the socialist revolution with the technological revolution. It allows for effective and rational use of all the motive forces of socialism, all its advantages, so that the technological revolution may produce the maximum benefits for the working people, rapidly increase productivity, strengthen the socialist state and, consequently, the entire socialist community. But to do this, we must first reach the highest scientific and technical standards, the top levels in research, and rapid rational and effective employment of all new discoveries in production. This clearly is feasible only given a modern and efficient organization of research and development coupled with socialist automation.

Of the utmost importance in building socialism is close and broad cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. For by pooling their material and intellectual potential they can accelerate progress and concentrate on key industries for the expansion of which the various countries possess the necessary resources and, in the end, advance to the highest world standards. In this way each country makes a maximum contribution to strengthening the socialist community as a whole.

By its very nature, the socialist economy is a planned economy. This means conscious and efficient direction of the reproduction process in accordance with a central economic and social development plan. From this follows that while the market plays a role in a socialist economy there can be no such thing as a "market economy" or "self-managing enterprises."

There is, of course, a market in the GDR's socialist economy, but it does not determine the reproduction process. That is determined by the economic laws of socialism as expressed in the economic plan. Conscious application of socialist economic laws is possible only through the state plan based on scientific precasting

and in no circumstances through market "anarchy." The "selfmanaging enterprises" theory is, in its implications, a market-economy theory wholly alien to socialism. It does not stimulate enterprises consciously to plan and carry forward the reproduction process in accordance with the objective economic laws and the requirements of science. In fact, the reproduction process would then be dependent on market spontaneity.

Besides, the theory of a "socialist market economy" and "self-managing enterprises," when applied in conditions of the technological revolution, is tantamount to abandoning the effort to attain the highest world standards and to renouncing the immense superiority of the socialist social and economic system over capitalism. In short, it would make the socialist state dependent on the highly industrialized capitalist countries. That is why the German Democratic Republic rejects these theories in principle and relies on conscious, planned building of socialism.

Democratic centralism and economic planning coupled with the responsibility of each enterprise make for a better organization of research and for the use of the most up-to-date technological processes.

THE CONSTITUTION AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Growth of the German Democratic Republic and the forecast reaffirmed by the 7th Party Congress, the clarity of our aims in completing the building of socialism, enabled us to draw up a socialist constitution, the Constitution of the German socialist state. This new Constitution, adopted by countrywide acclaim on April 6, 1938, after a broad public discussion, formalizes the gains of socialism and represents the juridical foundation for our developed socialist society.

The Constitution builds on Lenin's concept of the essence and purposes of the state during the socialist reconstruction. It is expressive of the fact that the state in the GDR represents a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which accords with the universal laws of social development and, at the same time, with the concrete conditions in our country, assuring the unfolding of socialist democracy. In the twenty years of the German Democratic Republic we have always been concerned with developing and improving socialist democracy, for, as we see it, it is objectively necessary for securing scientific administration in a socialist country. The complexity

and interconnection of our tasks necessitates creative and politically conscious participation and activity by millions of people in attaining the common goals. Just as administering the state aims at stimulating and using the initiative of people to advance development, so scientific guidance presupposes that the people apply their knowledge, experience and ideological resources to the functions of government. "Our idea is," Lenin once said, "that a state is strong when the people are politically conscious. It is strong when the people know everything, can form an opinion of everything and do everything consciously." These words ring especially true these days.

The principles of socialist democracy are juridically formalized in our Constitution. As the decisive and basic right, the Constitution guarantees all citizens "the right to participate broadly in organizing the political, economic, social and cultural life of the socialist society and the socialist state." The Constitution also defines the status of the principal civic associations—enterprises, towns and communities, trade unions and producer cooperatives, in which citizens avail themselves of their basic right to active participation in running the socialist society. "The sovereignty of the working people carried forward on the basis of democratic centralism" (Article 47) is the fundamental principle of the state structure. The principle that all political power is vested in the people (Article 2) is tied in with the statute on popular representation as the vehicle of state power. The representative state bodies, the base of the political structure, are those "working organs" to which Marx and Lenin referred and through which, to quote Lenin, representatives of the people "have to work, have to execute their own laws, have themselves to test the results achieved in reality and to account directly to their constituents." The Socialist Unity Party devotes special attention to these representative bodies in order that they should live up to the higher requirements, that their democratic basis should develop in depth, the scientific level of their work and decisions should improve, and their administrative and executive activity be properly coordinated.

The guiding role of the working class and its Party presupposes a further extension and consolidation of the alliance of workers with the farmer cooperators, with the intelligentsia and other sections of the people. As stated in the Constitution, this alliance is part of the inviolable basis of

the socialist system in the GDR.

As mentioned earlier, socialist rule in the GDR was oriented from the beginning on the Leninist policy of alliances, on enlisting working people of all classes and strata in government and economic management. To resolve the tasks of completing the building of socialism we need still greater cooperation of all classes and strata. In the process of collective labor aimed at the common goals, all political and social forces are drawn still closer to the working class and its Party. The objective laws of social and technico-scientific growth produce a social alignment of classes and strata, that is, a coming together of other classes and strata with the working class, which also continues to develop.

In carrying forward the policy of alliances, specific solutions were found in our country to suit the concrete conditions. For one thing, cooperation by the working-class party with other democratic parties—the Christian-Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Party, the National-Democratic Party and the Democratic Peasants' Party—has proved fruitful as a form of alliance. This cooperation began during the democratic anti-fascist reconstruction and proved practicable in terms of still closer collaboration as we began building socialism. During the building of the comprehensive socialist society, cooperation will become still closer under the guidance of the working-class party, and the responsibility of all parties and mass organizations of the democratic bloc will be enhanced.

Specific forms of alliance were also worked out in relation to owners of small and medium-sized private industrial enterprises not expropriated in the socialist revolution. These have been making good progress in the context of the country's economic plan, though their labor productivity was often lower than in the public enterprises. That is why they willingly concluded agreements for cooperation with the publicly-owned enterprises, obtaining access to the fruits of research and to new production techniques. Most of them took advantage of the state's offer of partnership. The owners of private enterprises were thus drawn into constructive cooperation in the framework of the socialist planned economy through enduring ties with the socialist enterprises, collaboration in production groups or cooperative societies and, not least, through patient ideological work. Most of the craftsmen and artisans, meanwhile, formed production co-operatives.

"The alliance of all the forces of the people is organizationally expressed through the National Front of Democratic Germany" (Article 3). The National Front came into being as a broad patriotic movement opposing the imperialist policy of division, and working for a peaceful and democratic future. In the process of building socialism it grew from a democratic anti-fascist movement into a socialist mass movement and, transcending the politically organized forces, the parties and mass organizations of the democratic bloc, now embodies the most universal alliance of all social forces in German history.

The Constitution formalizes the new principles in the relationship of the German socialist state to the peace-loving peoples and states, principally the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other members of the socialist community.

THE SOCIALIST GDR AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The national question has been prominent in our affairs throughout the 20 years of our revolutionary growth, brought up again by the separation of West Germany from the national community and revival of the rule of finance capital, responsible for two world wars, in the separate West German state.

That is why the emergence of the GDR as a peace-loving, democratic anti-fascist state was, at once, a reaction by the progressive anti-imperialist forces of the German nation to the policy of restoration and division followed by U.S. imperialism and West German finance capital. *The German Democratic Republic developed from the beginning as an alternative for the entire German nation to the anti-national, state-monopoly domination and imperialist expansionist policy of the West German rulers.* That is why Lenin's theory on the national question is of specific significance for the strategy and tactics of the Socialist Unity Party.

We have always held that the essence of the national question in Germany is profoundly social. What we have to determine in dealing with it is which class is the guiding class, which class holds political power.

The national question will not be resolved until an end is put to monopoly capital and militarist rule in West Germany, with the working people there gaining the opportunity to determine their own future. From this angle, too, it turned out that the

transition from democratic anti-fascist reconstruction to building socialism in the GDR had been correct and necessary, because none but a socialist state could prove—and has proved—that the working class can carry forward political power in alliance with the working farmers and the intellectuals, building first a democratic and, subsequently, a socialist state, and running the country and its economy without industrial and financial tycoons.

The Socialist Unity Party and the National Front shoulder the responsible task of working out and implementing an alternative to the latter-day West German capitalism in all areas—political economic, scientific and cultural. This means that the German Democratic Republic must prove the superiority of socialism over the latter-day West German capitalism. On the strength of its alliance with the Soviet Union it must attain a higher productivity of labor than West Germany, proving the advantages of socialism over the system of capitalist exploitation, and the superiority of the socialist political system with its developed socialist democracy and scientific administration. In all areas of social science, in historiography, philosophy and pedagogics, it must employ the theory of historical and dialectical materialism, contributing thereby to the battle against the reactionary capitalist ideology and falsification of history. By so doing, the German Democratic Republic will supply proof that the historic mission of the German working class and all German working people can also be fulfilled in West Germany through the elimination of capitalist exploitation and of the imperialist expansionist policy. That will help the workers and the peace-loving and progressive forces in West Germany in their fight for a progressive democratic system, for peace and security. It is therefore the national duty of the working class and of all GDR citizens to build their socialist state as a model for all Germans and to make the socialist system increasingly attractive to the people of West Germany, helping to consolidate the peace-loving anti-imperialist forces in the Western part of the country.

Building a developed socialist system in the GDR is also of distinctly national significance. Ever since the U.S. imperialists, working hand in hand with German monopolists and separatists, created the separate West German state, reviving the power of monopoly capital, that state has been a source of danger to peace in Central Eu-

rope. The policy of the revenge-seeking militarist and neo-nazi forces standing at the helm of the Bonn state is highlighted by unrestricted re-arming, by jockeying for access to nuclear weapons and a striving to change the frontiers and generally revise the outcome of the Second World War. The aggressiveness of West German imperialism, laying claim to sole representation of all Germans and seeking economic, political and military hegemony over Western Europe by expansionist means, is a threat to peace and security on our continent. It is therefore the national mission of the GDR to expose to the world the designs and the new methods of expansion used by the West German imperialists and militarists, so as to frustrate them by mobilizing the peoples.

The task is to compel the West German Federal Republic to accept peaceful coexistence with the socialist German state and to expose Bonn's revenge-seeking designs. The stronger the GDR is in all fields, the more developed its socialist system, the better able it will be to perform this historical mission jointly with the peace-loving peoples. So far, the German Democratic Republic has in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries repulsed all the sallies of the West German imperialists. All attempts by the Bonn government, and especially those by its obsequious Social-Democratic ministers, to impede our socialist development by acts of ideological diversion, have failed. The influence of the democratic and humanistic example of the GDR will continue to increase by virtue of the planned growth of its socialist social system.

The task of the West German workers is to put an end to the rule of the war-industry and financial monopolies responsible for the two world wars. The only way to accomplish this is by an effective policy of rallying round the working class all sections of the working people, all the anti-imperialist forces, for combating West German imperialism under the guidance of a militant Marxist-Leninist party. For this reason, our Party's experience in implementing its policy of alliances is highly important for the Communists and all other revolutionary forces in the Federal Republic.

It is the national mission of the GDR to prevent war from ever again breaking out on German soil. This means that while consolidating the GDR and combating Bonn

claims to sole representation, combating the Hallstein Doctrine and neo-nazism, and promoting the idea of disarmament, we must also support those political forces in West Germany who are prepared to accept

peaceful coexistence with the German Democratic Republic. This accords with the interest of all the European peoples, as well as that of the German nation, and serves the cause of peace and European security.

Fight for peace is fight for man's future

AARNE SAARINEN

Although imperialism as a world system has not become stronger, it is still a dangerous adversary. In fact, the United States, the principal imperialist power and the only country whose rulers have used atomic weapons for the purpose of mass annihilation, is more aggressive now and has built a network of military bases all over the world against peoples fighting for national liberation and social progress. Its dirty war against Vietnam has been going on for years, it is propping up reactionary governments and engineering reactionary coups wherever it can. The Appeal in Defense of Peace issued by the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties says: "Wars, acts of aggression and violence, encroachments on the freedom of nations—all have their roots in the policies of imperialism."

Ever since the second world war, imperialism has been losing position after position; its sphere of influence has shrunk considerably due to the emergence and consolidation of the socialist world system, the freedom struggles of oppressed peoples precipitating the break-up of the colonial system, and the greater activity of the working class, the growth of the workers' political organizations and unions. Yet imperialism has not changed its spots: it is as aggressive and misanthropic as ever. That it has declined in strength has only made it more vicious and aggressive.

Action to deliver mankind from the danger of a nuclear war, action for world peace, is the prime task of our time, gaining top priority because a new world war would be far worse in destructive power than the two previous wars, in which tens of millions were killed. Any serious conflict these

days is likely to involve atomic weapons, causing unprecedented slaughter and destruction. Action for peace will be man's major task so long as the danger of a nuclear war, a war started by aggressive forces inimical to social progress and the freedom of nations, persists, so long as imperialism survives.

With socialism growing into a world system opposed to imperialism, with the economic and military power of the socialist countries expanding steadily and with other anti-imperialist forces gaining strength, the balance of forces in the world has tilted visibly in favor of socialism and the peace-loving forces. Realistic opportunities have appeared for preventing a world war. Some imperialist groups have learned to reckon with this new balance and are refraining from actions liable to touch off a nuclear holocaust.

The facts show that during the transition from capitalism to socialism relations between states with different social systems should follow the only sound principle, that of peaceful coexistence, a principle formulated and substantiated by Lenin back in the early years of the Soviet state. Peaceful coexistence implies observance of sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and respect for the right of all peoples freely to choose their socio-economic and political systems. On a world scale, the policy of peaceful coexistence would be the surest guarantee of peace. For Communists and all other anti-imperialist peace-loving forces, working for peaceful coexistence holds top priority.

Peaceful coexistence is not ideological peace. There is no implication in it of aban-

doing the social struggle, the struggle for the freedom of nations, for socialism, for the abolition of imperialism and reaction. Quite the reverse. Peaceful coexistence is opposed to the essence and aims of imperialism, creating favorable conditions on the national scale for promoting social progress and combating reactionary forces.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the many other forms of interference elsewhere, act as a brake, obstructing national liberation and social progress. Observance of the principle of peaceful coexistence would produce a favorable climate for disarmament.

Peaceful coexistence and disarmament are related, being two sides of the same issue. Imperialist apologists lie grossly when they allege Soviet "aggressiveness" and a Soviet "threat" in trying to justify the arms drive. The armaments business began long before the socialist revolution in Russia. The Soviet state, the first in history to come forward with a concrete general disarmament program, has worked for disarmament throughout its history.

True, in recent years the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries have redoubled their military power. Yet that power is not there to threaten anyone. The considerable military spending and the steps reinforcing the armies are imposed on the socialist states by the continuous danger of aggression by the U.S. imperialists and their allies. By strengthening their defenses the socialist peoples are performing their internationalist duty in the interest of all anti-imperialist peace-loving forces, erecting a barrier to reckless military ventures.

To justify the arms drive imperialist propaganda has invented the "balance of fear" theory, which ostensibly guarantees peace. But the theory will not hold water, because increasing armaments adds to the war danger. The Appeal in Defense of Peace says rightly: "Peace on earth cannot rest on a 'balance of fear'. Lasting peace is inconceivable without a cessation of the arms race."

The past two world wars were started by German imperialism, and militarism is again growing dangerously in the Federal Republic of Germany despite the joint Allied Second World War decisions. The FRG is the only country in Europe that has publicly voiced territorial claims, refusing to recognize the postwar frontiers. Yet the existence on German soil of the German Democratic Republic, a peace-loving socialist state, is an incontrovertible fact. Its internal system is solid and its international

prestige rising steadily. In the circumstances, the Bonn rulers' persistent claim to sole representation for Germans is a provocative and aggressive posture that could precipitate a grave conflict in the heart of Europe.

Before an enduring security system can be built in Europe the powers concerned must recognize the policy of peaceful coexistence, and, as a concomitant, recognize the two German states, the European frontiers and the GDR as an equal and sovereign state.

The idea of a European security system is not novel. The Soviet Government proposed it as far back as the 1930s. It was spurned, however, and we had the Second World War, the loss of tens of millions of lives and incalculable destruction—all due to the anti-Sovietism of Europe's capitalist governments and their ultimate gravitation towards German militarism and fascism, which was straining to destroy the Soviet Union and Communism.

Proposals for a European security system have now been renewed. Europe is still one of the most dangerous regions, the seat of the greatest danger to world peace. Powerful forces are massed there, the concentrated armed power of the Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Treaty being lined up in a direct confrontation.

The Warsaw Treaty countries initiated the proposal to dissolve the military blocs, to build a security system based on recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence, and to discuss this issue in an all-European conference. The initiative has the backing of the world Communist movement, as evidenced by the decision of the 1967 Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties and the International Meeting in Moscow this June. It has also evoked a favorable response among the anti-imperialist forces, peace champions and some political quarters in the capitalist world.

By calling on the European governments to convene a security conference, the Finnish Government has taken a positive step, expressive of its favorable attitude to the Warsaw Treaty countries' initiative and giving impulse to a serious discussion of the matter with the governments of other European states. However, the materialization of this step still depends to no small extent on the degree of unity of the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces in Europe. Hence the importance of rallying these for-

ces in support of the proposal for an all-European security conference.

Peaceful coexistence in Europe, including that of the two German states, would pave the way for a simultaneous dissolution of the military blocs, establishment of nuclear-free zones, termination of manufacturing nuclear arms, destruction of nuclear stockpiles, reduction of conventional armaments and a phased universal disarmament.

That would be a turning point in man's history. The world's immense scientific and economic resources could then be used to

combat poverty and hunger, ending man's state of fear and insecurity and offering the perspective of a happy future. That perspective is real, though its materialization requires the unity of all anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces. That is why the Meeting of 75 Communist and Workers' parties issued the appeal: "Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly-liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace! . . ."

International Meeting—big success for world communist movement

RAYMOND GUYOT

"The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties (Moscow, June 5-17), represents a big success for the international Communist movement, the vanguard of struggle against imperialism, and for peace, independence and socialism." This is how the Central Committee of the French Communist Party evaluated the results of the Meeting in its resolution of June 29, 1969.

The Meeting was a success for Communists for two main reasons.

Firstly, as a result of painstaking, collective work, it adopted important theses, outlined in the Document: "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces."

Secondly, the Meeting marked an important stage in the efforts to promote unity of the Communist parties and create conditions for further advancing in this direction and bringing the international Communist movement to a unity the content and form of which will be on a higher level.

I.

The fact that 75 parties were represented at the Meeting is, undoubtedly, of great significance, especially considering the reasons that prevented some of the parties from attending. The only parties which rejected the idea of holding the Meeting were the parties of China, Albania, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and Japan.

But even more important is the fact that in June 1969 most of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world, following constructive discussion, jointly elaborated

and approved principles and aims that constitute the Marxist-Leninist basis of the fight against imperialism and for socialism for the present and the future.

The Main Document is a valuable contribution to the struggle of the Communists, of the nations of the world. The French Communist Party sees the merit of the Moscow Meeting in its having elaborated and adopted this Document.

Since 1960, when the last international meeting of our parties was held, new facts have appeared: the further development of state-monopoly capitalism in the capitalist countries and its consequences, the socio-economic development of countries whose progress has been severely retarded by colonialism; new aspects of building socialism in the socialist countries, the scientific and technological revolution. These facts of the past decade have engendered problems that call for a perceptive and creative study.

Each Communist Party is making this study in the context of Marxism-Leninism, the doctrine by which it is guided. This applies also to our Party which wants to find the answer to the problems of our times, linking them closely to developments, to the concrete struggle of the masses. Witness its efforts to define France's way to socialism as outlined in the Manifesto "For an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France," its theses on culture and the intelligentsia, its proposals regarding cooperation of the democratic organizations to achieve the socialist reconstruction of our country, etc.

At the same time, nothing can more enrich our teaching and our policy than exchanges of experience and views, collec-

tive elaboration of propositions that correspond to the requirements of Party work at each new stage of the class struggle.

Our Party has stressed this for some time. It strongly favored holding the International Meeting, and actively participated in its preparation and convocation.

The results achieved have justified the hopes reposed in it by the Communist parties and by the working people and progressive forces of the world.

The Main Document summarizes the lessons drawn by the Communist parties from the experience of the struggle in recent years and shows the way to overcoming the difficulties and winning fresh successes. The Central Committee of our Party approved the Document without reservations. Many of the branches, sections and federal committees have already had the opportunity to study it. Having evoked the lively interest of the membership and having been received with deep satisfaction, the Document will be studied by all Party organizations.

II.

The dominant idea running through the Document, and rightly so, is that today new possibilities exist for mounting a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war.

Indeed, on the one hand, imperialism as a world system has become weaker. On the other, the anti-imperialist forces, the world revolutionary movement and, in particular, the socialist countries constituting its decisive force, have grown stronger.

It is true that some contingents of the anti-imperialist forces have suffered reverses in recent years. It is also true that the revolutionary working-class movement is experiencing certain difficulties caused, in particular, by the fact that imperialism is making the most of the splitting, adventurist and anti-Soviet activities of the Maoist leaders.

However, this does not change the basic feature of the present period, namely, the increasing possibilities the revolutionary and progressive forces possess for continuing their forward movement.

Imperialism has ceased to be the absolute master of the destiny of nations. It is rent by all kinds of contradictions. The monetary crisis is a reflection of them, as evidenced once again by the recent devaluation of the franc, carried out on the insistence of France's monopoly rulers. The class struggle, the struggle for peace and independence is spreading and growing

sharper, rocking the old world of capitalism.

The Marxist-Leninist analysis of contemporary imperialism in the Main Document clearly shows this weakening of the forces of imperialism. At the same time it indicates the danger to the peoples implicit in the tendency of the U.S.A. to resolve its difficulties by increased aggression.

The said analysis therefore arrives at the conclusion that only by constantly enhancing the fighting capacity of each of the streams constituting the world revolutionary process and only by broadening and consolidating their union to form a broad united front of all anti-imperialist forces will it be possible to force imperialism into further retreats and ensure further success for the anti-imperialist forces.

Our Party fully subscribes to this conclusion. It considers the view that imperialism is, allegedly, omnipotent and capable of deciding issues of peace and the freedom of nations as it sees fit as erroneous and immobilizing, just as it does the view that the correlation of class forces on the world arena has, allegedly, changed completely in favor of socialism and that there is therefore no longer any need to worry about the danger of imperialism. "The balance of forces on a world scale," Waldeck Rochet said, "has been and will be in favor of socialism, national independence and peace, provided the anti-imperialist forces, the Communist parties above all, display vigilance and determination, provided they unite in struggle, in order to resist imperialism and paralyze its aggressive designs."

Hence the Meeting quite rightly sought in its Main Document to outline clearly and precisely the tasks of each of the three great streams of the world revolutionary movement: the socialist world system, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement.

Some commentators saw fit to declare that this analysis was "superficial" or idealistic. The French Communists, on the contrary, consider it a scientifically substantiated one, and, what is more, new and novel in many respects.

I will not here comment at length on the Document, but in order to authenticate why we and the other fraternal parties evaluate it so highly it will suffice to mention the sections dealing, for example, with the decisive role in the anti-imperialist struggle of the socialist world system, of which the U.S.S.R. is the main force; the

possibilities and requirements of socialist society at the present stage of development; the significance of the scientific and technological revolution in the socialist economy, the need for the closest cooperation between the socialist countries and the conditions for this; or the section analyzing developments in the capitalist countries—the determining role of the working class in the revolutionary and democratic struggle, the connection between the fight for an advanced democracy and the fight for socialism; the Communists' policy of unity with the Socialists and also with the broad mass of religious people; the growing importance of the work carried out by the Communists among the youth and the intelligentsia; and, finally, the conclusions regarding the national liberation movement—the increasingly anti-capitalist nature of this movement; the process of social differentiation in the young states; the problems of independent economic development and democratization of socio-political life; the new forms of progressive development; the significance of the Cuban revolution.

It was on the basis of this analysis that the Communist and Workers' parties of all continents jointly defined the main objectives of their common struggle against imperialism at the present stage. And this analysis constitutes the scientific foundation and mobilizing force of the parties' platform of united actions. For this reason, we cannot view the analysis of the situation in isolation from the platform of action, let alone separate the two.

Our Party sees this platform of action—which rightly advances as among the primary tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle all-out support for the heroic people of Vietnam who are inflicting a historic defeat on U.S. imperialism—as an integral part of its own tasks.

The Party will work to win increasing support in France for the people of Vietnam until they have achieved final victory, will work for solidarity with the Arab peoples, to step up the fight for European collective security (and in particular for a conference of all European states to discuss this question, as proposed again in the Budapest appeal of the Warsaw Pact countries), for recognition of the German Democratic Republic and against the revanchist policy of the Bonn militarists, for disarmament.

The parties represented at the Meeting urged all the Communist parties and also all other anti-imperialist forces to support these actions.

One of the most important results of the Meeting is the appeal contained in the Main Document, and also in the Appeal in Defense of Peace, addressed to all organizations representing workers, peasants, office employees, students, youth, intellectuals, and women; to various social strata and groups, irrespective of their convictions, their political, philosophical and religious views; to realistically thinking political leaders of the capitalist countries, to all democratic parties, progressive national and international public organizations to unite their efforts with those of the Communist parties for concerted actions in the anti-imperialist struggle to reduce tensions, and in defense of peace.

The Meeting invited these forces to begin a broad and constructive exchange of views on all the issues related to the anti-imperialist struggle. The Main Document clarifies: "Communists favor the most democratic methods of preparing for and carrying out united action with all progressive patriotic and peace-loving forces on a national, regional and international scale. They will do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence. Forms of cooperation, chosen freely and by common consent, will make it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level to meet the requirements of the present situation."

But powerful development of broad and lasting unity of action of the anti-imperialist forces of the world can be achieved only through unity of the Communists and their international movement. In its efforts to unite the Communist ranks and to coordinate their actions in order to proceed to the next stage of the struggle, the Moscow Meeting applied to our epoch Lenin's counsel, for everybody knows the importance he attached to the essential factor of cohesion of the working class, international solidarity and cooperation of its vanguard detachments, the Communist parties.

The Meeting's Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" is, therefore, much more than a symbolic act. By calling on all Communists, on all who are fighting for socialism, progress and peace, to mark this historic date of worldwide significance, the Communist parties thereby stressed that loyalty to Leninism is the earnest of future success for the Communist movement.

Unity of the international movement based on scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism, a vital necessity, is one of the supreme principles of Leninism.

As our Party's delegation noted at the Meeting, although this unity has an objective basis in the common doctrine and aims of the Communist parties, a constant and resolute struggle is needed to achieve it.

On this question the Meeting made a contribution of paramount importance.

III.

The second main reason why the Moscow Meeting represents a success for our international movement is that it made it possible to further promote the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties, the bedrock of the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces.

To judge of the importance of this suffice to observe the chagrin of the imperialists, the Right Social-Democratic leaders and also of the Peking leaders, the "Leftist," Trotskyite and other groups. At first, they were all certain that the Meeting would not be able to take place. Afterwards when it became evident that it would, they hoped that it would be torn by differences, that it would end in some kind of "explosion" of the movement. Yet, the reverse happened. One more stage, and a very important one, was passed on the way to further developing the unity of the Communist parties.

The Meeting demonstrated the desire of the Communists to unite their efforts in the fight against imperialism, for peace and socialism. The participants clearly demonstrated their will to find what unites Communists, and also their confidence that what they have in common far outweighs the differences that might arise on certain issues. Thus, together with most of the other fraternal parties, our Party, whose position is known, considered that the Czechoslovak events of last year should not be discussed at the Meeting.

The Main Document will contribute to the further cohesion of our parties. It not only represents a common theoretical and political basis for the struggle the Communist parties are waging in different conditions, a creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the contemporary conditions of our struggle. It also defines with exceptional clarity the rules regulating the relations between Communist parties.

As we see from section IV of the Main Document, these rules stem from two fundamental and inseparable principles: the

sovereignty of each Party, and proletarian internationalism. Waldeck Rochet said at the Meeting: "Each party determines and must determine its policy and forms of activity in complete independence, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and with due regard to national conditions. At the same time, proletarian internationalism is a component of the doctrine and struggle of every Communist Party."

From this it follows that the relations between the parties are based, and should be based, in all circumstances, on respect for the independence and equality of the parties, on non-interference in their internal affairs, on solidarity and mutual aid, on coordination of their efforts in the fight against imperialism, for peace and the universal triumph of socialism. "Strict adherence to these principles," the Document notes, "is an indispensable condition for developing comradely cooperation between the fraternal parties and strengthening the unity of the Communist movement."

Our Party attaches special importance to cooperation between the parties within the framework of these principles. For its part, it is determined to exert still greater effort to further its cooperation with them.

The Communist and Workers' parties operate in very different conditions which, naturally, presupposes corresponding diversity in national tasks. This diversity is not, however, a negative feature, is not detrimental to the common struggle of the revolutionary working-class movement. If anything, it speaks of the growth of the revolutionary working-class movement and makes it possible to enrich our common doctrine and our common experience, provided, of course, the parties pursue their policy on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of conclusions jointly arrived at, as was the case at the Moscow Meeting.

Hence, diversity cannot justify the tendency to dissociate from the common principled basis, from proletarian internationalism, from the world movement. Quite the contrary! In our time when there is no international body directing the joint struggle of the parties, and cannot be, no "center" directing the international movement, the free coordination of actions to accomplish the tasks facing the parties acquires a growing importance.

The Meeting made a valuable contribution to such cooperation between the fraternal parties by establishing the political basis for it and the correct forms for its realization.

Cooperation is all the more necessary

since it is the best way, along with redoubled constructive ideological work in the parties and among the parties, gradually to overcome the differences. It is through exchanges of experience and views, bilateral and multilateral meetings, international conferences, and above all through cooperation in the fight against imperialism, that the differences can and should be overcome.

Our Party will steadfastly proceed along this correct path. Unlike its opponents, it is anything but happy about the differences in our movement. It does not consider that the sovereignty of each Party, dissimilarity in the conditions of struggle "naturally" tend to give rise to differences between the parties. What these differences are, in the final analysis, are the divergences of one or another party from scientific socialism, from the basic principles of the revolutionary working-class struggle and proletarian internationalism.

Accordingly, we hold that the fight against opportunism, whether "Left" or Right, is not only justified but essential in the interests of the unity of the international movement and the unification of all anti-imperialist forces.

We therefore consider that the parties had every right to speak at the Meeting about the nature and consequences of the policy and activity of the Chinese leaders who have broken with proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism. On behalf of our Party, Waldeck Rochet exposed "the new intensified anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet splitting policy of the Chinese leaders" which the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China demonstrated. The territorial claims made on the Soviet Union, the military provocations staged by the Chinese leaders on the Soviet-Chinese border shed light on the reckless and chauvinist substance of "Maoism." We share the view expressed in this connection by the Soviet delegation at the Moscow Meeting: "The facts show that the Chinese leadership only speaks of struggle against imperialism while in fact helping the latter directly or indirectly."

Just as our Party is combating and will continue to combat "leftism" and adventurism—both of which are characteristic in particular of the policy of the Maoist leaders—while at the same time guarding against attempts to revive Trotskyism, so it will combat the Right opportunist trends which sometimes surface in our movement. The main features of these trends are underestimation of the possibil-

ities of some contingents of the anti-imperialist forces, depreciation of the vanguard role of the Communist parties, the weakening of proletarian internationalism.

The existence of these trends "means that it is our duty to identify them and display firmness in upholding our policy and our ideas, in actions to promote the unity of all the parties on a principled basis, in the spirit of the Main Document of the Meeting" (from the report of the French Party delegation submitted by Comrade Georges Marchais to the plenary meeting of the Central Committee on June 28, 1969).

IV.

The preparations for and convocation of the Meeting symbolize how the principles on which the relations between the Communist parties, the unity of our movement, should be based, can be fruitfully applied.

The preparations for the Meeting and the Meeting itself took place in a truly democratic spirit, in an atmosphere of equality of all the parties. All the parties could, if they so wished, participate in the preparatory stages, in elaborating the Meeting documents. All the Central Committees had the opportunity to study the draft documents in advance. All the parties represented at the Meeting participated on an equal footing. The discussion was free, frank, comprehensive. Indicative of the strength of our movement is that the discussion was constructive, leading to agreement among most parties on the basic issue, that of the present tasks of the struggle against imperialism and for unity of the Communist movement, of all anti-imperialist forces.

It was noted, and in our opinion quite rightly, that the Meeting was characterized by a "new style." Its proceedings received the widest publicity. Delegates gave the texts of their speeches to the Press. With the help of the Soviet comrades, the Secretariat of the Meeting arranged a press center that was highly appreciated by the journalists. Many delegations held press conferences. The press of the fraternal parties both in the capitalist and the socialist countries published extensive excerpts from the speeches. In short, never before was a conference of Communist parties less "secret." As a result, the Communists, the working people, the public in all countries had the opportunity to follow the proceedings and see for themselves that the Meeting discussed matters that concerned them directly.

Thus, the organization of the Meeting is a valuable gain, one that is bound to contribute to steady improvement in the relations between our parties, to further success on the way to unity of the Communist movement and, consequently, in the common struggle against imperialism.

Our Party, for its part, will continue to develop and consolidate its relations of friendship, solidarity and cooperation with the fraternal parties on the basis of the principles charted in the Main Document, and work for the unification of all the anti-imperialist forces so as to achieve the triumph of the ideas and aims defined by the Meeting. Our Party will develop and strengthen its fraternal cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which plays the decisive role in the struggle of the peoples for peace and socialism. It will continue to promote its active solidarity with the movements and peoples battling against colonialism, exploitation, and neo-colonial oppression.

The Central Committee approved the activity of the French Communist Party delegation, headed by Waldeck Rochet, expressed its satisfaction with the Meeting results, and called on the membership to study the Meeting documents and to popularize their ideas.

The Central Committee noted that although the Meeting documents are of fundamental importance to Communists, it would be absolutely incorrect to consider

the Meeting as a purely "internal" affair of the Communists. The Meeting concerned itself with the vital problems facing mankind today: war or peace, further exploitation of the working masses by big capital or social progress, imperialist oppression or national independence, reaction or democracy, capitalism or socialism. It is these questions that the documents answer — scientifically, conclusively. Hence they should be made known to the working class, the broad masses on as wide a scale as possible. With this end in view, besides the materials carried by *l'Humanite* and other publications of our Party, a special issue of the journal *Les Cahiers du Communisme* was put out containing the Meeting documents, Waldeck Rochet's speech at the Meeting and the report on the plenary meeting of the Central Committee. Also, a pamphlet with these materials was put out. Special lectures on the main results of the Meeting will be organized for Party activists.

We regard these measures to popularize the documents of the Meeting and the Party's activity to achieve the aims defined in the Main Document as an intrinsic part of our struggle for an advanced democracy and a socialist France, of our struggle to accomplish our national and international tasks in the interests of the working class and the people of our country, in the interests of peace and socialism throughout the world.

Adhering to conclusions of International Meeting is decisive in party work

JOSEPH KEMPNY

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia sets great store by the results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, for they show convincingly that the Communists offer the peoples the only realistic approach to peace, social progress and socialist reconstruction. The Meeting produced a universally acceptable platform of joint action by Communist and Workers' parties for combating modern imperialism, the common enemy, and defined the ways of consolidating Communist unity on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

COMPONENT OF THE CPC POLITICAL LINE

The conclusions of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties accord completely with both the national and international tasks of the Czechoslovak Communists. We regard implementing its main ideas and conclusions as a component of our home and foreign policy. The Presidium of our Central Committee, convened soon after the Meeting, heard the report of our delegation and decided on measures to be carried out in our political, economic and ideological activity.

Acting in the spirit of the Meeting's guidelines, we formulated the following main tasks:

—promote all-round development of our socialist Republic, her economy and culture, making it a dependable link in the socialist world system;

—restore and consolidate the ideological unity of our Party on a Marxist-Leninist basis, particularly by systematic ideological and educational work, cultivating proletarian internationalism among Communists and non-Communists;

—consolidate our fraternal relations and cooperation with the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist community, primarily with the CPSU, and with the socialist states, primarily with the Soviet Union;

—extend cooperation with all contingents of the world Communist, national liberation and anti-imperialist movements and render them all-round aid in the just struggle against imperialism.

Before the guidelines contained in the Meeting's documents could be put into practice, they had to be made known to the whole Party and the public at large. This was an important and inevitable precondition. After the Presidium meeting that discussed the results of the International Meeting, we convened the activists in all districts and regions, who were addressed by Party functionaries, members of the Presidium and Central Committee secretaries. Their reports were published in the daily newspapers and broadcast over the radio and TV.

A nationwide seminar of the ideological activists of the Central Committee, and the regional, city and district committees was held, at which members of our delegation to the Meeting and many leading functionaries spoke, elucidating more deep-

ly the significance of the Meeting and the vital tasks devolving on our Party in the present conditions and discussing the anti-communist strategy and ideological sabotage employed by the imperialists against our country.

The materials of the seminar, which complemented the preceding communications of members of our leadership, appeared in book form. So did the documents and materials of the Meeting, including the speeches of Comrade Gustav Husak and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev.

The problems of the world Communist movement, and particularly the conclusions of the Meeting, hold priority in the curriculum of our Party education system this year.

However, we know that much more needs to be done to popularize the documents of the Meeting and that, among other things, some of the mass media have not devoted enough attention to them. We shall have to do much more in our ideological and political work to elucidate the conclusions of the Meeting and bring home their importance for our Party.

At present we are working on a number of measures to secure further political stabilization and economic growth in our country. The documents of the Meeting and many of the speeches by fraternal representatives are for us a source of experience and of inspiring ideas.

SPECIFICS OF OUR IDEOLOGICAL WORK

We know that ideological work depends largely on the situation prevailing in the country. The situation affects the thinking of the people. At the same time, the people's thinking is an active instrument: as soon as people become conscious of the need for certain changes, they concentrate their energies on achieving them.

After the combined offensive of the Right forces in the country and of anti-communist forces abroad was repulsed, the sound process of differentiation inside and outside the Party gained pace. It has advanced far enough for us to be able to speak of a polarization of the main forces.

To begin with, there is the camp of the Marxist-Leninists loyal to the fundamental principles of scientific socialism. This comprises people in accord with the political line of our Central Committee, people who understand that this line is the only realistic way of eliminating past mistakes, building a truly democratic and economically

flourishing socialist society, concentrating the state policy on satisfying the main requirements of the workers and all working people and cementing the unity of all the socialist classes and strata of our society. The people in this camp understand that we belong in the socialist world community. That in this community we shall have the prestige, occupy the place and enjoy the confidence that we deserve, is beyond question. This camp of courageous and devoted Communists is becoming stronger each day.

It is opposed by those who have turned their backs on socialism and are either overt or covert enemies of Marxism-Leninism, fighting against the political line of the Communist Party and the socialist state. Opportunism in relation to these anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary elements is harmful to the Party and socialism. We have therefore taken firm steps to defeat these forces and trends once and for all in irreconcilable struggle in the nearest future. The CPC has declared firmly that it will not tolerate any encroachments on the basic principles of our society, our socialist state.

For this reason, the hostile forces must be defeated politically. We shall also publicly expose the ideological essence of their posture and activity, aimed against socialism, the leading role of the Communist Party, our constitutional inner order, the basic principles of our socialist foreign policy and, consequently, against the security of our state.

To be sure, there are Communists and non-Communists who cherish the ideas and policies of the Party and take pride in being citizens of a socialist land, but who still have illusions. They have not understood some of the fundamental theoretical propositions of Marxism-Leninism, but are searching and think they have found the right solutions in experiences that ultimately prove to be unsound and impracticable in our conditions. They are disappointed in our failing to attain the degree of socialist development that they conceived in their minds, and are people with insufficient patience and political experience, people who do not understand that the bodies of political power must be consolidated, people who forget that our country is not isolated from the class struggle between the socialist community and the imperialist states. The sound core of our Party is working systematically, perseveringly and in a comradely way, with great patience, with these people.

The principled policy of the Party lead-

ership after the April and May (1969) Central Committee meetings and the lessons of last August show that the vast majority of the nation is rallying around the Party. Indicative is the recent founding of the Lenin Youth League, which should play a positive role in consolidating the dispersed youth movement. This is evidence that our Party, which has withstood many trials in its fifty years, possesses the necessary forces, sufficient experience and enduring ties with the masses to lead the working class, the farmers and intelligentsia, all progressive strata of our society, in consolidating and extending the socialist system in Czechoslovakia.

OUR THEORETICAL WORK

Solving our vital problems is inconceivable without enlisting the effort of our science cadres. Regrettably, the situation is anything but favorable in many areas of our theoretical work. Apart from organizational deficiencies, considerable vacillation and a hodge-podge of different viewpoints and approaches have appeared on the theoretical front. There are also tendencies in evidence of departing from Marxism-Leninism.

We are far from the thought of denying the positive effort made from Marxist-Leninist positions in the social sciences to resolve some of the problems meeting the genuine needs of the Party, especially on the eve of the 13th Party Congress. But many of our scholars abandoned their purely scientific theoretical activity for a certain type of journalism. All too often, scientifically groundless views were presented in the daily press as novel conclusions and ideas whereby, ostensibly, Marxism was being taken a step farther. However, these discourses were far removed from Marxism.

The halo of "genius" was attributed by some people in the country and by their Western sponsors to the theories of Ota Sik and his followers. The harm done to our economy and the Party's ideological work by these "reformers" is now obvious. At present, the Central Committee is taking steps to eliminate the grave consequences of that insidious work to our economy and to show the worthlessness of Sik's economic theories.

One more example is the political excitement whipped up over the question of self-management, based not on an objective analysis of our economic needs, but obviously on the political intention of reduc-

ing the economic functions of both the Communist Party and the socialist state.

This gives an idea of how various anti-Marxist constructions found their way into our social science. We regret to say that some researchers have not fully understood the complexity and the confusion reigning in social science.

The negative stand towards the results of scientific research in the other socialist countries, still in evidence, also speaks of the many non-scientific features of our social science.

We realize that much serious work lies ahead in order to remedy the situation. As we see it, this is a dual process.

On the one hand, we are trying to furnish a profound analysis of the state of affairs in social science and to offer all-round, reasoned criticism of the mistakes of our scientists. We hope that as a result of a scientific discussion, of just Party criticism and, in some cases, of unavoidable personnel changes, a sound creative atmosphere will prevail in our research institutions.

On the other hand, we are determined to provide a Marxist-Leninist study of the topical problems of growth in our society. First and foremost, we must provide an analysis of the experience of building socialism in Czechoslovakia, and answers to questions of economic development, defining the ways and methods of building a developed socialist society. It stands to reason that we are also determined to renew and enliven the contacts between our scientists and those of the other socialist countries.

In this the ideas of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties are for us a dependable compass.

INSIDIOUS METHODS OF IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA

Defining the tasks of the struggle against present-day imperialism, the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized that Communists would continue to combat bourgeois ideology uncompromisingly, defend their principles consistently, work for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and oppose all Right opportunist distortions of theory and policy. For our Party this conclusion is highly topical. We are aware that success in ideological work is inconceivable without systematically exposing imperialist propaganda, the influence of which on a section of our public is all too obvious. The methods of that pro-

paganda directed against Czechoslovakia have been greatly refurbished.

In the past, hostile propaganda did not call for an immediate and complete rupture between Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, on the other, harping merely on the need to eliminate "one-sidedness" and "disadvantage" in our foreign policy, portrayed as the main reason for our economic and other difficulties, as the reason for our inability to make the best use of our potential. The conclusion drawn therefrom was that our country needed to link its growth more closely with the capitalist countries of the West. Anti-communist propaganda did not call for the complete liquidation and immediate overthrow of the socialist system. All it urged was a substantial "reform," for which Czechoslovakia ostensibly needed to achieve "independence" vis-a-vis the socialist community, naturally including the USSR. The ultimate aim of the imperialists was, of course, obvious.

The new elements in anti-communist propaganda against Czechoslovakia appeared in the latter half of 1968, especially after August. The following could be listed:

First, after the January 1968 Central Committee Plenum and in the early months of that year many of those who opposed socialism and communism were portrayed in the anti-communist propaganda as "champions" of socialism and communism.

The nature of the arguments used shows that in 1968 the accent was laid chiefly on denouncing the so-called old model of socialism, on extolling the so-called experiment in democratic socialism. Attempts were made to discredit the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in the eyes of our public, with the self-criticism of the CPC being exploited for this to the utmost.

The results of Czechoslovakia's development until January 1968 were presented as proof that the "old ideologists" were incapable of resolving the problems of a highly developed industrial society and that the concepts of applying the Soviet experience in an industrially developed country like Czechoslovakia were thoroughly discredited.

After August 1968 the anti-communist influences from abroad were camouflaged in the guise of defending the "post-January development," defending everything that was held by the inimical forces to have been "augured by the post-January development and that August had made impossible."

Hostile propaganda concentrated principally on fanning anti-Sovietism and disrupting our traditional relations with the Soviet Union. That the former Party leadership was inconsistent in living up to the decisions adopted jointly with the Soviet Union was excused on the plea that they ostensibly impinged on our interests and were therefore a concession made under duress. This contributed considerably to all the crisis situations since August, keeping the country in a permanent state of tension (whether it was the campaign over the signing of the agreement on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, the candidature for the post of Federal Assembly Chairman, the self-immolation of Jan Palach or the anti-Soviet psychosis in connection with the March 28 events) and obstructing a positive solution of our basic problems.

Second, it was a salient feature and grave factor of the post-January anti-communist propaganda that some of our mass media and a section of their staffs objectively became its disseminators. The anti-communist notions peddled from abroad were transmitted by our public media without critical assessments, or, worse still, with friendly comments. To justify this, they pleaded the "right" of the public to have free and full information, pleaded the need for "comparing" different viewpoints and maintained demagogically that the maturity of Czechoslovak opinion enabled people to treat these notions critically.

A considerable section of writers and staff of the mass media borrowed arguments hostile in class and ideological content, disseminating them uncritically (*Literarni Listy*, *Radio Czechoslovakia*, *Czechoslovak Television*; the journals *Reporter*, *Politika*, *Zitrek*, *Obrana Lidu*, *Student*; the dailies *Prace*, *Mlada Fronta*, *Zemedelske Noviny*, *Svobodne Slovo*, local newspapers, etc.), on the plea that the imperialist threat to socialism was, in effect, non-existent. Confounded by the complexity of the situation in the Party leadership and its own editorial offices, *Rude Pravo* did not take a Marxist-Leninist stand against the deluge of bourgeois propaganda, which is also true of other Party publications.

The press and radio of the socialist countries were crudely attacked and insulted for their principled stand. Information about life in the socialist countries was tendentious, abounding in insinuations and innuendoes. All this was meant to create the public impression that our main allies

could not be expected to appreciate Czechoslovakia's problems.

Third, their all but complete rejection of openly anti-communist arguments was a relatively novel feature in the tactics of our adversaries.

As a rule, enemy propaganda made the most of the critical ideas that originated among us, emasculating them gradually of their original meaning and taking them to anti-communist extremes.

Take the question of democratization. A further development of democracy had become necessary in our society. The task of eliminating past distortions was set quite correctly. However, although based on the need to extend socialist democracy, the matter was gradually stripped of its class content and ultimately replaced by a bourgeois interpretation of democracy, in effect counter-posing democracy to socialism.

Our economic and military cooperation with the socialist countries was repeatedly attacked. There resounded calls for neutrality, with a purely nationalist drive to divorce the needs of our economic development from the general economic development of the socialist system.

The interpretations given to the economic reform were also slanted. Legitimate criticism of the outworn methods of economic management was taken to a point where it denied the economic function of the socialist state and the need for planned economic guidance by society.

Fourth, imperialist propaganda directed at Czechoslovakia was greatly intensified, as evidenced by the following facts: twelve radio stations in eight capitalist countries transmit nearly 160 hours daily in Czech and Slovak, with Radio Free Europe as usual accounting for the bulk of this broadcasting time. A sustained hostile campaign against Czechoslovakia and her leaders, against its policy, was conducted by the numerous correspondents of the capitalist press, for which some were expelled from the country. Western tourists were used for spreading panicky rumors and even for direct acts of diversion.

This shows that the recent years were, in a way, a trial of all the means possessed by modern anti-communism in a frontal offensive against socialism in Czechoslovakia. The fact that anti-communist propaganda concentrated specifically on Czechoslovakia is due not only to the importance of the country, but also to its being considered by the imperialists as one of the weakest links in the socialist system. It should be borne in mind, too, that the hos-

tile ideological activity was but one of the aspects of the active anti-communist offensive against Czechoslovakia, embracing political blackmail and economic pressure.

TO IMPROVE INTER-PARTY INFORMATION

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia appreciates the concern shown by the fraternal parties for the destiny of socialism in our country. We see this as an expression of internationalist solidarity with our Party. We also appreciate the fact that most of the Communist and Workers' parties, realizing the complexity of the situation in our country and in the Party, assume that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will itself handle the situation that has arisen and assess it from Marxist-Leninist positions.

The present leadership is collecting all the necessary authentic facts about the recent developments in the country, is making a comprehensive study of all the interconnections and is preparing an overall analysis, for, as Comrade G. Husak, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, said at the International Meeting in Moscow, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia wants courageously and honestly to get to the root of all these questions.

As we now discover, even the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party and the Central Committee as a whole were not informed of some matters. This absolutely unacceptable and impermissible way of "informing" leading bodies, this method of work practiced in the leadership of a Communist Party and socialist state, undermined the Party, deprived it of unity and the ability to act, weakened its internationalist consciousness, disoriented many members of the Czechoslovak Party and also members of fraternal parties.

We exchanged information with representatives of the fraternal parties, including those in capitalist and developing countries, already before the Meeting. The Central Committee of the Party communicated with the leadership of some of the parties in written form and drew their attention to the views we did not agree with. We consider that also Comrade G. Husak's speech at the Meeting contributed broader information to the fraternal parties. We can only speak, of course, of what has been confirmed and corresponds to the facts. Some time will still be needed to analyze all these questions.

The present leadership of the Party con-

siders it its internationalist duty to give all fraternal parties the chance to familiarize themselves with all the main documents of the Communist Party dealing with the situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and in the Communist Party, especially since January 1968. These documents will help the fraternal parties better to understand the complex problems of our recent past and present.

We would appreciate it if the fraternal parties would refrain from expressing their views on issues related to our development that are still not quite clear even to our Party leadership. At the International Meeting in Moscow the Czechoslovak delegation noted that, regrettably, some fraternal parties have only a superficial knowledge of developments, of the state of affairs in Czechoslovakia. The fraternal parties did not receive sufficiently objective information from the previous leadership of our Party.

It will be appreciated also if the fraternal parties take into consideration, when examining our problems, how much their attitudes and conclusions may help or hamper our Party and our society to resolve problems which perhaps are among the most difficult that the Communist movement in our country has ever faced. It will not be a matter of indifference to us, of course, should the position taken by some of these parties be used by the Right and other anti-socialist forces against the present leadership of our Party which is trying in very complex conditions to restore the unity of the Party and its leading role in society, to normalize allied relations with the Warsaw Treaty member-countries and with the Soviet Union, in the first place.

We hope to establish closer contact with the leadership of the fraternal parties. We are, accordingly, inviting representatives of fraternal parties to Czechoslovakia and sending delegations of our Party to visit friendly fraternal parties. The subject matter of these meetings and consultations will, naturally, be questions of mutual interest, such as the problems of our development and the current tasks of the international Communist movement, promotion of its unity on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

OUR PRIORITY TASKS

In recent years a number of important problems came to a head in our Party and our society, problems calling for a princi-

pled solution. However, as events showed, the inconsistency and mistakes in the Party's policy prior to January 1968, coupled with the slackening of ideological work over the years, created a situation in which neither the Party, nor society generally, were ideologically equipped to cope with them. Taking advantage of this situation, the Right opportunists and counter-revolutionaries tried to strike a blow at the foundations of socialism in Czechoslovakia. The fight against them required considerable effort. Having suffered political defeat, the Right forces are now trying to continue the struggle in new forms.

The Party leadership after January 1968 overestimated in its policy the results achieved in the development of our society and clearly underestimated the influence of anti-communism from the outside, and the existence of strong bourgeois-reformist survivals in the minds of the population and part of the Party membership, particularly in the Czech areas.

The widespread diffusion of incorrect views contradicting Marxism-Leninism is due to rejection of the class criterion when considering the external and internal development of our society. A very dangerous and sinister role in this respect was played by the Right opportunists. The former leadership of the Party did not combat the non-Marxist ideas and anti-communist propaganda, and renounced the general principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The confusion in the public mind in general, and among Party members in particular, called for a principled approach in combating the non-Marxist ideas and propaganda, and especially anti-communism. The impulse was given by the April and May (1969) plenary meetings of the Central Committee. The present leadership appreciates the importance of the problems and intends to resolve them consistently.

Anti-communism's main attack was directed against Marxism-Leninism, against the Communist Party, against the unity of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. Hence, if non-Marxist ideas and propaganda and anti-communism are to be consistently combated, the first need is to explain and uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to purify it of revisionist distortions and in this way influence the public mind.

The immediate task in respect to consistent defense of the socialist state and the further development of socialism in Czechoslovakia is to strengthen the leading role of the Party. We hold that the solution of

the problems of our society depends on the kind of party we will have. Only a Communist Party true to Marxism-Leninism can ensure the socialist development of our state which, as the August days of 1969 showed when the counter-revolutionary forces suffered a crushing defeat, is what the working class, peasantry and our intelligentsia want.

People are beginning to realize that the fine words about "socialism with a human face" was a screen to cover the ugly designs of groups whose interests ran counter to the interests of the people. Hundreds and thousands of resolutions adopted at Party meetings in big and small enterprises in towns and villages, endorse the work of the Party leadership and demand in most cases that it consistently and resolutely combat Right opportunism and nationalism.

In the interests of socialism in our country we will not allow anybody to conduct hostile activity against our socialist gains and will unhesitatingly punish such activity in accordance with the law. Clearly, socialist law must be respected. It not only protects the rights of citizens but also their socialist gains. These two aspects cannot be separated.

We would not be consistent Marxist-Leninists if we failed to recognize that solution of the pressing economic problems is the key to the further development of our country and the consolidation of the Communist Party and the socialist state. The Party considers its immediate task to chart effective ways of solving the economic problems that have accumulated over the past years. Solution of the problems related to effective economic management brooks no delay. And it can be said with full responsibility that the present Party leadership is giving its undivided attention to drawing up measures that will rally the Party and society to overcome the difficulties and promote the further development of socialism in our country.

We realize that the condition for consistent defense of socialism in our country and the further development of our society is the consolidation and full development of fraternal and allied relations with the socialist countries, and especially with the Soviet Union—the guarantee of our independence. It is the Soviet Union that has to shoulder the main burden of the class struggle against imperialism. The development of political, economic and cultural cooperation, joint actions in the anti-imperialist stage—this is the main guarantee of our socialist gains. The Communist Party

of Czechoslovakia will spare no effort to restore its prestige and regain the complete confidence of the fraternal parties and the socialist countries.

TO EQUIP THE PARTY AND THE MASSES WITH LENINIST IDEAS

An important place in our ideological work after the Moscow Meeting is held by the preparations for the Lenin Centenary. Our Party fully supports the Address of the Meeting to mark in a worthy manner the centenary of the birth of Lenin—the great continuer of the work and teaching of Marx and Engels, the acknowledged leader of the international working class, the man whose name has come to symbolize the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the immense revolutionary advances which have changed the face of our planet and signify mankind's transition to socialism and communism. Our Party has always considered Leninism as a great international doctrine, as the Marxism of the present epoch. We reject all attempts to depict Leninism as a purely Russian phenomenon.

It is precisely at the present time that Lenin's ideas and his doctrine are highly relevant for us. The Party is implementing in a complex situation the conclusions of the May 1969 CC meeting and is making every effort to consolidate the political and economic situation in the country; it is waging a difficult but successful struggle against the anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary and Right forces. This circumstance is, of course, visibly reflected in the Lenin centenary preparations in our country. We are preparing to mark the centenary in such a way as will help to overcome the disorientation among a section of the working people caused by the activity of the reactionary, Right opportunist forces, to restore the comradely, traditionally friendly relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries, with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. Jointly with scientific institutions and the public organizations of the National Front, the Party is preparing a series of seminars and talks which will elucidate comprehensively the results achieved to date and the further big possibilities of political, economic and cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party wants our entire social and scientific front, our ideological activity to be based on the class, revolutionary nature of the Leninist doctrine, to be such as will prevent the opportunist distortion of Leninism. We will strive to

have Lenin's teaching explained as a Party doctrine, a profoundly international one, and uncompromising towards bourgeois and reformist ideology. It is in this spirit that Leninism is being explained in the Party educational system first of all. The programs of the higher educational institutions are being revised correspondingly.

Meetings of activists, seminars, scientific conferences, all our theoretical and ideological work will be oriented on strengthening the Leninist character of the Party and the Leninist principles of its activity, on restoring in the consciousness of Communists and the working people all the basic ideological values of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Party is seeing to it that the basic ideas of Leninism, and particularly the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the teaching about the leading role of the Party, are always an integral part of the entire system of Party education and ideological work. Completion of the translating of Lenin's works in 45 volumes, which is being put out by the Svoboda Publishing House, will help to make fuller use of the Lenin heritage. Materials explaining the Leninist principles of Party building and Party work are being published in preparation for the centenary.

The press, radio and television and also the documentary cinema, are focussing on elucidating the Leninist policy of our Party, on promoting friendship with the Soviet Union and exposing anti-Sovietism and nationalism. The success of the ideological

and political activity devoted to the centenary will depend in large measure on the work of the mass media.

During the centenary preparations the Party will be focussing attention on the socialist education of the youth, and particularly on accentuating the international aspects in the educational system. To this end teachers' conferences are being organized and also scientific conferences in the colleges.

All ideological and political activity in connection with the centenary celebrations will be reflected in the various measures planned for this and the coming years as, for example, the celebration of the 52nd anniversary of the October Revolution, the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, the 15th anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty, and other notable dates.

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The conclusions of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties are a clear guide for our Party. There is no doubt that by implementing the ideas of the Meeting we will be able to put an end to the intrigues of the enemies of socialism in Czechoslovakia, consolidate our Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and reinforce its role as the leading force of society. Jointly with the other countries of the socialist community, Czechoslovakia will confidently advance towards new successes in building a comprehensive socialist society.

Lenin and the French experience of revolution

JEAN FREVILLE

France occupied a big place in Lenin's thoughts for reasons both theoretical and personal: theoretical because some of the vital roots of Marxism go back to France's revolutionary past and personal because Lenin frequently visited Paris (in 1895, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905 and 1914) and lived there from December 1908 to June 1912. He showed a particular interest in the French labor movement and the history of the country, from which he drew lessons of profound political importance in numerous articles and speeches. His knowledge of the French working class and his admiration of it equipped him for helping the French comrades to found the French Communist Party, which came into being at the congress in Tours in December 1920, succeeding to the finest traditions of the glorious past.

THE FRENCH CONTRIBUTION TO THE DOCTRINE OF MARX AND ENGELS

As we know, French materialism and socialism contributed to the elaboration of the Marxist teaching. Marx, for one, associated revolution in Germany with a revolution in France. His communist convictions, though initially impregnated with a terminology borrowed from Hegel and Feuerbach, became more pronounced during his stay in Paris from November 1843 to February 1845. He saw that revolution was on the way in France and, in a critique of conditions in Germany wrote in the *Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher* in 1844

that "*the day of the German resurrection will be heralded by the crowing of the Gallic cockerel.*"

Lenin, too, regarded the French 18th-century materialism and the works of Saint-Simon, Fourier and the Socialists of the first forty years of the 19th century, as a source of Marxism. "The Marxist doctrine," Lenin wrote in 1913, "is omnipotent because it is true. It is comprehensive and harmonious and provides men with an integral world outlook irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defense of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor to the best that man produced in the nineteenth century, as represented by German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, pp. 23-24).

The long political and social struggle in France, reflected in the attitudes and works of the progressive French thinkers, held the attention of the founders of scientific socialism. The French revolutionary practice constantly enriched Marx's thinking; his magnificent studies of the June revolution of 1848, the coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte, the Paris Commune, written at the time of the events, rank among the treasures of historiography. What is truly amazing is the extent to which the author of *Capital* succeeded in taking in these momentous events, their profound significance and their actual dimensions.

Describing the interest in France shown by Marx, his teacher and friend Engels wrote in 1885, two years after Marx's death, in his preface to the third German edition of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*:

*This article, specially written for our journal, is a precis of a chapter in "Lenin and France," a book which the author is now writing.

"France is the land where, more than anywhere else, the historical class struggles were each time fought out to a decision, and where, consequently, the changing political forms within which they move and in which their results are summarized have been stamped in the sharpest outlines. The center of feudalism in the Middle Ages, the model country of unified monarchy, resting on estates, since the Renaissance, France demolished feudalism in the Great Revolution and established the unalloyed rule of the bourgeoisie in a classical purity unequalled by any other European land. And the struggle of the upward-striving proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie appeared here in an acute form unknown elsewhere. This was the reason why Marx not only studied the past history of France with particular predilection, but also followed her current history in every detail, stored up the material for future use and, consequently, events never took him by surprise" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1962, Vol. I, pp. 245-246).

Lenin points out with valid reason that the Marxist doctrine, which had its source in the class struggle, developed mostly on the basis of the French example. "The stormy revolutions which everywhere in Europe, and especially in France, accompanied the fall of feudalism, of serfdom," he wrote, "more and more clearly revealed the *struggle of classes* as the basis and the driving force of all development" (Vol. 19, p. 27).

In the *Holy Family*, written in 1844, Marx underscored the progressive role of the French 18th-century materialists, Diderot, Helvetius, La Mettrie and Holbach, indicating their link-up with socialism and communism.

Lenin, too, emphasized the influence exerted by these philosophers on the great movement of ideas that made breaches in the old regime and paved the way for the 1789 revolution. "Throughout the modern history of Europe," Lenin wrote, "and especially at the end of the eighteenth century in France, where a resolute struggle was conducted against every kind of medieval rubbish, against serfdom in institutions and ideas, materialism has proved to be the only philosophy that is consistent, true to all the teachings of natural science and hostile to superstition, cant and so forth" (Ibid, p. 24).

In *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, his principal philosophical work, Lenin endorses Diderot's materialist outlook, com-

mends his struggle against idealism and praises him for coming so close to the modern materialist views and counterposing the principal philosophical trends.

To be sure, Marx and Engels revealed the limitations of the old materialism, condemning its mechanistic concepts, its metaphysical character, its incomprehension of the actual forces propelling history. Historical materialism sees this movement in the development of the productive forces, showing that society's spiritual life is a reflection of the conditions of its material life. But, by and large, we can say that though Marx and Engels broke out of the "narrowness" of the French 18th-century materialists, they were, quite definitely, their successors, a point stressed by Lenin on more than one occasion.

LENIN AND THE 1789 REVOLUTION

The French revolution evoked conflicting sentiments among the ideologists of the propertied classes. In France, men like Joseph de Maistre, Chateaubriand, Bonald and Charles Maurras, heaped curses on it. Others, who represented a class conscious of its power, convinced of having scaled the peak of civilization, gave it their more or less complete and resolute allegiance, glorifying it for instituting a freedom, the pernicious economic and social repercussions of which they denied.

In a letter to Weydemeyer in 1852, where he first employs the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" and expands on the theory of the class struggle, Marx indicates: "Long before me bourgeois historians described the historical development of this struggle of the classes." It will be recalled that in Plekhanov's well-known *Development of the Monist View of History*, which appeared in St. Petersburg in 1895, an entire chapter is devoted to the French historians of the Restoration, who referred to classes and the class struggle, albeit from their own standpoint. However, the bourgeois historians who proudly acclaimed the advancement of their class, had sympathy for the revolution only to the extent that it affirmed the rights of man and citizen and the sanctity of private property. They denigrated it when it went farther and began, under mass pressure, to take determined action against the enemies of the revolutionary people. Their criticism of the Jacobin dictatorship from August 1793 to July 1794 was nothing if not caustic. Chateaubriand described the Jacobins as "monsters escaped from hell"; Michelet,

so eloquent when referring to the "virtues of the people," did not hesitate to describe Robespierre as a "tyrant with a preacher's temperament"; Thiers and Mignet exposed him to infamy, and Lamartine, advocate of the Girondins, vilified him brutally.

Unlike historians enmeshed in bourgeois prejudices, and unlike the reactionary ideologists impatient to wipe out all traces of popular sovereignty and yearning for the Thermidor, Lenin as a genuine Marxist, assessed the French revolution with extraordinary understanding and sharpness of vision. He saw it as a victory for the maltreated and the most wretched along man's road to emancipation. He saw it as a considerable historical advance that in many ways predetermined the political and social evolution of the 19th century. He saw it as a model of the revolutionary action suggested to the working class below to subsequently raise itself to the rank of ruling class.

Lenin noted that, more than anything, the French revolution furnished incontrovertible proof of the reality of the class struggle. "Ever since the Great French Revolution," he wrote, "European history has, in a number of countries, tellingly revealed what actually lies at the bottom of events—the struggle of classes. The Restoration period in France already produced a number of historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, and Thiers) who, in summing up what was taking place, were obliged to admit that class struggle was the key to all French history" (Vol. 21, p. 58).

Having deposed the ruling aristocracy and abolished the monarchy, the French revolution retained its power of attraction and encouragement for the oppressed and exploited, evoking fear and confusion among the privileged.

"Just as those obtuse eulogists of English philistinism, the Webbs, try to represent Chartism, the revolutionary period of the English labor movement, as pure childishness, as 'sowing wild oats', as a piece of naivete unworthy of serious attention, as an accidental and abnormal deviation," Lenin observed, "so too the German bourgeois historians treat the year 1848 in Germany. Such also is the attitude of the reactionaries to the Great French Revolution, which, by the fierce hatred it still inspires, demonstrates to this day the vitality and force of its influence on humanity" (Vol. 13, p. 38).

At the time of the first Russian Revolution, the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party held its Fourth (Unity) Congress in

Stockholm in April 1906, at which the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks clashed sharply. Lenin criticized the opportunist tactics of the Mensheviks, their inimical attitude to the hegemony of the proletariat and armed uprising, their agrarian program and their concept of the Tsarist Duma as "a center of the country's revolutionary forces." On returning from Stockholm, he addressed politically active workers in St. Petersburg, predicting the ultimate triumph of revolutionary Marxism, despite the fact that in many points the Bolshevik line had not been approved by the Congress. In May 1906 he wrote a pamphlet which appeared under the title, *Report on the Unity Congress of the RSDLP (A Letter to the St. Petersburg Workers)*. In that text, strikingly forceful and logical, Lenin backed his arguments against the Mensheviks with the example of the National Convention that replaced the Legislative Assembly in September 1792. "The Convention", he wrote, "was precisely a dictatorship of the lower classes, that is, of the lowest and poorest sections of the town and village population. In the bourgeois revolution this was a body with full powers, wholly and entirely dominated, not by the upper or middle bourgeoisie, but by the common people, the poor, that is, precisely those whom we call 'the proletariat and the peasantry'. To recognize the Convention and to oppose the seizure of power means juggling with words. To recognize the Convention and be violently opposed to 'the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' means defeating one's own purpose. But the Bolsheviks have at all times and invariably spoken about the capture of power by the masses of the people, by the proletariat and the peasantry, and not by any 'politically-conscious minority'. All the talk about conspiracy and Blanquism was just pious declamation, which evaporated at the mere mention of the Convention" (Vol. 10, p. 370).

By the spring and summer of 1917 the ideological struggle between the Bolsheviks, on the one hand, and the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who had aligned themselves with the bourgeoisie, on the other, was at its height. Again, in a heated controversy, Lenin recalled the French precedents, denouncing those who distorted their true significance. At that time, Plekhanov went so far as to suggest that the law against enemies of the people, promulgated by the National Convention in 1793, should be invoked against

the Bolsheviks. In the *Pravda* (May 28) (June 18), 1917, Lenin retorted sharply to this falsification of history. He wrote:

"The historical greatness of the true Jacobins, the Jacobins of 1793, is that they were 'Jacobins with the people', with the revolutionary majority of the nation, with the revolutionary advanced classes of their time.

"They are ridiculous and pitiful, the 'Jacobins without the people', they who merely pose as Jacobins, who are afraid to declare clearly, openly and for all to hear that the exploiters, the oppressors of the people, the servants of the monarchy in all countries, the defenders of the landowners in all countries, are enemies of the people.

"You have studied history, Messrs. Mil-yukovs and Plekhanovs—can you deny that the great Jacobins of 1793 were not afraid to denounce precisely the members of the reactionary exploiting minority of their time as enemies of the people? Precisely the members of the reactionary classes of their time?

"You, the present government, its backers, its defenders, its servants—can you say openly, clearly and officially which classes you consider 'enemies of the people' all over the world?

"But how can you! You are Jacobins without the people. You look more like ordinary representatives of ordinary landowners and capitalist reaction" (Vol. 24, pp. 534-35).

The dictatorship of the proletariat established in Russia after the October Revolution left the 1789 revolution far behind. Yet Lenin still referred to it for examples, exposing the falsehoods of bourgeois democracy and the maneuvers of those who, in the name of freedom, endeavored to restore the dominance of the exploiting classes.

While the Soviets were still faced with innumerable difficulties and mortal dangers, after a full year of the civil war, Lenin did not fail to look back on the French revolution, saying to the Petrograd workers and men of the Red Army in March 1919: "The French revolution, against which the old powers hurled themselves at the beginning of the nineteenth century in order to crush it, we call great precisely because it succeeded in rousing the vast masses of the people in defense of its gains and they resisted the whole world; this was one of its greatest merits" (Vol. 29, p. 67).

Lenin acclaimed the French revolution for the democratic and progressive gains it

gave to mankind. A few weeks after the First Congress of the Communist International, he wrote that France, though less developed economically than Britain, had by its great revolution awakened the entire European continent to a historically new life. But that did not prevent him from remarking critically on, say, the weaknesses of the Convention.

There is yet another noteworthy fact showing the importance which Lenin attached to the 1789 revolution even after October 1917. In a project for Moscow, he envisaged the erection of twenty-four monuments, among them monuments to Danton, Marat, Robespierre and Babeuf.

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM AND THE 1848 REVOLUTION

Describing their Paris stay from December 1908 to June 1912, Nadezhda Konstantinova Krupskaya speaks in her recollections of the interest Lenin showed in the 1848 events. Among other things, she mentioned "a museum to which Lenin was drawn—the Museum of the 1848 Revolution—housed in modest-sized premises in the Rue des Cordeliers, where he minutely examined every article, every drawing."

In 1848 the productive forces had not yet attained the level of development that could assure victory for the socialist revolution. A wretched proletariat, which was the "only revolutionary class," grew with the growth of industry, but it did not possess either organization or a revolutionary doctrine.

The theoretical thinking of the revolutionary movement of that time was highly confused. *The Communist Manifesto* published in London shortly before the February 1848 revolution, had not yet spread widely enough to furnish the masses with a clear view of the historical perspectives opening before the workers. A variety of social reformers, the best known being Saint-Simon, Fourier, Cabet and Proudhon, were each offering their own panacea. They counted on abstract charity to attain their utopian dreams and end the social contradictions. In effect, however, they only buttressed the rule of the bourgeoisie and, endeavoring to reconcile opposites and mitigate the antagonisms, distracted the masses from the revolutionary class struggle.

The 1848 revolution helped dissipate the confusion. It dispelled the lies, tore down the disguises and put each class in the place assigned to it by history. On the

heels of the June 1848 events, Marx hailed the Paris insurgents in a memorable article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, branding the bourgeois talk about "class fraternity" as "false and hypocritical."

In a *Pravda* article on March 1, 1913, Lenin summed up the impact of 1848. True, it cost the lives of many fighters on the barricades, he said, but it also spelled death to the solutions suggested by the Utopian Socialists:

"The revolution of 1848 struck a deadly blow at the vociferous motley and ostentatious forms of pre-Marxian socialism. In all countries, the revolution revealed the various classes of society in action. The shooting of the workers by the republican bourgeoisie in Paris in the June days of 1848 finally revealed that the proletariat alone was socialist by nature. The liberal bourgeoisie dreaded the independence of this class a hundred times more than it did any kind of reaction. The craven liberals grovelled before reaction. The peasantry were content with the abolition of the survivals of feudalism and joined the supporters of order, wavering but occasionally between workers' democracy and bourgeois liberalism. All doctrines of non-class socialism and non-class politics proved to be sheer nonsense" (Vol. 18, pp. 582-583).

In the crucial 1917, Lenin recalled the men and events of 1848 to elucidate some of the contemporary attitudes, establishing certain parallels, finalizing, warning and anticipating.

A few days after returning to Petrograd in April 1917 he insisted on the need for dissociating once and for all from the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who had made a deal with the bourgeoisie. No determined action to overthrow capital was conceivable without this unavoidable rupture. And because the ideas of Louis Blanc, the petty-bourgeois Socialist, were then widespread among the leaders of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, Lenin held that they had to be combated.

"Louis Blanc, the French Socialist," he wrote, "won unenviable notoriety during the revolution of 1848 by changing his stand from that of the class struggle to that of petty-bourgeois illusions, illusions adorned with would-be socialist phraseology, but in reality tending to strengthen the influence of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. Louis Blanc looked to the bourgeoisie for assistance, hoped, and inspired hopes in others, that the bourgeoisie could

help the workers in the matter of 'labor organization'—this vague term purporting to express 'socialist' tendencies" (Vol. 24, p. 34).

Lenin also rejected the concept of Blanc, though he gave him credit for his militancy, integrity and courage, as Marx had done. But even "seizure of power," let alone conspiracy, could not secure enduring victory. We are not Blanquists, Lenin said, not advocates of seizure of power by a minority; we are Marxists—advocates of the proletarian class struggle.

In June 1917, Lenin reminded the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, particularly their leaders Tsereteli, Chernov, and Kerensky, that their bourgeois policy paved the way, and necessitated, the emergence of a Russian Cavaignac who would emulate the exploits of his French prototype, the butcher of June 1848.

"In words, Louis Blanc, too, was as far removed from Cavaignac as heaven is from earth," Lenin wrote. "Louis Blanc, too, made countless promises 'to fight in the same ranks' as the revolutionary workers against the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries. Nevertheless, no Marxist historian, no socialist, would venture to doubt that it was the weakness, the instability, the credulity of the Louis Blancs with regard to the bourgeoisie that brought forth Cavaignac and assured his success.

"The Russian Cavaignacs are inevitable products of the counter-revolutionary character of the Russian bourgeoisie led by the Cadets and of the instability, timidity and vacillation of the petty-bourgeois party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks. Whether the Russian Cavaignacs will win or lose the battle depends solely on the staunchness, vigilance, and strength of Russia's revolutionary workers" (Vol. 25, p. 96).

As we know, the facts have borne this out. It was the tenacity and determination of the Russian workers that secured victory for them over the counter-revolutionary "Russian Cavaignacs."

THE PARIS COMMUNE

After Marx none better than Lenin succeeded in drawing such rich lessons from the experience of the glorious Communards of 1871. Marx highly appreciated the heroic attempt of the Paris workers who, he said, had "stormed the heavens," and Engels ended his introduction to Marx's *The Civil War in France* with the following vivid lines: "Of late, the Social Demo-

cratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 485).

Lenin made a deep study of Marx's and Engels' basic tenets regarding the Paris Commune. He wanted the Russian socialist revolution to be inspired by it, to carry forward and complete it. He repeatedly referred to the experience of the Paris Commune, cited it as an example, warmly applauded what it had begun. But at the same time he drew attention to the weak aspects of its activity that should be avoided.

When the 1905 revolution broke out in Russia, Lenin, who was in Geneva at the time, again turned to the experience of the Commune, studying the part of General Cluseret's memoirs dealing with the tactics of street fighting. In the March 1905 issue of the newspaper *Vperyod*, Lenin urged the Russian proletariat to consider the advice given by Cluseret and apply it to the Russian situation. In his report to Russian political emigres in Geneva on March 5, 1905, he said: "In the present movement we all stand on the shoulders of the Commune" (Vol. 8, p. 208).

After the defeat of the 1905-1907 Russian revolution Lenin returned to Geneva where he published an article devoted to the lessons of the Commune. "The Commune taught the European proletariat to pose concretely the tasks of the socialist revolution," he wrote. "The lesson learned by the proletariat will not be forgotten. The working class will make use of it as it has already done in Russia during the December uprising . . . And although these magnificent uprisings of the working class were crushed, there will be another uprising in face of which the forces of the enemies of the proletariat will prove ineffective, and from which the socialist proletariat will emerge completely victorious" (Vol. 13, pp. 477-78).

During his sojourn in Paris Lenin always, on the anniversary of the Commune, reminded his fellow exiles of the exploits of the French working class in the spring of 1871. He always took part in the traditional meeting of the French proletariat held on the last Sunday of May in front of the Wall of the Communards.

In *Rabochaya Gazeta* of April 15 (28), 1911 Lenin wrote: "Why does the proleta-

riat not only in France but throughout the entire world honor the men and women of the Paris Commune as their predecessors? And what is the heritage of the Commune?" (Vol. 17, p. 139).

The Commune was a heterogenous movement which was soon deserted by the petty-bourgeois elements. It was only the workers, who fought and died for their workers' government, for the liberation of the proletariat, who defended the Commune to the end.

The Commune was defeated because the two important conditions for a victorious socialist revolution were lacking at the time, namely: highly developed productive forces and an adequately prepared proletariat.

"The memory of the fighters of the Commune," wrote Lenin, "is honored not only by the workers of France but by the proletariat of the whole world. For the Commune fought, not for some local or narrow national aim, but for the emancipation of all toiling humanity, of all the downtrodden and oppressed. As a foremost fighter for the social revolution, the Commune has won sympathy wherever there is a proletariat suffering and engaged in struggle. The epic of its life and death, the sight of a workers' government which seized the capital of the world and held it for over two months, the spectacle of the heroic struggle of the proletariat and the torments it underwent after its defeat—all this raised the spirit of millions of workers, aroused their hopes and enlisted their sympathy for the cause of socialism. The thunder of the cannon in Paris awakened the most backward sections of the proletariat from their deep slumber, and everywhere gave impetus to the growth of revolutionary socialist propaganda. That is why the cause of the Commune is not dead. It lives on in every one of us.

"The cause of the Commune is the cause of the social revolution, the cause of the complete political and economic emancipation of the toilers. It is the cause of the proletariat of the whole world. And in this sense it is immortal" (Vol. 17, p. 143).

In August and September 1917 Lenin wrote his famous work *The State and Revolution*, the third chapter of which is wholly devoted to the Paris Commune and Marx's commentaries on the Commune.

The Paris Commune holds a leading place in this work in which Lenin examines in detail the transition from bourgeois power to proletarian. It is impossible here to enumerate all Lenin's ideas which were to

acquire tremendous historical importance when the old society based on exploitation was to crumble under the blows of the revolutionary proletariat.

Like Marx and Engels, Lenin considered the Commune of 1871 to be the initial form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was left to the Russian revolution to reveal and establish its perfected form in the shape of the power of the Soviets.

At the First Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow from March 2 to 6, 1919, Lenin in his theses and report on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, again stressed the importance of the Paris Commune and its historical significance. He said at the time that "the Soviet movement is embracing the entire world and continuing the work of the Commune for all to see" (Vol. 28, p. 459).

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT MERITS OUR CONFIDENCE

This great revolutionary past, this heroism displayed by the French proletariat are an earnest of its future. Despite the weaknesses and shortcomings of the contemporary French working-class movement, the influence of Right and "Left" opportunism, the French working people, headed by the industrial working class, have preserved the revolutionary traditions of struggle and are notable for their courage, daring, intelligence and organization which will enable this great people still to play an important role in history.

Lenin expressed this confidence in the revolutionary future of the French working class at the time of the imperialist war when the "Holly Alliance" policy exposed the masses to the tender mercies of the imperialist bourgeoisie. In his letter of February 10, 1916 to Comrade Safarov who was active among the workers in Saint Nazaire, Lenin advised the growing French minority opposition to expose the hypocrisy of the socialist chauvinists, to carry out "sustained, earnest, tenacious, persistent, systematic work of everywhere creating

illegal organizations among the workers." Lenin concluded his letter with the words: "I have faith in the French revolutionary proletariat" (Vol. 22, p. 130).

Lenin always appreciated the perspicacity and revolutionary instinct of the French workers whom he got to know during his stay in Paris. On March 6, 1919 in a speech to mark the founding of the Communist International, Lenin cited a report that during a meeting in Paris the crowd had not allowed the speakers Laval and Renaudel to run down the Bolsheviks. "The French people," he said, "are probably among the most experienced, most politically conscious, most active and responsive. They will not allow a speaker at a public meeting to strike a false note: he is stopped" (Vol. 28, p. 483).

At the Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets, held in December 1919, Lenin recalled the heroic death of Jeanne Labourbe in the following words: "We know that the name of the Frenchwoman, Comrade Jeanne Labourbe, who engaged in communist activity among French soldiers and workers and was shot in Odessa, became known to the entire French proletariat and became a battle-cry, a name around which all French workers united for action against international imperialism despite the apparently insurmountable factional trends of syndicalism" (Vol. 30, p. 210). It was this proletarian internationalism that put an end to the Entente intervention in Russia.

The victory won by the Russian revolution over its enemies, fully confirmed Lenin's prevision. By his revolutionary activity, his appeals, his policy, Lenin fanned the flame that glowed in the heart of the French masses, aroused their old class instinct, and if the old world was not consumed in the conflagration kindled by the Russian revolution, nevertheless, a new era had started in history, one which signified, sooner or later, the inevitable and ultimate victory of the working people, a victory to which the effective solidarity of the French and Russian proletariat had contributed.

Lenin centenary preparations in the fraternal parties

Communist and Workers' parties in all parts of the world are actively preparing for the first centenary of the great leader of the international Communist movement. At their congresses, a number of fraternal parties adopted Lenin centenary resolutions. The 20th Congress of the *Canadian Communist Party* heard a special report on the subject by its Chairman, Tim Buck, veteran of the international Communist movement. He described Lenin's role as leader of the world proletariat and urged Canadian Communists to study Lenin's immortal heritage and carry forward his teaching by safeguarding and advancing the interests of the working class and the working people generally. The Congress called on all Party branches to intensify their propaganda and popularization of Leninism.

The resolution of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of *Finland* declares: "1970 is a jubilee year for scientific socialism, marking the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin and the 150th anniversary of the birth of Engels.

"In this jubilee year, Communists will honor the memory of these daring thinkers and leaders of the international workers' movement by popularizing socialist ideas, the theory of scientific socialism, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, and the achievements in the practical building of socialism."

The resolution provides for centenary celebrations, scientific conferences and seminars, participation in international forums and publication of literature with special relevance to the centenary.

Progressive mankind and principled Communists throughout the world, the resolution of the Communist Party of *Argentina's* 13th Congress says, "will fittingly observe the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. They will make it an occasion for studying and translating into practice the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, including the doctrine of the party of the new type as

the true and irreplaceable vanguard of the proletariat and the people.

The resolution calls on Party branches to raise their ideological work to a higher level, disseminate Marxism-Leninism and expose bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories designed to sow confusion and paralyze the popular movement.

The Communist Party, the Congress resolution says, "will appeal to all workers, peasants, youth, women, intellectuals—to everyone who wants to see our country progress—to join the Communist Party." This "Lenin enrolment" campaign will be conducted up to April 22, 1970, and will be the central feature of the jubilee year in *Argentina*. Between April 1 and July 31, 4,300 people joined the Party.

Preparations for the jubilee in the *Soviet Union* were reported in earlier issues of this journal. Plans for centenary measures have been announced also by the Central Committees of a number of Communist and Workers' parties.

In the *GDR*, a meeting of the Party Central Committee called on all members, all National Front affiliates, workers, cooperative farmers, intellectuals, and the youth to join with the Soviet people and progressives throughout the world in commemorating the centennial of the leader of the world proletariat.

"Lenin exerted a profound influence on the development of the German workers' movement," the meeting's resolution says, "and it was due to his direct assistance that the Communist Party of Germany became a militant revolutionary party, a new type of Party."

The resolution further emphasizes that the Party will do everything for closer cooperation of the socialist countries and closer unity of the world Communist movement.

A decision of the Central Committee of the *Bulgarian Communist Party* analyzes the significance of Lenin's ideas and lists

concrete aims in the centenary year. It calls on all Party members, on the entire people, to redouble their efforts in the political and organizational fields.

"Consistent and unrelenting work for realization of Lenin's behests should be central to all the Party's ideological and political life," the resolution says.

"In particular, the Party should popularize the contribution the USSR and the CPSU have made to the development of the world revolutionary process and the defense of world peace; show the role Leninism plays in the socialist reconstruction in Bulgaria; show that Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation are the earnest of our socialist well-being, the source of the Republic's achievements and prosperity."

The Communist Youth League, the resolution says, will popularize Lenin's ideas among young people. Lenin's name should always be an example for the young generation.

The centenary program in Bulgaria includes conferences in research institutes and in the universities, a seminar on Lenin's life and work, a Bulgarian-Soviet friendship month, a jubilee edition of Lenin's works, unveiling a Lenin monument in Sofia, publication of a series of articles on different aspects of Lenin's work and special radio and television programs.

A resolution of the National Council of the Communist Party of India envisages, among other things, a wide sale of Lenin's books, a special Lenin course in Party schools, lectures for workers and peasants, and public meetings in all the state capitals and larger towns. This will be complemented by exhibitions and film festivals. Leninism and its relevance to India will be the subject of a number of seminars. A series of posters, banners and badges will be issued for the anniversary. A Lenin Party recruiting week will be held from November 1 to 7, 1969 and the celebrations will culminate with a Lenin Week from April 15 to 22, 1970.

At the meeting last April, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile discussed arrangements for the celebration. All the measures agreed upon aim at popularizing Lenin's ideas and educating the Party in the fight for revolutionary principles and against Right and "Left" opportunism.

The Communist Party of Venezuela has mapped out a similar program. One of its leaders, Eduardo Machado, told the press: "In preparation for the centenary, Central Committee members are preparing lectures

on various aspects of Leninism." Another Venezuelan Party leader, Alonso Ojeda, said: "The best tribute we can pay to Lenin's memory is more closely to study his theoretical and practical work. And we are confident that we can draw many lessons that will help us solve our own difficult problems and organize and direct the struggle for our people's liberation."

The Spanish Communist Party Executive (according to a report in *Mundo Obrero*) has appointed a commission to handle the centenary arrangements. These will include facilities for a more profound study of Lenin's works, his role in history and the significance of his ideas for the present-day.

Extensive publishing activity is a feature of the centenary preparations. In the USSR alone more than 700 titles in over 175 million copies will be put out.

In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam it is planned to complete the 35-volume Lenin Collected Works, of which 22 have been published to date, by the end of 1970 and the beginning of 1971. In the 22 years between 1946 and 1968 the Republic put out Lenin's works in a total edition of 1,462,000 copies, and in the four years of the war against the American aggressor published 40 titles of books by the leader of the October Revolution.

In socialist Korea 157 Lenin works in over 3.5 million copies have appeared since the establishment of people's power. The Korean Party of Labor Publishers put out the Collected Works in 35-volumes in addition to over 40 collections of Lenin's writings and two editions of Selected Works in two volumes.

Besides translations of 70 titles of reminiscences about Lenin, the Mongolian People's Republic is preparing for press collections of Lenin's works "On the Productivity of Labor," "On Ideological Work," "On the Peoples of the East," "On Organizational Work of the Party" and several books by Mongolian authors: "Lenin—Teacher and Friend of the Mongolian People," "Lenin and Mongolia," "The Mongolian People's Republic Follows the Lenin Road."

Lenin's works are also extensively published by the Communist Party of Colombia. Operating in conditions of illegality and hounded by successive dictatorial regimes, the Colombian Communists have always considered popularization of Lenin's works a most important weapon in the fight to disseminate revolutionary ideas, to maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

In the past 10 years the "Ediciones Sur America" Publishers have distributed more than 14,000 copies of different works by Lenin. It has also sold some 30,000 copies of Lenin's works received from other countries. In addition to separate volumes, Lenin's Complete Works in 42 volumes and a three-volume edition of his selected writings are on sale in the country. These works have greatly helped to crystallize the class ideology of the Colombian Communists and working people, have helped to orient the Communist Party in its organizational work.

The Address on the Lenin Centenary

adopted at the Moscow Meeting and welcomed by all Communist and Workers' parties, contains this appeal: "Study Lenin's works! There you will find an inexhaustible fund of inspiration for struggle against reaction and oppression, for socialism and peace. Acquaintance with Lenin's works will help the rising generation to see more clearly the revolutionary prospects of our era. Spread more widely knowledge of the achievements of Leninism, of the successes of the socialist countries, Communist Parties and all revolutionary forces!"

M.D.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT TODAY

Sudan: the May 25 revolution

ABDEL KHALEK MAHGOUB

To understand the events that took place in Sudan on May 25, 1969, we must glance back at the country's political, economic and social development in the thirteen years since independence.

The people have benefited next to nothing. Per capita national income—the main indication of a country's economic level—is very low. Since independence annual income per head of population has risen from S£26 to but S£31, and that against the social setting of unequal and unjust distribution. The problem of education is of the utmost importance, as it is in any newly-independent third world country, for Sudan's illiterates still comprise as much as 83 per cent of the population.

The bulk of the people live in backward circumstances. More than 82 per cent have only a casual association with the market

and live exclusively on what they produce. Even if the ten-year development plan launched in 1961 had gone on to completion, a mere 300,000 would have advanced from the traditional to modern farming methods.

The economic policies of the reactionaries in power proved inadequate in a country that only recently won her independence. In 1956-1958 the reactionaries blamed the economic difficulties on workers' strikes which, they claimed, created tension and obstructed growth. They also argued that democratic freedoms were not needed and did not promote any progress. In November 1958 a military dictatorship took over, banning the working-class unions and the Communist Party, which was compelled to go underground.

Every workers' action in defense of their

rights was ruthlessly suppressed. The reactionary classes formulated their own economic program, while the democratic forces were persecuted.

The ten-year development plan opened up the country to foreign capital, to U.S. neo-colonialist organizations and West Germany. Foreign investments quickly passed the S£100,000,000 mark. The economy, however, remained stagnant, and the economic and social structure almost the same as in the colonial days.

In October 1964 the people took action against this state of affairs. The popular movement was broad and deep. Those days of revolutionary glory clearly showed the aspirations of the people fighting against prejudice and backwardness, against the reactionary classes that ruled under the protective wing of parliament or by means of a military dictatorship.

Regrettably, the progressive forces did not hold power for long. The reactionaries took the upper hand, destroyed the new element in Sudan's life and reverted to the old days. They continued to ignore the wishes of the people, as a result of which the economic, social and political situation deteriorated. The budget passed at the beginning of that year mirrored the main features of our backward economy and its profound crisis. As much as S£56,000,000 of the revenue (S£113,000,000) came from indirect taxation, spelling rapidly rising prices and just as rapidly dropping living standards. Like the development budget,* this revealed the failure of the reactionary economic policy, which ignored the lessons of the October 1964 revolution. The development budget was nearly S£46,000,000, though the authorities in power were able to marshal but slightly over S£15,000,000 from internal resources, turning to sources abroad for the remaining over S£30,000,000.

The men in power squandered the highly limited resources of the state, making no effort to exploit the potential of the economy. They spent money and energy on maintaining the integrity of South and North by force, which was a drain on the resources of so backward and poor a country.

The political situation, too, became more complicated. Despite the lack of material resources, the reactionaries insisted that

Sudan follow the capitalist way, though a class strong and rich enough to develop the economy on its own was conspicuous by its absence. Yet the reactionaries were determined to gain their ends through use of the machinery of state and plunder of the national wealth.

Their so-called economic plan cost us our independence. The World Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and other Western bodies assumed control of the political situation and exerted a strong influence on the country's social structure. Suffice it to say that the World Bank, acting jointly with the Sudan reactionaries, tried to destroy the state sector, undermine the machinery of state and shut down Gezira-Mana'il, the country's most important state-controlled enterprise yielding the bulk of our cotton. The government relinquished much of its sovereignty and accepted the World Bank's terms in relation to the new agricultural plan, based on an irrigation scheme involving the Roseires Dam built on a World Bank loan. The Bank insisted that farms should be run on purely capitalist lines and that government participation should be reduced to the mere letting of land and of water sources to capitalists.

The World Bank did not want the government to be a partner in running the farms, and the reactionaries bowed to its wishes. This was bare-faced foreign interference in our internal affairs, designed to reinforce the capitalist positions, driving the country along the capitalist way contrary to the people's interests.

A study of the four years since the defeat of the October 1964 revolution and of the pertinent government legislation leads to the conclusion that the authorities could not have cared less for the aspirations of the people in relation to the main problem facing the country after independence—the choice of the way of development.

Legislation protected the interests of the home-grown capitalists and foreign capital. The laws on trading powers (commercial agents), which turned the Sudan capitalists into partners of foreign interests; the laws on mechanized agriculture that transferred millions of hectares of fertile land to the capitalists and left the peasants landless; the 1968 law on industrial investments, which granted considerable privileges to foreign capital, and the changes in the Gezira project suggested by the World Bank

*Sudan's budgetary system consists of the usual central government budget, a development budget and local budgets. In addition, some state-owned enterprises have independent budgets.—Ed.

—all this revealed the true substance of the regime, showing that, pandering to the demands of foreign capital, the authorities were leading the country along the capitalist way.

Industry was neglected. So was animal husbandry, the most important source of our welfare to ignore which in a country like Sudan is to scorn the vital interests of the bulk of the population. Yet to scorn the legitimate interests of the vast majority amounts, in effect, to digging one's own grave.

The stock-raising areas lacked the elementary community services, and the population, which had no local government authority to apply to, sent successive delegations to Khartoum, demanding provision of wells for people and cattle, demanding hospitals and schools. This situation was indicative of the regime's inefficiency and callous disregard of the country's economic structure, of its inability to decide what branch of economy should be given priority.

The government failed in its attempt to plan the economy. Yet we know only too well that the resources of a backward country need to be buttressed by accurate economic planning, defining the priorities and the short- and long-term investments. Sudan had no economic plan after reaction seized power in 1963, thus revealing its voluntarism and the spontaneous nature of its approach.

The reactionary attitude to democratic freedoms is another weighty factor that impelled the opposition movement to call for change in Sudan. The forces that came to power after the October 1964 revolution said a parliamentary regime was acceptable. But the true meaning of their statement was revealed a few months later. Soon after winning the general election, for which they were provided considerable sums by the FRG and other imperialist centers, the reactionaries cast off even the outer trappings of democratic rule. A law banning the Communist Party was passed, supplemented by an amendment to the Constitution banishing Communist deputies from parliament. It could not be more obvious that the reactionaries were bent on suppressing all democratic progressive trends.

The revolutionary masses, their various organizations, such as the workers' unions and the unions of other social strata, the student movement, the Communist Party and all progressive forces worked hand in

hand to expose the reactionary nature of the regime, particularly its bourgeois-reformist wing which represented the gravest threat to our political development. The bourgeois reformists were bent on throttling the revolution and taking the country along the capitalist way. The revolutionary forces and the Communist Party took a clear stand on that issue, exposing the role and interests of the national bourgeoisie and refusing to rally the people in its support, because conceding the guiding role to it would have been tantamount to renouncing the non-capitalist way. The revolutionary forces recognized that the bourgeoisie could keep and develop its interests under a national democratic government, so long as the revolutionary forces played the leading role.

This progressive criticism, the large-scale work of explaining the situation to the masses, coupled with the spreading discontent, roused the bulk of the people and brought home to them the actual state of affairs. Important, too, was that the masses understand from their experience that the deformed democracy which placed power in the hands of the reactionary forces, the irreconcilable enemies of democracy, would yield no growth.

A broad discussion began, searching for and defining a new way to a new democracy, a way guaranteeing the existence and the interests of strata and classes with a stake in democratic government. We hold that since such strata and classes exist, a new life is possible in the country, a new way followed by millions to light, freedom and democracy.

The new democracy, based on alliance of the revolutionary masses—the working class, the revolutionary intelligentsia, the peasants of the more advanced areas, and representatives of national capital that have no ties with imperialism—is a suitable form. It should be borne in mind, however, that even in the absence of any ties with imperialism, representatives of national capital must not head the leadership of the mass movement.

During the days preceding the May 25 events, the movement widened and defined its aims, its stand on the program advanced by the counter-revolutionary forces in the country, on the new amendments to the Constitution, the draft of a new constitution which, as the people saw it, would crown the victory of the counter-revolution because it was based on falsification of Islam. By falsifying the ideas of Islam, the

rulers wanted to rob the revolutionary masses of the right to political participation, leading the country back to the Middle Ages, outlawing all progressive ideas and activity. The preamble contained the provision banning the Communist Party, described as an unlawful and unconstitutional organization of no political consequence. The Constitution also contained the provision subordinating all government services, the armed forces and the civil administration to the head of state representing the interests of reaction. Not only was the Constitution a code of law, but also a program for reaction.

The revolutionary act of May 25 confirms that despite the counter-revolutionary activity and the ceaseless pressures exerted on the national liberation movement by neo-colonialism, the general balance of forces of the mid-sixties has not changed and breaching the counter-revolutionary ramparts and imperialist encirclement is possible in any country. Although the counter-revolution triumphed in the summer of 1965, the people's movement succeeded in retaining the commanding heights in the mass organizations by means of flexible tactics. In due course, it was able to renew its efforts, coming out with the basic demands for democratic freedoms, against economic backwardness, against the attempt to lead the country to capitalism.

The people's movement fought staunchly from October 1965 to May 25 this year, when a group of patriots and progressive army officers, acting on the aspirations of the people, wrested power from reaction and counter-revolution and turned it over to the national-democratic front. This set the stage for an upswing of the revolutionary movement, which advanced an alternative to the old way of resolving the burning problems facing the country, leading it along the non-capitalist way. An adequate development program crystallized in the revolutionary movement, attributing a new role to the machinery of state, producing a new solution of the national question in the South and envisaging radical changes in the educational system.

There is a resemblance between the 1964 and 1969 events, but also a difference. In October 1964 the unarmed people overthrew the military dictatorship of the reactionaries by virtue of their broad movement. But the alliance with the country's armed forces, which could have safeguarded their power, was lacking. Now the situation is different: though less united, the people's movement

exerts a strong influence on the political situation. The reactionary government has been overthrown and power transferred to progressive Army officers, to the national-democratic forces.

The way lies open for broadening the people's movement and uniting it under the auspices of the democratic power. As I see it, establishing a national-democratic front the revolutionary elements of which would enliven the country's political life and broaden the support of the new power and of progress, is the principal problem in our country's present growth. It is important that the front should suggest a democratic solution for the problems of the South, paving the way to a lasting mass-based alliance of national groups in the South with the democratic forces of the North.

The Communist Party, in my view, should play a decisive role in political life in the present stage, for it is the only organized revolutionary force in the country. The other organized force are the reactionaries who are well equipped with means and resources to do damage. Only too clearly, obstacles to the activity of the Communist Party and its organizations, obstacles to direct contact between Communists and the people, will tilt the scales in favor of the organized reactionary forces. That is just what reaction is working for, because it knows that the Communist Party is able to carry on effective work among the masses.

The other important problem, the problem that sparked the October 1964 revolution, is that of the country's economic and social development. There we must not have any deviations either to Right or Left. The way is clear, and it is the way for which many bitter struggles were fought.

The old way, the way of capitalist development, has proved inadequate politically and economically. The old regime was unable to resolve most of the complex problems facing the country after independence. As rightly indicated in the initial proclamations of the new government, the way of non-capitalist development is the only way which our country can follow to peace and the heights of the 20th century. Having realistically assessed the situation, we see clearly that this is the way to take, and know that the force impeding our progress is the foreign influence. For Sudan to embark properly on non-capitalist development we must first deliver the economy from foreign influence.

We are conscious of the fact that for many years, ever since the establishment

of British imperialist rule at the beginning of the century and until recently, our economy has been greatly influenced by the Western economy. We have nothing against commercial and economic cooperation with all countries of the world on a basis of equality and mutual advantage. Yet we are aware that the many-varied wealth of our country will not be used to the fullest extent until we adopt the concept of non-capitalist growth. Sudan will achieve progress if these resources are used to the best advantage. We are now able to cooperate with the friendly socialist camp, which can help build up a material basis for our economy. The material and moral support of the socialist camp is crucial, above all in forging the appropriate conditions for the maintenance of the new power and extending the revolution in the confrontation with the counter-revolution and neo-colonialist intrigues.

The future of the Sudan revolution, now

in its national-democratic stage and about to embark on the next stage, depends on the sustained revolutionary activity of the Communist Party and all revolutionary forces in consolidating a national democratic front.

Our revolution shows that building a national-democratic front is tied in with a number of peculiarities stemming from the living conditions of our people. The most prominent of these is that the front will not be an integrated and centralized one, that it will embrace different classes and groups with different forms of organization, depending on the degree of consciousness and organization of each contingent in the different parts of the country.

The government set up on May 25, 1969, declared that it will continue the October 1964 revolution. For the national-democratic front it has opened the way to important changes, designed to cement unity and to fulfil the tasks of the democratic revolution.

What the future holds for Guyana

CHEDDI JAGAN

The official returns for the December 16, 1968, general election gave the People's National Congress (PNC) 55.6 per cent, the People's Progressive Party (PPP) 36.8 per cent and the United Force (UF) 7 per cent of the votes. The results of the 1964 election were PNC 40 per cent, PPP 46 per cent and UF 12 per cent.

In the 53-member National Assembly, the number of seats now held by the PNC, PPP and UF are 30, 19 and 4 respectively; in 1964, the corresponding numbers were 22, 24 and 7.

Anglo-American conspiracy, CIA-fomented and financed disturbances, and an imposed changed electoral system, what the Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, as Leader of the Opposition, had deemed a "fiddled constitutional arrangement" led to the ouster of the PPP government and the installation of the PNC-UF coalition in December 1964.

Evidence of U.S. involvement in the internal affairs of Guyana has come from

unimpeachable quarters. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., in his book, *A Thousand Days, John F. Kennedy in the White House* revealed:

"Then in May 1962, Burnham came to Washington . . . Burnham's visit left the feeling, as I reported to the President, that 'an independent British Guiana under Burnham (if Burnham will commit himself to a multi-racial policy) would cause us many fewer problems than an independent British Guiana under Jagan.' And the way was open to bring it about, because Jagan's parliamentary strength was larger than his popular strength: he had won 57 per cent of the seats on the basis of 42.7 per cent of the vote. An obvious solution would be to establish a system of proportional representation.

"This, after prolonged discussion, the British government finally did in October 1963; and elections held finally at the end of 1964 produced a coalition government under Burnham."

"After prolonged discussion" should have read "after CIA-financed and fomented strikes and riots." These strikes and riots, as U.S. columnist Drew Pearson wrote, gave "London the excuse it wanted."

The first expose was by Neil Sheehan in a special article to the *New York Times* (February 22, 1967), "CIA Is Linked to Strikes That Helped Oust Jagan." Soon after on April 16, the Insight Team, in a story in the (London) *Sunday Times*, "How the CIA Got Rid of Jagan" wrote:

"As coups go, it was not expensive: over five years the CIA paid out something over £250,000. For the colony, British Guiana, the result was about 170 dead, untold hundreds wounded, roughly £10 million-worth of damage to the economy and a legacy of racial bitterness."

A week later (April 23), the Insight Team in another story, "Macmillan, Sandys Backed CIA's Anti-Jagan Plot," implicated Harold Macmillan, former Prime Minister; Duncan Sandys, former Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary; two top security men in Britain and a number of British officials in Guyana.

British complicity explains why the police and armed forces did not give full and firm support to my government; why the PNC terrorist organization was not smashed.

The justification for the U.S. three-pronged attack—CIA subversion inside Guyana; diplomatic pressure on the British government and diplomatic pressure on the Venezuelan government—on the PPP government seemed to have been that we would have abandoned parliamentary democracy.

DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The U.S. aim, it would appear, is the attainment of economic development and social progress through a parliamentary democracy. But this is sheer hypocrisy. The U.S.-backed, Burnham-led, PNC-UF coalition, and now the PNC government, have brought the country to near-bankruptcy. And step by step, it is setting up a Latin American type of dictatorship.

In 1966, the coalition enacted the National Security Act, a measure far more vicious than its U.S. counterpart of 1950, which spawned McCarthyism. It gave the government powers to suspend the right of *habeas corpus*, and to restrict and detain any Guyanese without trial for an indefinite period of time. Many persons have since been arbitrarily locked up and intimidated. And police harassment has been wide-

spread. Other restrictive practices deny basic human rights. Discrimination on political, racial and other grounds is widely practised.

In 1967, the Civil Service Association, which helped to bring the PNC to power, accused the government of causing a breach of industrial principle and a display of gross irresponsibility and arrogance. It expressed its grave dissatisfaction with several appointments made by the Public Service Commission (PSC), some of which were "most questionable and seriously disrupted the Association's confidence in the integrity of the PSC." In a letter, it appealed to the Trades Union Council to "intercede before it's too late."

The President of the Police Federation, giving evidence before the Collins Commission on July 27, 1968, charged that favoritism was rampant in the promotion system in the police force. He declared: "The merit principle is seldom applied. Many men have belittled and degraded themselves in order to find favor with an officer in the hope that they would be recommended for promotion . . . There have even been cases where men who have been before the court on charges touching on their integrity and honesty, have been favored when neither characteristic could recommend them."

In mid-1968, the government refused permission to the PPP to have a country-wide demonstration in protest against the rigged registration system for the compilation of the voters' list for the December 16, 1968 general election.

ELECTORAL FRAUD

Now it has been established that extensive fraud alone helped the PNC to form the government. With fabricated, padded voters' lists, extensive proxy voting and ballot-box tampering, the PNC "polled" 50.4 per cent of the votes cast in Guyana (a majority of one seat) and 55.6 per cent of the local and overseas votes (a working majority of seven). Through manipulation, the PNC secured 94 per cent of the overseas votes, permitted for the first time in Guyana's history.

The rigging of the election was thoroughly exposed by the Granada Television Company (U.K.) in its two "World in Action" films, by the (London) *Sunday Times* and other newspapers and periodicals.

The first film, "The Trial of the Vanishing Voters" (December 9, 1968), disclosed that most of the U.K. voters' lists were fakes. It found only 117 genuine names in

a sample of 551 registered in London, and only 19 in another sample of 346 registered in Manchester.

Joe Hughes, a PNC-activist-turned-registration-officer, who had registered only 41 voters in Wolverhampton (U.K.) is shown doubting that over 200 persons could have been on the voters' list.

So devastating was the effect that the Guyana High Commission in London claimed that Granada TV was mischievous. And the publisher and editor of the *Evening Post* were charged with public mischief for publishing an Associated Press dispatch which had reported that "two horses were grazing where a Lily and Olga Barton should have been. Where Gladys Porter should live, there had been a railway since 1874."

The transcript of the second film declared that "a hanged man voted in the Guyana General Election. So did children." Appropriately called "The Making of a Prime Minister," it went on to say that "the newly re-elected Prime Minister of Guyana, Forbes Burnham, arrives in London today (Monday, January 6, 1969) for the Prime Ministers' Conference. He should not be attending."

Peter d'Aguiar, UF leader, bitterly stated: "To call it an election is to give it a name it does not deserve; it was a seizure of power by fraud, not an election."

Inside Guyana, the voters' list was also padded. It increased by 21 per cent in the four-year period, 1964-68, as compared with 19 per cent in the 11-year period, 1953-64. Within this overall increase, there were many discrepancies — an increase of only 10 per cent in six districts in our area of strength, the Corentyne, as compared with huge increases in PNC's areas of strength — 109 per cent, 58 per cent and 49 per cent for the Mackenzie, Mazaruni-Potaro and Abary districts respectively. For the Abary district, sub-districts with strong PPP support increased by only five to six compared with 50 per cent to 100 per cent increases in PNC supported sub-districts.

About 30,000 proxies, equivalent to more than five seats, were issued to facilitate the casting of ballots for the PNC by dead, underage and "phantom" voters. Also, large numbers of PPP supporters were unable to exercise their votes because others had voted for them.

This was the reason for the secrecy shrouding the issue of proxy lists. Many Returning Officers refused to make them available to PPP agents and sub-agents, although by law these should have been

made available four days before polling day. Efforts to see them even after the election failed.

In 1964, the Commonwealth team of observers on the election had commented adversely on the proxy system of voting. It wrote that the "one administrative provision which seemed open to manipulation was the proxy . . . we feel it is our duty to point out that the proxy system is liable to abuse." Proxies increased from about 300 in 1961 to 6,635 in 1964 and to about 30,000 in 1968.

There was also tampering with ballot boxes. In one box for the Pomeroon District, four parcels of ballot papers bound with rubber bands were found! In several other boxes, the number of ballots did not tally with the number recorded at the end of polling.

This tampering was facilitated by changing the method of counting the ballots in each of the 35 electoral districts (now 38) to three centers only. Ballot boxes were transported over long distances and PPP agents were prevented from observing their movement.

These factors, coupled with the involvement of the U.S. Company, Shoup Registration Systems International, in the registration of voters, were responsible for the PNC "victory."

MORE REPRESSION

Soon after the general election, the unrepresentative PNC regime rapidly moved in to erode further the rights of the Guyanese people. It assumed powers to censor and ban films — progressive films dealing with revolts of students and black people and struggles against colonialism and imperialism which we have been screening outdoors; and more particularly, the two Granada films on our election.

On February 24, 1969, the government railroaded a bill through the National Assembly empowering it to prevent any person from leaving the country if the Minister of Home Affairs considers that "it is necessary in the interests of defense, public safety or public order or for the purpose of preventing the subversion of democratic institutions in the country." Guyanese who were awarded scholarships in socialist countries were either refused passports or prevented from leaving the country. The Act also empowers the government to create "protected areas" and to prevent the movement of persons in these areas. A bill providing for compulsory ar-

bitration and the banning of strikes has been introduced in the National Assembly.

During the last four years, there were a record-breaking number of strikes — 146 in 1965, 172 in 1966, 170 in 1967 and 149 at the end of November 1968.

Unemployment, particularly among youths, is growing. A survey conducted by the Research Council of the Catholic Action confirmed our statements that more than one-third of the youths were unemployed in the urban areas, Georgetown and New Amsterdam.

These trends are due to economic stagnation, which is itself the result of U.S.-dictated economic, fiscal, trade and foreign policies. Agriculture in a predominantly agricultural country is in decline. Industry, with the exception of the foreign-owned extractive bauxite industry, is virtually at a standstill.

The country is heavily in debt, short-term and long-term. The balance-of-payments position has moved from a surplus to a deficit. Over-generous tax, mining and other concessions have been made to foreign monopolies.

The trend in taxation is increase in geometric progression — \$2.79 million in 1966, \$5.4 million in 1967, \$7.95 million in 1968 and \$15.1 million in 1969.

During the past four years, the cost-of-living index figure jumped 16 points as compared with nine points during the previous seven years of the PPP regime. And as the bureaucracy and debt charges grow, there will be further deterioration.

IDEOLOGICAL AGGRESSION

To counter discontent, resort is being made increasingly not only to denial of rights, but also to ideological and psychological warfare. On every front — academic, cultural, religious, social and political — the people are constantly bombarded with half-truths and lies.

Sir Arthur Lewis, Chancellor of the University of Guyana, in his inaugural address declared that the underdeveloped countries are poor because they do not have as many skilled people as the developed countries! According to Sir Arthur, who "sold" the Puerto Rican economic model to the British Commonwealth Caribbean territories, foreign ownership and control of the economy and country have nothing to do with backwardness and poverty!

The University of Guyana, our high schools and government ministries are all infiltrated today by CIA spies, who pose as

advisers and experts, and by Peace Corps personnel. Their purpose is to "sell" the American way of life and the American free enterprise or capitalist system, to gather intelligence, and to smear the PPP and socialism.

The objectives of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets are to cast blame on the working class for the failure of the ruling capitalist class; to dangle fresh "carrots" and create new hopes to extend U.S. hegemony — political, economic and military — over territories where British and other European competitors once held sway. The vehicle by which these objectives are to be attained is close association with the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA). Caribbean unity is held out as the greatest hope for viability and progress. Unity and integration are essential if the purpose is to break with imperialism and neo-colonialism. But this is not the kind of unity contemplated. What is projected is the strengthening of the position of foreign capital, particularly U.S. capital.

That no fundamental change is intended in the Caribbean was clearly pointed out by the Incorporated Commonwealth Caribbean Chambers of Industry and Commerce after their delegation met the Trinidad Prime Minister and other experts and advisers. Throwing in the red-herring of communism, the delegation wrote: "It was felt that the danger of communist infiltration in the area should not be regarded lightly and the earlier situation in Guyana was referred to. The delegation was asked to bear the problem in mind and to emphasize in their talks the importance of preserving the traditional system of free enterprise."

MASS ACTION

The PNC puppets also resort to psychological warfare. They create the impression of invincibility, that they cannot be defeated. And they imply that should the PPP win, there would be more disturbances and violence.

In the face of electoral fraud, political, ideological and psychological aggression, a new era has now dawned. During the days of British colonialism, the PPP won three successive elections in 1953, 1957 and 1961. But now with massive electoral rigging, PPP supporters have had a rude awakening; illusions have been swept aside. From a pre-election mood of confidence and optimism, there has developed in some quarters a mood of pessimism and despair on

the one hand and exaggerated aggressiveness, particularly among some youths, on the other. Such a situation tends toward Right and Left deviationism both of which are dangerous and must be combated.

Right deviationism is rooted in the proposition that racial feelings are too deep, that the Afro-Guyanese will always support the PNC, and that the PPP will never be able to get political power by winning them. Therefore, it is argued, the PPP must change its image (a variation on this theme is that I must step down from the leadership because of my avowed Marxism until the PPP gets power) and make a compromise with the USA.

What kind of compromise? Would the USA agree even to a non-aligned anti-imperialist Guyana? Would a U.S.-backed PPP regime be allowed to go any further than the PNC-UF coalition or the PNC regime or any Latin-American puppet state?

The answer is clearly no. The fact is that Latin American misdevelopment, backwardness and poverty are the result of U.S. tutelage and dictation.

If the Right deviationists overestimate the role of race in politics, the Left deviationists underestimate it. Any armed struggle now can degenerate into racial conflict as in 1964 and give the PNC regime the excuse for ruthless suppression and assumption of more dictatorial powers.

What needs to be recognized is that by whatever means the PPP will win power, it can successfully do so only by breaking the racial and religious barriers and by increasing its mass support. Both race and religion have been used somewhat successfully by the ruling class in its divide-and-rule politics. The UF, using religion through church missions and schools in the Interior, succeeded in subjugating and winning over a large section of the Amerindians.

And the PNC has maintained the allegiance of the majority of the Afro-Guyanese, who constitute the main segment of the working class in the urban, mining and interior areas and in the strategic services—army, police, civil service, electricity, interior areas and in the strategic services gogy—fear that the future of the Afro-Guyanese is imperilled not by foreign economic and cultural domination, but by “coolie” (Indo-Guyanese) domination; demagoguery that the PNC, a socialist party, could not improve conditions for its working-class supporters because it was hamstrung in the coalition government by the pro-capitalist UF.

More recently, to counter the growing

disillusion and dissatisfaction among the Afro-Guyanese community, and to retain its allegiance, the PNC leadership has been resorting to racial symbolism and talk of racial identity—L. F. S. Burnham wearing an Afro-shirt, and Sydney King changing his name to Eusi Kwayana and urging others to adopt African names. (Sydney King, an ex-PPP ultra-leftist-turned-racist, recommended to the 1962 Independence Conference that Guyana should be partitioned into three zones—African, Indian and others). The “cultural revolution” call of King’s African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA) is as far removed from revolution and culture as is the youth arm of the PNC, the Young Socialist Movement (YSM), from socialism.

THE TASK OF OUR PARTY

The PPP is in the process of transforming itself from a loose mass party to a Marxist-Leninist type of party and to get its supporters to make a qualitative change in their outlook, not to look at it mainly as an electioneering party but to build it as a disciplined, ideologically-sound party for the purpose of waging a many-sided struggle and of meeting imperialist force with revolutionary force.

In the coming months, emphasis will be placed on mass action and day-to-day struggles. The clear message now will be that there is no electoral road to power so long as the PNC controls the electoral machinery. Mass confrontation must take place at all levels in defense of living standards and constitutional rights. The puppet regime must be forced to respect the Constitution. If it fails to do so and sets up an undisguised dictatorship, a new stage would have dawned.

The party will also strengthen its work on the economic fronts to counter the role of the collaborationist labor leaders. Workers will be mobilized to fight for better wages and working conditions on the factory front, and farmers organized to demand better prices on the farm front.

Intensified work will also be carried out on other mass fronts, particularly those of youth and women.

The ideological front will be given special attention not only to counter the half-truths already cited above, but also to posit scientific socialist truths against racial emotionalism and religious obscurantism.

Marxist ideology and political and economic struggles are the means by which racial and religious divisions can be over-

come and unity of the working class and other progressive elements achieved. Without such unity, the anti-imperialist battle cannot be won.

Fortunately, unity has been developing among the divided working class, particularly during the past two years. In November 1968, the puppet regime sent troops and armored vehicles to the sugar belt against East Indian and African workers, who were militantly fighting together. Four years before, through CIA-intervention, they were fighting against each other.

Marxist ideology will help to bring about through scientific analysis a better understanding not only of the root causes of the ills of Guyanese society — falling living standards, growing unemployment, increasing crime and delinquency, mass emigration, etc. — but also a new strategy of economic development which alone can make Guyana move forward. Such a strategy was set out in our electoral program which called for: nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy—foreign and comprador-owned and controlled factories, mines, plantations, banks, insurance companies, and foreign trade; a strict system of exchange control; emphasis on simultaneous industrial and agricultural development, mainly in the public and co-operative sectors; full employment; rent and price controls; land reform; free medicine; free education and security in old age; trade with countries in both East and West; full democracy and mass participation at all levels.

Marxist ideology will also help to purify the ranks of the PPP by countering any racist influence (itself a counter-reaction to PNC's racial emotive appeals and discriminatory employment practices) and thus improve its work.

It will also help in the battle against "economism." The workers, particularly the Afro-Guyanese, will have to see clearly that it is not enough to fight only against the foreign and local capitalist bosses, who are supported in every possible way by the PNC puppet regime, including police dogs, armed police, soldiers and armored vehicles, and to recognize that the PNC elitist bureaucracy and the capitalists are twins responsible for imperialist exploitation and domination of Guyana. Both must be combated.

Imperialist psychological aggression will also be countered through revolutionary literature, public meetings, film shows, concerts, rallies and "solidarity events." These means of mass education help to inculcate

a world outlook, develop an understanding of the vulnerability and weakness of the imperialists and their puppets and to combat despair and build confidence.

Imperialism is today beleaguered in the face of a worldwide revolutionary upsurge. The correlation of world forces has changed and the positions of the USA and its allies weakened. Almost every capitalist-imperialist state is plagued with economic and financial problems — inflation, deficits in balance of trade and balance-of-payments, unemployment, growing alienation, unrest and revolt.

Vietnam is a source of encouragement and inspiration. Here, the United States and its puppets are in retreat. Six years ago, it was felt that with a force of 60,000 men, it could destroy the National Liberation Front and control the country. Today, with nearly 1,000,000 U.S. and puppet soldiers at an annual cost of U.S. \$26,000 million, it can defend with difficulty its own military encloses and city-sanctuaries.

The heroic resistance and successes of the Vietnam people are a constant reminder of what blows can be dealt once there is unity, determination and the willingness to die if necessary for the cause of freedom and country, international solidarity and the closest links with the socialist states.

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The expulsion of the UF from the government has brought about a new correlation of forces inside the country. While the more reactionary and anti-communist elements have moved to the PNC, the rest of the leadership and the rank-and-file have been forced into a position of hostility to the U.S.-puppet PNC-regime.

Within the PNC also, a growing contradiction is developing between the elitist leadership and the rank-and-file. The largely middle-class, capitalist-bureaucratic leadership is neither psychologically nor ideologically opposed to U.S. political, economic, cultural and military domination of Guyana. It expelled the United Force from the government not because of any fundamental difference in economic policy between the PNC and the UF, but so as to permit PNC discrimination in employment practices, bureaucratic corruption and nepotism to go unchecked and hidden.

The PNC leadership is prepared to play the role of a ruling elite, while foreign vested interests control factories, mines, plantations, banks, insurance, shipping and

foreign trade. This alliance will mean greater burdens for the working people as a whole.

Despite the government's claim of non-alignment, it voted against the seating of People's China at the United Nations, refused diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, made a break in trade with Cuba, and placed restrictions on imports from

other socialist countries.

The PPP will carry out a policy of unity and struggle — struggle against those who vacillate and support imperialism, and unity with those who will fight in defense of democracy, freedom and socialism. At the same time, it will strengthen its international links, particularly with the Caribbean and Latin American revolution.

Nigeria and the national question

TUNJI OTEGBEYE

A nation is an historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. From this definition it is clear that the genesis of the nations in Nigeria took place mainly in the 20th century. What was the state of affairs before that?

Nigeria was not an entity. The land mass now known as Nigeria was occupied by several ethnic groups or tribes of different stages of socio-economic formation. In the North was the Fulani Empire with large Emirates, with developed feudal governmental machinery. The Fulani-Hausa rulers had overrun the greater part of the Middle-belt area of Nigeria reaching as far south as Ife.

This time witnessed the disintegration of a former powerful empire—the Yoruba Empire. Inter-tribal wars had left the Yorubas in utter disunity and made them vulnerable to conquest by external forces.

In the east, apart from the Onitsha, Opobo and Calabar dynasties, feudalism was in its infancy. The general picture was one of primitive communal, semi-slave society which was breaking up to yield place to the feudal system.

From these historical data it is obvious that nations were not yet formed in Nigeria before the end of the 19th century. At best we can refer to the Hausas, Yorubas, Benins, Kanuris, etc., as having developed

into nationalities while most of the other groups were still at the tribal or even clan level.

Unlike the development that took place in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries which resulted in the breakdown of old feudal empires and the rise of nation-states under the impact of capitalism, superimposed on the socio-economic formations in Nigeria was the influence of foreign monopoly capital. The semi-primitive communal, semi-slave and semi-feudal culture fell under the influence of capitalism.

The road to the formation of nation-states was blocked and in its place came the colonial experiment of arbitrarily forcing people within specified areas together to form a multi-national state which we now know as Nigeria.

Much of the subdivision in the form of constitutions was to enhance effective administration for colonial exploitation rather than to help the nations and nationalities to develop to form a virile state.

Between 1900 and 1914, the Northern provinces and the Southern provinces of Nigeria were run as a loose federation or confederation. This laid the basis for the uneven development between the South and the North which was a deliberate attempt by British imperialism to create two societies with deep-seated contradictions — a feudal, rather backward-looking North, and a relatively progressive, forward-looking

South. This built-in disparity is even now reflected in the status quo in the army and in the civil service.

In 1914 the amalgamation of the North and the South took place and a unitary form of government was imposed.

In 1946 the Richards constitution was imposed on Nigeria. This constitution divided Nigeria into three regions—North, West and East. Each region had a bicameral legislature in the pattern of the House of Lords and the House of Commons in Britain.

The Richards constitution gave way to the Macpherson constitution which made Lagos a federal territory and gave the regions semi-autonomous powers. Basically this was the constitution for independence on October 1, 1960.

The colonialists imposed their bourgeois ideology on the socio-economic formations in Nigeria. The influence of finance capital over the feudal, semi-slave, semi-primitive communal societies grew by leaps and bounds.

By the late thirties and early forties Nigeria had budding capitalists, professional groups and intellectuals who were wedded to the capitalist ideology and the bourgeois concept of democracy. Nationalism—call it tribalism or accentuated "clannism"—became a prominent feature in public life.

The feudal and clan boundaries were socially dissolved yielding place to free enterprise and the migration of peasants and school-leavers to the cities in quest of work.

The growth of consciousness among the different nationalities gave rise to demands for regions which were essentially based on the major ethnic groupings: the Hausas in the North, the Ibos in the East and the Yorubas in the West. The Richards constitution of 1946 was a reflection of this growing consciousness of the nationalities and tribes.

One significant result of the Richards constitution was that it provided a measure of stability for the nationalities, particularly the largest ones, by creating autonomous regions which provided the administrative and economic cohesion for the ethnic groups. With the development of capitalism the economic disunity of the tribes and nationalities was gradually eliminated and a single market emerged as a result of which nationalities and tribes grew into nations.

Nationalism in the late forties and fifties

played a progressive role in uniting into a common front the major ethnic groupings. In the historical setting, therefore, the nationalism of the fifties called for unity and brotherhood among the national groups and an end to internal hostility.

But bourgeois nations reflecting bourgeois nationalism also have a negative aspect in that rivalries between the bourgeoisie of the different nations become intensified and what is now referred to as tribalism develops. The struggle for one nation to dominate the other becomes an external factor. Side by side with the development of acute rivalry among the three large ethnic groups grew the movement for self-determination for the neglected minority groups who were daily oppressed by measures taken by the dominant ethnic groups. In the West, the struggle of the minority ethnic groups took the shape of the Mid-West State Movement which culminated in the formation of the fourth region—the Mid-West Region. In the East the Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers State Movement grew as a challenge to national oppression by the dominant ethnic group.

In the later aspect of the colonial era and during the life of the First Republic we can pinpoint two forms of nationalism. The first is the reactionary nationalism—call it national chauvinism—of the three dominant nations—the Hausas, Yorubas and Ibos, not only to dominate the minorities in their regions of origin but also to dominate the politics of the Federation. The second is the progressive nationalism of the oppressed nations like the Tivs, Kanuris, Benins, Urhobos, Ijaws, Ogojans, etc., struggling for national liberation and equality of opportunity. This second form of nationalism became a cornerstone of the anti-imperialist movement in the colonial era when the colonial machinery was used to prop up the declining power of the feudal lords, particularly in the North.

But we must realize that social life changes from time to time and with it changes the national question. Different classes have different views on the national question. As such the national question serves different interests and assumes different shades, according to which class raises it.

A reflection of the bourgeois approach is evident in the slogans that led to the pogroms in the Northern States and to secession in the East Central State. The catalogue of events show clearly the effort of the ruling groups, having failed to domi-

nate the politics of the Federation, retracting into their regions of origin to protect their class interests.

* * *

Political parties came into existence in the early colonial days. The National Democratic Party of Herbert Macaulay, the Nigerian Youth Movement and later the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons represented an alliance of workers, intellectuals and budding bourgeoisie. They were all Nigerian in outlook and in their own ways were opposed to colonialism.

But by the end of the forties and the beginning of the fifties, nationalism had become a strong factor in Nigerian politics. The Nigerian Youth Movement had become the tool of the compradore bourgeoisie. The National Council of Nigerian Citizens had shifted from its Nigerian-wide outlook and had become the instrument of Ibo bourgeoisie. The Action Group worked for the Yoruba ruling group of feudal, compradore and national bourgeoisie alliance and the Northern Peoples' Congress represented the feudal aristocracy of Northern Nigeria.

A significant factor was that at the time of independence there was no political party with countrywide support or an ideology that could unite the different nations and nationalities of the Federation of Nigeria. It was in August 1963, that the first party based on the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals was founded. As such the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party became the first party with a uniting ideology—a Nigerian-wide patriotic stance.

Political activities tended to sharpen the differences between the nations and nationalities, e.g., if there was a squabble between the NCNC and the A.G., it soon deteriorated into an Ibo versus Yoruba affair. The rivalries among the political parties also resulted in the struggle of the three major nations in trying to seize the state machinery. Such were the conditions that led to the alliance of the three major parties leaving the Yoruba bourgeoisie in the cold. This same condition led to polarization in the A.G. and to the formation of the NNDP of Chief Akintola which used its class position to undermine the NCNC/NPC relations and brought the Yoruba feudalists and bourgeoisie to share in the chop-chop machinery at the Federal level.

* * *

The January 15, 1966 coup was motivated by the patriotic intentions of the young Majors led by Ironsi who carried out the

the coup. The army take-over put an end to the corrupt reactionary rule of the feudal and compradore classes who had guided the fortunes of the Federation since independence. It gave a new ray of hope to our people. But soon the light went dim, the forces of the Ibo bourgeoisie, using their strong position in the army officers' corps, wanted to impose their own dictatorship on the Federation.

It was no difficulty for the imperialist forces of Britain who relied heavily on the support of the Balewa Government toppled in January 1966 for their continued exploitation of Nigeria, to stir the fire of Ibo domination, and to precipitate the pogroms and the July coup. The British neo-colonialists were hoping to restore the NPC/NNDP axis back into power. The nation woke up on the fateful morning of July 29 to learn of the disappearance of the Ironsi regime and the emergence of the Gowon regime.

Instead of restoring the rule of the North feudalists over the Federation, Gowon adopted a progressive and democratic stand, which is a reflection of his class position and national origin. He established a broadly based government which reflects the struggle of the different nations and nationalities for self-determination. By creating twelve states, he answered in part the aspiration of the minority groups for local autonomy, for freedom from national oppression by the larger nations. It made it look unlikely that any single national group by a faked alliance could dominate the Federation.

* * *

There is no doubt that the emergence of parties based on each large national group was, in the main, responsible for the crisis of the First Republic. It is therefore essential that political parties, trade unions, youth, women, farmers and professional organizations that will be allowed to function in the new Nigeria should have not only a Nigerian-wide outlook, they should be Nigerian-wide in content so that they do not degenerate into a weapon of national chauvinism. Nigerian Marxist-Leninists hold that the Federal Government should from now on educate the new generation in the spirit of one citizenship, one country, one destiny. Sports and other cultural activities should be developed on a healthy, Nigerian-wide basis; frequent exchanges of visits between states should be encouraged.

A planned economy should be established with a view to minimizing uneven development. A new generation of Nigerians who

will uphold the positive and progressive aspect of nationalism and shun the reactionary and backward-looking aspect will be the result of economic, educational and cultural development.

Nigeria needs a uniting and forward-looking ideology capable of welding all the nations into one patriotic whole. Such an ideology is socialism. Theoretically and practically the final solution of the national question cannot come under capitalism. Capitalist society, based on private property and the exploitation of man by man and nation by nation, creates discord among nations. Only socialism, by abolishing exploitation and class antagonism, can put an end to national discord and ensure genuine progress, mutual confidence and the drawing together of nations. "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to," Marx and Engels wrote in the Communist Manifesto, "the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

The working-class principled stand is for the friendship of all nations. This is summed up in the slogan — "Workers of the World, Unite!" This is proletarian internationalism, the community of interest of all working people of all nations.

* * *

In considering secession in Nigeria, Marxist-Leninists should consider the effect of such a move on Africa, on Nigeria itself. Further they must pay attention to the content of the secession and the internal and external motivating factors. Each country in Africa, as a result of colonial heritage, has its acute national questions. It is common knowledge that the imperialists have worked up reactionary nationalism in Congo (Kinshasa), in Uganda and Kenya to split these countries. The Biafra experiment would have been a justification for intensifying this line of action which could lead to more mushroom states which can easily be kept as neo-colonial puppet states. Secondly, the energy spent in consolidating the anti-imperialist front would now be spent in fratricidal national struggles. Either way the imperialists stand to gain.

The strongest case put forward by supporters of secession is that the "Biafrans" should have a right to self-determination including secession. In answering those who hold this view, we have to point out that the Eastern Region of Nigeria is occu-

pied by the Ibos who number over seven million people, the Efikos 3½ million, Ogojans 0.8 million and the Ijaws 1½ million; that the petroleum and the rich agricultural areas were in the minority areas. That even under colonialism and after political independence the minority national groups always fought for self-determination but their efforts were thwarted by the ruling Ibo bourgeoisie who controlled the regional government and had a strong influence in the Federal Government. Therefore it is important to realize that the Ibo bourgeois secessionists after the pogroms in the Northern States decided to set up a Biafra without any mandate from the people and certainly against the aspirations of the minority groups in the area for a right to self-determination, in order to found a new State dominated by the Ibo bourgeoisie. The short-lived administration of the secessionists in the minority areas shows clearly an effort to dominate the minority national groups and their rich natural resources.

In this venture the secessionists had the support of the USA, France, West Germany, Portugal, South Africa, some independent African states, and the Mao Tse-tung clique.

We should not lose sight of the fact that contradictions among the imperialist circles also have their effect on the secession. The USA and French imperialists wanted to seize the rich oil deposits of Nigeria from Britain. The secessionists became a pawn on the chess board of the imperialists. Nigerian Marxist-Leninists hold the view that only a united Nigeria will be able to fight effectively against foreign exploitation, for economic independence. Realizing that Africa has been split into small states — over thirty of these states are under five million — it becomes imperative to keep Nigeria united and to develop its potentialities for the furtherance of the African revolution.

In his work "Critical Remarks on the National Question," Lenin stressed that the right of nations to self-determination should not be confused with the advisability of secession. He emphasized that, "... While and in so far as, different nations constitute a single state, Marxists will never, under any circumstances, advocate either the federal principle or decentralization. The great centralized state is a tremendous historical step forward from medieval disunity to the future socialist unity of the whole world."

The creation of twelve states by the Federal Military Government of Nigeria

provides real conditions for the exercise of the right to self-determination. The former Eastern Region of Nigeria now consists of three states, which accords with Lenin's teaching that "far from precluding local self-government, with *autonomy* for regions having special economic and social conditions, a distinct national composition of the population, and so forth, democratic centralism necessarily demands *both*" (Vol. 20, p. 46). In the light of Marxist-Leninist exposition which has been justified by history and the example of other countries, the claim of the bourgeois secessionists of the Eastern Region of Nigeria to secession cannot be justified.

It should be stressed that the struggle to keep Nigeria united is a struggle against imperialism, a contribution to the cause of national liberation and full independence. As such the Nigerian people have cause to thank all the anti-imperialist forces which have given moral and material support to this struggle. More especially they have cause to thank the CPSU and the entire Soviet people for an objective appraisal of the Nigerian situation and their consis-

tent and determined stand against imperialism.

In Nigeria progressive groups are debating the possibility of a united front of all anti-imperialist forces for the struggle for economic independence and democracy. Some groups see this move as the emergence of new party like the Arab Socialist Union in Egypt.

Marxist-Leninists in Nigeria believe in the revival of their Party after the lifting of the ban on political activity, the need for the leading role of the working class in alliance with the peasantry, and the leading role of the Party of a new type—the party of Communists who can guide with the instrument of Marxism-Leninism the development of the national-democratic revolution, and its transformation into a socialist revolution.

Indeed, as the document of the Meeting says, "*the existing situation demands united action of Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war.*"

U.S. aggression in Laos

U.S. imperialism has recently been enlarging the scale of its aggression against the peace-loving Laotian people. Washington has trampled on all the norms of international law by launching an attack on yet another independent and sovereign state of Southeast Asia. U.S. policy in Laos has once again revealed the aggressive nature of American imperialism and its threat to the freedom and independence of peoples.

Over the past 15 years, the U.S. government has tried to turn South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia into colonies of a new type, into military bases for far-ranging aggressive operations against the other peace-loving peoples of Asia, notably the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia.

The patriotic struggle against the U.S. aggressors and local reactionaries falls into three distinct periods.

The first period (1954-May 1959), following the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements, was marked by intense struggle between the national-patriotic forces of Laos, headed by the Pathet Lao, on the one hand, and the U.S. aggressors and the royal government on the other, the two sides taking opposite views of the country's future. The former were working to fulfil the 1954 Geneva Agreements, and restore peace and establish a coalition government with the participation of the patriotic forces. To activize the struggle, the patriotic forces held a congress in January 1956, which set up a Patriotic Front, the Neo Lao Hak Sat (NLHS). The congress adopted a program to build a peaceful, independent and prospering Laos, and to consolidate the country's unity, achieving cooperation between the main political forces and ensuring basic freedoms and democratic

rights. With this new program the Patriotic Front started large-scale work among the masses.

The royal government realized that it was incapable of suppressing the massive struggle and, with the consent of its U.S. patrons, signed a number of agreements known as the Vientiane Agreements of 1957, recognizing the NLHS's right to engage in legal activity and take part in a government of national unity.

The Geneva and the Vientiane agreements allowed the progressive forces to engage in legal political work for the country's independence and its further development along the path of peace, democracy and social progress. However, fulfilment of these agreements was sabotaged by the U.S. imperialists and their Laotian servitors. They overthrew the government of national unity, expelled the International Control Commission, and started to suppress the patriotic forces. On May 12, 1959, they staged a provocative attack on two Pathet Lao battalions, which under the Vientiane Agreements had been integrated with the royal army. However, the two units broke out of the encirclement and took refuge in the jungle. At the same time, the reactionary circles decided to strike out at the Patriotic Front leadership and arrested its head, Prince Souphanouvong, among others.

In the circumstances, the patriotic forces had no alternative but to call on the people to fight the reactionaries to frustrate their plans to turn Laos into a U.S. colony.

The second period (May 1959-1962) was marked by a further upswing of the national liberation struggle, during which the Patriotic Front was swelled by fresh political forces dissatisfied with U.S. rule and the reactionary policy of the Vientiane government. The popular discontent spread to the royal army. On August 9, 1960, paratroopers overthrew the reactionary government. The new government was headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, who at the time opposed foreign intervention and wanted a peaceful, neutral and independent Laos. The new government's program provided for an end to the civil war and for national unity. It announced its intention to pursue a policy of neutrality, to establish friendly relations with all peace-loving countries, and to abide by the 1954 Geneva Agreements. The emergence on the political scene of neutralist forces with considerable influence among broad sections of the population was a new element in the situation. They had at their disposal sizable army units favoring the country's progres-

sive development. The NLHS worked to extend the national unity front by pursuing a policy of alliance with the neutralist forces.

Faced with the growing unity of all the patriotic forces, the U.S. imperialists and their Laotian lackeys, entrenched in the south of the country (Savannakhet), staged a rebellion against the lawful government of Souvanna Phouma, and soon started military operations against the united forces of neutralists and Pathet Lao. They had superiority in weapons and managed to occupy a large part of the country, including the capital Vientiane. But the neutralist and Pathet Lao forces counterattacked, and by early 1961 expelled the rebels from the key province of Xiengkhouang, and by May 1961, from almost two-thirds of the territory. Following their defeat by the national-patriotic forces, the rebels were forced to sign the Zurich Agreement and the Valley of Jars Agreement, accepting a tri-party government, and also to sign the Geneva Agreements of 1962.

The 1962 Geneva Agreements (Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos, and the Protocol to the Declaration of Neutrality) held out guarantees of independence for Laos and prohibited its involvement in any military blocs or military bases on its territory. By signing these two documents, the 14 states attending the conference unconditionally recognized and undertook to observe and respect the neutrality of Laos, and urged other countries to do likewise.

The third period of the national liberation struggle opened with the signing of the 1962 Geneva Agreements. Following the formation of a tri-party government of national unity, the progressive forces took the view that the agreements gave enough room for the further development of the Laotian revolution, which is a national people's-democratic revolution. They believed that a definite (rather long) transitional phase of struggle lay ahead, aimed at peace, neutrality, independence, democracy and social progress. Because the Geneva Agreements hold out definite guarantees for the country's advance along the path of peace and democracy, their strict observance is of fundamental importance for the national liberation movement as a stage in the Laotian people's achievement of socialist aims. That is why the Patriotic Front and all the other national-democratic forces attach such importance to the observance and fulfilment of the Geneva Agreements. No wonder the U.S. imperialists, right after the signing of the agreements, strove to

plunge Laos into chaos and civil war. They began by undermining the tri-party coalition government of national unity, in an effort to make it a pliant tool of their own policy, staged all manner of provocations and exerted military pressure on the Pathet Lao and patriotic neutralist forces. In defiance of the Geneva Agreements, the United States did not pull out all its military personnel from the country, some of them remaining in camouflaged civilian and semi-civilian services. The Air America Corporation continued to operate, specializing in the supply of weapons and ammunition to saboteur groups and rebellious tribes.

The Americans concentrated on trying to break up the alliance of neutralists and Neo Lao Hak Sat, which had taken shape during the civil war. Their emissaries got to work on the neutralist officers, forcing the Rightist command to resume payment of salaries to neutralist officers and recruiting agents among them. The result was that pro-American officers, who subsequently made up the Right wing of the neutralists, rallied around General Kong Le, one-time commander of the neutralist forces. At the same time, U.S. intelligence agencies, together with the Rights, resorted to terror against neutralist leaders who refused to succumb to their pressure. They staged the assassination of the neutralist Chief of Staff Colonel Ketsana, and Foreign Minister Quinim Phalsena, who wanted the alliance with the NLHS to continue. In view of the atmosphere of terror and political assassinations in Vientiane, the NLHS leaders were forced to leave the capital. Then followed a split within the neutralist ranks. The patriotic neutralist units abandoned General Kong Le, who had gone over to the Rights, and joined the Pathet Lao in defending the liberated areas of Laos and the gains of the Laotian revolution.

Despite the NLHS's repeated attempts to restore the coalition government, the Rights, egged on by the U.S. imperialists, have shown no real desire to have the Laotian people united. The country is divided into two parts: the liberated zone, under the control of the NLHS, with its center at Sam Neua, and the Right-group zone, with its capital at Vientiane. The fratricidal civil war has been resumed, for which the U.S. imperialists are again to blame. At first, the Americans variously covered up their participation in the civil war, preferring to use the Rights as their cat's paw, but soon openly launched their provocative actions, and they now make no secret of the fact that ever since July 1964 their Air Force

has been bombing villages under the control of the NLHS and the Left neutralists. At present, the United States is conducting an undeclared air war against the Laotian people, using B-52 super-bombers based on Utapao (Thailand) and Guam to bomb villages, schools, hospitals and pagodas. As in South Vietnam, the aggressors, flying up to 500 missions a day, do not stop at using napalm, phosphorous bombs, and toxic chemicals and carrying out blanket bombing raids.

The U.S. press admits that as many bombs are now being dropped on the liberated areas of Laos as were dropped on North Vietnam a short while ago. *Newsweek* estimates that the air war against the Laotian people costs the United States a billion dollars a year.

There are now some 12,000 Americans in Laos, most of them officers, who control the armed forces of the Right, and there is evidence of direct American participation in the military operations. In addition, several thousand Thai and Saigon paratroopers are active in the country, helping the Right.

The U.S. Embassy has a staff of almost 500, mostly officers. The "Peace Corps" operates in the rural areas, mainly training subversive commando groups.

American-trained Laotian mercenaries now number close to 70,000. An important aspect of these aggressive operations against the patriotic forces is smuggling behind the lines subversive groups consisting, among others, of Meo tribesmen. The U.S. Air Force supplies them with clothing, food and modern weapons. Saboteurs help the Americans to drive civilians from the liberated areas, involving almost 15,000 people in 1968 alone.

In the area controlled by the Right, the Americans try to isolate the population from revolutionary influence by conducting combing operations, setting up "unity hamlets," "rehabilitation zones," and "refugee camps," which are nothing but concentration camps.

The Americans have had little success in their efforts to bolster up the Right, which is beset by growing strife and dissent. Since 1962, the military have attempted three coups. After the retirement of General Nosavan the Americans have been unable to find a leader capable of keeping the Right together. Their main stake is now on Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma, whom they have diverted from his neutralist stance to fratricidal civil war. He has allowed the American militarists to carry

on the systematic bombing of the liberated areas and to do what they like in the Right zone. His government is virtually an instrument of the U.S. aggressive policy in Laos.

Having suffered grave defeat in South Vietnam, the United States is thinking of establishing itself in Laos, which could serve as a reserve base in the event of a forced withdrawal from South Vietnam.

The Laotian revolution has been hard and tortuous. No country has had to switch so sharply and so often from peace to ruthless war as we have, says Prince Souphanouvong. But despite all the difficulties, the patriotic forces have succeeded in maintaining their revolutionary gains and in repelling all the attacks on the liberated areas.

Today, the liberated areas cover two-thirds of the country's territory, with one-third of the population. In character of power and depth the socio-economic change, the liberated areas are a new formation of the national-democratic type.

Souphonouvong, Chairman of the NLHS Central Committee, says that the party is determined to turn the areas controlled by the Neo Loa Hak Sat into a base for a future independent and neutral Laos. Consequently, he said, we must be as alive to economic, cultural and scientific questions as to military-political ones. Thanks to the vigorous measures taken by the NLHS, and also the assistance of the socialist countries, conditions have been much improved. In the past, the areas controlled by the liberation forces had 45,000 hectares under crop; now they have 200,000. Despite the bombing, more than 100 irrigation installations have been built, and over 14,000 hectares of land have been watered. The liberated zone has a small industry, consisting of textile mills, machine and motor-car repair shops, garment factories, rice-husking mills, shops for repair of weapons, drug-making factories, etc. These are small enterprises, but they are of great importance. There is a network of cooperatives for procuring raw materials and food, and marketing industrial and handicraft goods.

The Front leadership has achieved much in education. There are hundreds of schools and a teacher training college, with a student body of some 50,000 young men and women throughout the area. More than 60,000 adults are enrolled in literacy groups, learning to read and write. This is a significant number, considering that the territory controlled by the NLHS is inhabited by about a million people. More than

1,500 teachers have been trained. In the last few years 500,000 textbooks have been provided. Illiteracy has been almost wiped out.

Headway has been made in providing public health services: each province has its own mobile medical teams.

The Patriotic Front has an efficient system of information: despite the bombing, it has two radio stations operating all the time, and there are two central newspapers, and also a journal. The patriotic neutralists have their own newspaper, *For Peace and Neutrality*. The recently opened news agency Caosan Pathet Lao is functioning well.

In the recent period the alliance between the NLHS and the patriotic neutralist forces has been consolidated, and the Front has won over fresh sections of the population. The NLHS has also extended its influence in the Right zone, and is gaining growing support among the middle sections, and among members of the National Assembly. Anti-American feeling has brought together the most diverse social sections, including those the United States expected would back it. Earlier the NLHS relied mainly on the rural population, but today its policy is winning ever greater support among the petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletarian sections who constitute the majority of the urban population. Urban dwellers, Buddhist priests and student youth are being ever more active in insisting on the withdrawal of the U.S. aggressors, to leave the Laotians to settle their own affairs.

In the recent period, the patriotic armed forces have gained in strength, and have been transformed into the People's Liberation Army of Laos (PLAL). Their command has issued a communiqué on the victories of the patriotic armed forces during the dry season of 1968-69. The Liberation News Agency has reported that the NLAL, together with the patriotic neutralist armed forces, carried out 1,368 operations in 200 days, immobilizing almost 12,000 enemy men, capturing more than 2,000 weapons of various types, 12 radio transmitters. They destroyed and captured 103 military trucks, shot down or damaged on the ground 284 U.S. planes (for the whole period 1,100 U.S. planes have been shot down over the liberated areas), blew up 29 bridges, captured and destroyed a great quantity of weapons and other military stores. They also wiped out over 7,000 saboteurs and destroyed many of their bases.

Guerrilla groups, which coordinate their

action with the NLAL, are active. In many guerrilla areas in the Right zone the enemy is suffering heavy losses. The guerrillas detect saboteur bases and destroy them, knocking out small enemy garrisons, blowing up bridges and destroying roads.

In October 1968, the Patriotic Front issued a political program for settling the Laotian problem, in its effort to secure a peaceful, united, neutral, democratic and prospering Laos.

The Patriotic Front calls for a popular administration of national alliance to restore sovereignty and serve the people; a democratic government of national unity, democratic elections in the rural areas and a National Assembly based on universal suffrage. The Front favors the formation of patriotic armed forces capable of safeguarding the country's independence, security and public order. The program also provides for measures to ensure the rights and interests of the working people: land and farming implements for the peasants, guarantees of the right to work for white and blue-collar workers, fair wages and an eight-hour day.

The Patriotic Front wishes to pursue a policy of peace, independence and neutrality, solidarity and friendship with the peoples and governments of all countries who cherish peace and justice, to respect and strictly abide by the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, not to join in any military blocs or allow any foreign government to set up military bases in the country or use its territory for aggression against other countries, or to accept protection from any aggressive military bloc.

The Patriotic Front has issued a call to the population to consolidate their unity and fight resolutely to force the U.S. imperialists to stop their aggression in Laos and let the people live in peace and independence.

The patriotic forces' policy of combining political, diplomatic and armed struggle has enabled them to retain the initiative in the settlement of the Laotian problem, to rally under their banners ever broader sections of the population, and to isolate the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

Another important event recently took place in the liberated areas—a nationwide

conference which was attended by political and military leaders of the Left neutralists loyal to the fighting alliance with the Patriotic Front. The conference worked out a political action program and set up an Executive Committee of the Patriotic Forces League. The documents adopted by the League declare the resolve of the army and the patriotic neutralists to resist U.S. aggression, to safeguard the country, and cooperate with the NLHS for the earliest achievement of independence, freedom and neutrality.

The aims of the Laotian people, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, have won for them growing support not only from the socialist countries, but also from many less developed countries, and from progressive people throughout the world.

Of primary importance for the future of the people's struggle is further consolidation of the alliance of the national-patriotic forces with the countries of the socialist system. The socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all, have always been on the side of the national-patriotic forces. They resolutely demand that the United States should abide by the international agreements on Laos, at once stop its bombing of the liberated areas, withdraw all its military personnel from Laos and leave the Laotians to settle their own affairs in keeping with the Geneva Agreements of 1962 and taking into account the present situation.

The people's national-liberation struggle, like the struggle of the Vietnamese people, needs constant support and solidarity action by all progressive, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces throughout the world, by all honest men. That is why the Laotian patriots highly appreciate the great attention given by the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow to their fight against U.S. aggression. A broad response among Laotians was evoked by the Meeting's demand that the United States "cease its intervention and aggression in Laos." They are sure that the results of the Meeting will be of great help in consolidating international solidarity with the just struggle of the patriotic forces of Laos.

Kova LANSANG

Guadeloupe Communist Party: its present tasks

EUVREMOND GENE

SITUATION IN GUADELOUPE

Most of the problems of Guadeloupe, France's island overseas department in the Caribbean, stem from her *economic situation*. Integrated in the European Economic Community since 1957 as a so-called associate member, her chiefly agrarian economy has hit considerable snags: while her farm products have but a small European market, merchandise from Little Europe is flooding the country.

As of this year (until 1975) the refineries will benefit from the world's highest FEOGA*-guaranteed sugar prices, whereas the sugar growers must face up to the risk of prices dipping for their wares.

Of late, competition has become more acute between refinery owners, who are also large-scale planters, and the small and medium cane growers. The latter, who operate in difficult conditions, have become still more dependent on the refinery owner, who lays down the law in determining the quality of cane, in refining and in marketing the ready product.

The temporary regimentation of the EEC sugar market ends in 1975, when Guadeloupe cane sugar will be exposed to the competition of the European beet variety. In anticipation, concentration of sugar production is the order of the day.

Bananas present similar problems. Guadeloupe bananas come under no protective duty scheme, with neither prices nor sales

guaranteed. As a result, the Common Market, once held up as our "last chance," only accentuates the monoculture of our farming and the one-branch structure of our industry, ruining the small and medium farmers.

Tourism, it is true, dependent on wealthy Americans and Canadians, offers a modest number of job openings, but is still far short of being a full-fledged supplementary branch of our economy. Its yield of foreign exchange benefits the island's French rulers, while the people are allowed the choice of pandering to the satiated wealthy tourist as a means of survival.

The two economic trends encouraged by the government—concentration of production and rich men's tourism—are a blight for the people. Many are losing their livelihood. Land, factories and most other means of production are controlled by the foreign capitalists. By grace of the French state monopoly capitalism, European trusts are free to do as they please in our country, unhindered by Martinique capital and not loath to invite Canadian and U.S. investments. The country is a scene of rivalry among the European colonialists, the Martinique bourgeoisie and the Canadian and U.S. capitalists.

As a result, the Guadeloupe economy, poorly developed, is dependent on foreign capital and impaired by association with the Common Market, driving our backward agrarian country to catastrophe.

Naturally, economic factors have a bearing on the *social sphere*.

The land reform launched in 1961 and designed to sidestep radical agrarian

* Fond européen d'orientation et de garantie agricole (European Fund for Orientation and Guarantees in Agriculture).—Tr.

change has stimulated land speculation and precipitated peasant disorders, while preserving the feudal survival of share-cropping.

Plunder through non-equivalent exchange and export of profits impedes accumulation of productive capital. With consumption dependent on imports, commerce is controlled by foreign exporters and held in check by the French shipping monopoly, which upsets the trade balance and depresses the standard of living.

The official report on the fifth government plan for the overseas departments of France registers a drop in exports and a rise in imports in Guadeloupe's foreign trade, as illustrated by the 1967 figures as compared to 1966:

exports down eight per cent
imports up 70 per cent.

The plan envisaged a minimum average annual increase of aggregate product by 8.4 per cent, whereas, the report indicates, the average for 1966 and 1967 was about 7.5 per cent. What is more, these figures overlook the continuously rising prices.

In varying degree all classes and social strata are afflicted by the colonial structure and the absence of an effective industrial basis. So, continuously increasing difficulties dominate the social scene.

Nothing else could be expected, with the youth, comprising half the population, robbed of all prospects; chronic unemployment growing against a setting of backwardness and a rapidly expanding population; the dignity of the people flouted by election frauds; racial discrimination rampant and the right to self-determination scorned, and with brutal colonial suppression continuously invoked.

The *military aspect* was recently spelled out by Ravault D'Allonnes, the French general in command of the Antilles-Guyane army group. "The overseas departments," he said, "occupy a prominent place in our national defense. The Raizet airport, for example, is the sole and indispensable connection between France and the atomic bases in the Pacific. This alone justifies our efforts."

Raizet airport, however, is in Guadeloupe, which means that our country is included in the French nuclear defense plan and, therefore, in that of Little Europe, of which the likely consequences are self-evident.

Guadeloupe's *political status* is still unequal. The March 19, 1946 act on so-called assimilation turned us into an overseas department and, naturally, after more

than three centuries of colonial slavery the people acclaimed it. Our Party played a prominent part in having the Act enforced, thereby reducing the army of poor in "rags and sores," reducing the typical colonial misery. That was all the act could yield. Deprived of political power, of a say in making policy, that "concentrated expression of the economy," the people can give no impulse to the country's economic development.

All the opportunities that our new status could offer for partial improvement had petered out by the beginning of the fifties. Since then, our Party has been busy exposing the juridically obsolete regime.

The four decrees on so-called decentralization issued on April 26, 1960, permit our General Council deputies to express their opinion on French government acts concerning Guadeloupe. However, their opinion is in no way binding, while the powers of the government-appointed Prefect, not answerable to the people of Guadeloupe, are being dangerously extended.

This authoritarian policy is driving our people into a dead end.

COMMUNIST PARTY POLICY

For more than ten years our Party has been working for a new status, for autonomy: Guadeloupe must have self-administration in the context of an alliance with France based on fraternity, cooperation and the mutual respect of the peoples of France and Guadeloupe.

Like all nations, our people want to run their own affairs, to determine their political, economic and cultural status and to handle all matters pertaining to their existence, including secession and independence. That is a principle of international law set down in the UN Charter and guaranteed in the Declaration of Human Rights.

Declaring its affinity to the Preamble of the 1946 Constitution, the French Constitution of October 4, 1958 solemnly proclaims that "in pursuance of her traditional mission, France proposes to lead the peoples in her trust to free self-administration and democratic handling of their own affairs." So by barring our people from running their own affairs, the French authorities were impinging on their own Constitution, as well as on a universal principle of international law.

An autonomous Guadeloupe could be endowed with such attributes of sovereignty

as her own legislative assembly elected by general vote and with executive bodies formed by that assembly. Guadeloupe deputies would thereby be vested with political power and could bear full responsibility for the state of the economy, better the lot of the people through agrarian reform and industrialization and by controlling trade and the main sectors of production.

In matters of common interest neither France nor autonomous Guadeloupe would deal unilaterally, leaving the decision to a Franco-Guadeloupe body formed on a parity basis.

There are two valid reasons why the Communist Party does not demand independence for Guadeloupe. Firstly, the national consciousness of our people is still poorly developed and only awakening at this time of struggle for liberation. Our people, only now growing into a nation, have no intention as yet of breaking away from France. We must take this factor into account, for the last thing our Party wants is to lose touch with the masses.

The second reason is the balance of strength in our part of the world. An independent progressive Guadeloupe with its 300,000 population would be easy prey for the United States, the imperialist world gendarme who has arrogated the right to intervene in the internal affairs of all countries in the American continent. On no account must our Party lead the people towards defeat.

Our 3rd Congress (December 1964) defined the ways and means of struggle by Party and people as open political mass struggle suiting the concrete conditions and the country's internal resources, and taking into account the international balance of forces.

The Central Committee report to Congress criticized the ultra-Left elements, indicating that some groups were displaying impatience and haste in attempting to prove that a revolutionary situation had matured in Guadeloupe and that the time had come for the final assault. The groups in question, it pointed out, were deeply impressed by the example of Cuba, where the revolutionary forces had defeated imperialism.

The impatience to smash imperialism, the report said, was understandable as much as the inspiration of the Cuban example for all revolutionaries in the Caribbean. "We think, however," the report added, "that revolutionary impatience and revolutionary sentiment cannot be a poli-

tical line. The problems of revolution should be seen in association with the actual existing situation. To lose sight of the realities would be a big mistake, a mistake that could lead us in the opposite direction from revolution."

Despite this emphatic warning, some comrades succumbed to the ultra-Left orientation and had to be expelled from the Party.

Our 4th Congress, held in April 1968, pointed out that "our Party, having withstood the attacks of the liquidationists and the ideological muddlers, will see to it that the Leninist standards of organization, education and activity shall be applied in all its work."

The Congress resolution defined the following tasks as the immediate Party aims:

1) build up the ranks of the Party and cement the Party from top to bottom, establishing close contact with the people and between the leaders and the local Party branches;

2) promote in every possible way a front of struggle for Guadeloupe autonomy.

Our different forms of action, our recent election victories and the scale of the celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of the Party and its newspaper, *Etincelle*, show that we are making good progress towards these aims.

THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow has been of invaluable ideological and political help to our Party and all Communists. The contacts and exchanges with most delegations of the world Communist movement have been valuable indeed.

The results are self-evident: the links with fellow fighters have been strengthened, all of us are better briefed on the conditions in which the world revolutionary process is unfolding, we have a clearer idea of the international problems, and, last but not least, definite progress has been made in uniting our movement. Among the more important accomplishments of the Meeting should be listed the fact that each delegation declared its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and reiterated its determination to carry forward the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle at the present stage.

The Guadeloupe Communists will draw in full measure on the documents of the historic Meeting in order to overcome all difficulties, cement their ranks, increase

their influence on the masses and raise to a higher level the struggle against imperial-

ism and colonialism, for peace, democracy, Guadeloupe autonomy and socialism.

Communist advance in Israeli trade union elections

HISTADRUT* elections are, as a rule, an important event in the political life of Israel. In the four years since the last elections the working people have been able to observe and understand many things. The salient feature of the 1969 elections were the big setback for the ruling Alignment and success for the Communist Party list.

The election campaign centered this time less on economic and trade-union issues and rather on questions of general policy, mainly peace and war, with nearly all parties united on the basic government line of occupation and annexation. The Communist Party campaigned for higher wages and labor rights, for peace without annexations by implementing the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. The Party called for unity of action by all the peace forces against the anti-worker and anti-national policy of the Histadrut chief-tains who blindly follow the government policy.

Voting which in the past has tended to be heavy, was this time significantly low: between 62 and 65 per cent of the close to million strong Histadrut electorate. By abstaining from voting, hundreds of thousands of working people expressed their protest against the policy of the Histadrut leadership which, hand in hand with employers and government, acts against the interests of the workers, supporting the wage-freeze, against strikes and siding with the employers in labor disputes; by abstaining they expressed their opposition to the continued bloodshed and their lack of confidence in the Histadrut leadership

*The Histadrut (General Federation of Trade Unions) is the principal trade union organization in Israel. Its voting members amount to about 60 per cent of the Israeli citizens. The workers' committees elected at work places are the basic union organizations. Then come the workers' councils and the leading bodies of the Federation. Its supreme body is the national congress which elects the Executive.—Ed.

whose policy has no perspective of peace and security.

The ruling Labor Party (uniting the former MAPEI, AHDUT AVODA and RAFI Parties) and MAPAM appeared on a common list, called Alignment, uniting the various Zionist labor parties. The Alignment suffered a significant setback, dropping from 77 per cent of the vote polled in the previous elections (1965) to some 62 per cent. This steep fall is an indication of the growing dissatisfaction with Alignment policy.

Positive result of the elections was the big success of the Communist Party, appearing in elections as "New Communist List" (RAKAH). In 1965 RAKAH received 8,300 votes, this time its vote rose to 13,500 (an increase of more than 60 per cent). Party representatives were elected for the first time to local worker-councils in Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Acre. Most impressive was the Party's success in Nazareth where it obtained a majority of local workers' council seats.

The rise in the Communist vote is due to the Party's consistent fight on behalf of the working people, to its consistent policy opposing the reckless and annexationist line of the ruling circles.

Big advances were made by the Communists among the Arab workers who voted heavily for it. Thereby Arab workers identify themselves with the Communist Party that throughout the years has fought for equality of rights and brotherhood and that now leads the struggle against imperialism, for withdrawal from the occupied territories and for peace without annexations.

Thousands of Jewish workers voted for the Communist list, on a much greater scale than in 1965. It is significant that many of these votes come from those who in 1965 were still led astray by the reneg-

ade Mikunis-Sneh group, a group which is now politically bankrupt, retaining only some 10-11 thousand votes, mainly among anti-Soviet and anti-Communist elements in MAPAM who did not follow MAPAM into the Alignment and, likewise, did not agree to join the Left Union constituted by the MAPAM left.

The success of the Communist list is still more remarkable seeing that the party had to conduct its election campaign in conditions of terror, slander, pressure and provocation, in conditions of arbitrary restrictions on movement by many of its leaders and activists.

Wolff EHRLICH

Fight for civil rights in the Argentine

JULIO LABORDE

The fight for democratic liberties in our country, for human and civil rights, has a long history. For nearly four decades now, not counting very brief intervals, the ruling circles have been violating these rights. It began with the coup d'état in September 1930 when the reactionaries overthrew the constitutional government and abolished bourgeois democracy. This was followed by a series of coups and counter-coups which continue to this day.

As a result of the 1930 coup the landed oligarchy and monopoly capital established complete control over the machinery of state and installed a government serving their interests. This government did everything to impede the development of the working-class movement, to bar public actions in defense of democratic rights and liberties; it launched a campaign of terror, hounding Communists and progressives and subjecting political prisoners to torture. Together with other democratic forces the Communist Party valiantly resisted the dictatorship, inscribing many glorious pages in the history of the country.

In these past forty years of lawlessness and persecution thousands upon thousands of citizens have passed through the prisons of Argentina: Communists, Radicals, Peronists, Socialists, members of other parties, and non-party people. Many were tortured to death. Their number includes Antonio

Aguirre, labor leader of Tucuman province, Dr. Ingalinella, another Communist, who was assassinated by the police in Rosario. Like many other democrats during the "justicialista" administration of Peron, both gave their lives in the fight for a better future for the people. And today the list of victims is being swelled by the tyranny of the Onganía dictatorship.

Why this violent persecution of Communists and democrats by the successive reactionary governments? The reason is obvious. The ruling clique seek thereby to prevent a change in the socio-economic structure, to continue the policy of handing over the country's national wealth to the imperialists.

The government wants to preserve the obsolete production relations that are hampering the development of the productive forces. In other words, it is protecting the interests of the privileged groups of society at the expense of the vast majority of the nation. The more reactionary and treacherous the policy of the government in office, the more brutally it suppresses the popular movement and the Communists heading the struggle for the economic demands of the working people, for an agrarian and anti-imperialist and democratic revolution which would create the conditions for the country's advance towards socialism.

As our Party has already noted, the June

1966 coup d'état, which overthrew the Illia government, was triggered mainly by the reactionaries' circles' and U.S. imperialism's fear of the progressive mass movement, the development of which could have led to the establishment of a united front of democratic and patriotic forces. This fear was all the greater because the objective conditions were maturing for fundamentally reshaping the socio-economic structure and, consequently, its political super-structure. Formal democracy (there was factually a second power in the country—military) was again replaced by an undisguised military dictatorship of the corporate fascist type.

The dictatorship dissolved the National Congress, provincial legislative organs and municipal councils, usurped the judicature and federal authority; replaced the Constitution with the "statute of the revolution," dissolved all political parties, abolished the autonomy of the universities and many trade unions, and put an end to all democratic liberties. In the three years of the dictatorship more than 12,000 citizens—men and women, youths and girls—have been thrown into prison for their political views. It has shifted the economic burden onto the shoulders of the working people, is bolstering the landed estates, bartering the national wealth to the imperialists and facilitating the process of concentration of the national enterprises under foreign-monopoly control. It is subordinating the country's armed forces to the military strategy of U.S. imperialism, is trying to get them to act the gendarme in the country and on the continent.

As stated in the theses of the 13th Congress of our Party, "the policy of the Onganía government is a policy of subordinating the Argentine people, the economy, armed forces and foreign policy to Yankee imperialism. The greater this subordination to imperialism and its military strategy the more brutal the repression and the persecution."

In its repressive actions the dictatorship relies on the Right-wing political and trade union leaders, especially from among the Peronists. It reckoned that this collaboration would enable it to bend the working class and the nation to its dictates. But it badly miscalculated: the working class, students, peasants, in a word, the whole population, are offering determined resistance to the dictatorship, linking their economic demands more and more with political ones. Three main forms of struggle are merging in the mass movement: for satisfaction of immediate economic and social

demands; defense of democratic liberties; defense of the national wealth and against imperialism, North American imperialism in particular. Thus, the fight for democratic liberties is closely linked with the solution of the crucial national issues.

To counter the terror unleashed by the dictatorship the Communist Party organized a big protest movement which evoked a widespread response in the country and abroad. As this movement grew it renewed the traditions engendered by "International Red Aid" or MOPR, as it was otherwise known. This protest movement played an important part in promoting solidarity with the victims of the reaction, despite the many difficulties and the persecution to which it was subjected by the government.

The Communists in Argentina are proud that they are the most firm and consistent fighters for democratic and civil liberties. We have done much to organize powerful campaigns in defense of the rights of the people, in defense of political prisoners. In this context we widely apply a policy of alliance with the democratic progressive forces of the country, guided by the principle that the fight for democracy is an integral part of the fight for socialism.

To promote this policy in the future we have polemized against the ideologists of the Right, bourgeois-nationalist and pro-imperialist forces, with the Left extremists who argue that it is useless to fight for freedom and other demands as long as capitalism exists in the country. In practice this thesis is aimed at paralyzing the activity of the masses, at getting them to give up the fight for their rights in the expectation of a global solution of all the problems.

The International Red Aid branch in Argentina was dissolved in 1937. After extensive preparatory work in which Communists, leading progressives and many sections of the population participated, another, much broader organization was founded in 1938—the Argentine League of Struggle for the Rights of Man.

The League's aims are defense of Constitutional rights and guarantees, and to assist their effective implementation. It organizes campaigns of solidarity with all who have been deprived of these rights, irrespective of their political views, renders material aid to them and their families. It calls on the public to oppose government bodies or measures that curtail democratic liberties. It also organizes campaigns in support of individuals or groups who are persecuted socially or politically for insisting on human rights and for defending the

sovereignty of their country. As the League's president, Antonio Sofia, has rightly noted, "with the help of this solidarity we succeeded on many occasions in opening the prison doors, staying the hand of the torturers and securing the annulment of reactionary laws."

By 1964, the 26th year since its foundation, the League had already defended some 100,000 citizens persecuted for their convictions or their political or trade union activity, had spent more than 100 million pesos on clothing, food and medical supplies for political prisoners and the members of their families, had distributed millions of copies of newspapers, bulletins and leaflets informing the public of the persecution of democrats, of the solidarity movements with political prisoners, and calling for annulment of repressive laws.

At present the Communist Party is illegal, and the government has issued numerous decrees directed against its activity, specifically, the "Defense Against Communism" law. When this infamous "law" was published, almost the entire nation voiced its protest. It was clear to the democratic organizations that the pro-fascist, anti-democratic and anti-constitutional clique had far outstripped all earlier known repressive measures and decrees. Under the new "law" any expression of dissatisfaction with, or criticism of, the existing regime is a criminal offense which brings with it a sentence of several years' imprisonment. This "law" also provides for the dismissal from work of persons considered by the special bodies of the government to be Communists or connected with Communist activity. The respective bodies qualifying what actions should be termed as "crimes" are the National Intelligence Department, which is closely associated with the CIA, the National Security Council and the National Development Council. These bodies make "investigations," prying into the lives of citizens. The authors of the "law" boast of the fact that its model was the barbarous U.S. McCarran Act.

No other law in our country has been so universally repudiated. As soon as the draft was published press organs of the most diverse political trends expressed their negative attitude to it.

So did the political parties, student and democratic organizations. But particularly notable were the resolutions passed by the labor organizations. Thus, the General Confederation of Labor noted that "the hackneyed slogan of anti-communist struggle . . . invariably means no more and no less

than the enactment of a repressive law aimed at stifling the voices and actions of people who are fighting for genuine social justice for the people, for their liberation from subordination to the imperialists and the monopolies."

In every instance that this "law" was applied there was immediate resistance to the sanctions that followed and solidarity actions with the victims concerned. In many cases these actions were highly successful. To cite a few examples showing how, by rallying and uniting the democratic forces and taking joint action, the hand of the reactionaries can be stayed and the dictatorship weakened. A wave of protest swept Latin America and other countries when Dr. Moises Polak, eminent scientist and head of the anatomy-pathological department at Fiorito Hospital, Dr. Jose Epelbaum, director of the Alvear Hospital clinic, and Dr. Rogers Falco, head of the neurosurgical department at the San Bernardo Hospital in Salta, were dismissed on charges of subversive activity. As a token of solidarity with these scientists the press carried petitions signed by 1,700 specialists, researchers and educationalists, denouncing the arbitrary action of the authorities and demanding the reinstatement of the dismissed physicians. This demand was supported by the Medical Confederation of Argentina, the Buenos Aires Association of Municipal Physicians and the Salta College of Physicians. The Latin American Confederation of Physicians and the World Health Organization, representing 750,000 physicians, declared that the Ongania government must repair the injustice done to these eminent representatives of the medical profession. Here mention should be made of the solidarity displayed by the staff of Alvear Hospital, who formed a committee in support of Dr. Jose Epelbaum and resolved to pay him his salary for the time he was removed from work.

At the 13th Congress of our Party, delegates from the different provinces related how factory and office workers were jointly opposing the arbitrary actions of the dictatorship, and fighting for democratic liberties. In Mar del Plata, for example, when 40 workers were arrested and sentenced to preventive detention, a powerful mass movement sprang up compelling the Federal Appeals Chamber of La Plata to revoke the sentence and free the prisoners. This fact is all the more significant considering that the Federal Appeals Chamber specializes in passing reactionary sentences. The arrested men, mostly workers, refused to

give evidence to the police, and denounced the arbitrary actions of the authorities. While in prison they addressed a letter to public personalities and institutions urging them to protest against their unlawful arrest. The families of the arrested organized protest marches in Azul, the town where they were imprisoned, and in Mar del Plata. Mention should also be made of the movement organized by the League of Struggle for the Rights of Man and by the Union of Women of Argentina which rallied all sections of the population in defense of the prisoners. The appeal of the arrested was supported by 23 advocates and representatives of different political trends. Petitions with thousands of signatures collected in factories and universities demanding the release of the prisoners, poured into the Federal Appeals Chamber.

As always, the Party was the guiding spirit of the popular movement in defense of the arrested group. It drew the attention of the public to the arbitrary actions of the authorities, publishing various materials exposing their tyranny.

The scale of the movement for civil rights is indicative of the people's desire for freedom, of the great reserves of fighters for democracy that exist in almost all sections of the population. This is also seen in the movement known as the Committee for the Defense of Culture and Freedom of Speech, which includes numerous associations of writers, actors, and film producers. In October 1968 a national rally was held in defense of democratic liberties and the rights of man. The rally was a significant event in the life of the country.

A feature of this movement is that it includes civilians and military, old and young, people of different political and ideological views, has the support of numerous labor, university and other public organizations. The movement's appeal was signed by more than 600 public personalities and institutions.

Its idea to hold the First Congress in Defense of Democratic Liberties and the Rights of Man was likewise supported by broad sections of the public. In its appeal to the people in this connection the Committee in Defense of Culture and Freedom of Speech notes: "The important thing today is to overthrow the tyranny and replace it with a representative people's government which will lead the republic along the road of national sovereignty. It is the people, and not self-appointed patrons, who should decide the kind of democracy the

people want, and freely establish or perfect its institutions."

Bent on suppressing all actions by the people, the dictatorship has "perfected" its anti-Communist "law." The latest version provides for harsher punishment and extends the charge of anti-Communist activity to all persons found in possession of publications considered undesirable by the government. This charge can also be levelled at anyone who speaks in defense of persons persecuted by the dictatorship, who demands better conditions, participates in international meetings in defense of peace and national sovereignty. The dictatorship has also promulgated a new "law" of residence, the purpose of which is to expel all foreigners who do not agree with the dictatorship's policy, in other words, those holding democratic and progressive views.

The military or civil tribunals sentence workers to from four to 10 years' imprisonment for participating in strikes declared by their unions. Several young people have been given life terms for alleged participation in guerrilla activity. To date, thousands of citizens have been dismissed from their jobs under the new anti-communist "law."

The police wreak vengeance on workers and students opposing the regime. Many of them have been put to death: Cabral in Corrientes; Bello and Blanco in Rosario; Menna, Castellanos and Terza in Cordoba; Jauregui in Buenos Aires.

Lawyers are thrown into prison for defending political prisoners. The authorities have raised their hand even against such prominent military men and patriots as General Rosas for defending the country's national wealth. The premises of the General Confederation of Labor have been raided. "The dictatorship of the monopolies and the latifundia is using these barbarous methods to prevent a solution of the grave national problems in the interests of democracy and the people," the Central Committee of the Communist Party declared in its statement of July 1, 1969. "The people want an end to the dictatorship. The handful of usurpers in power are resorting to terror to retain this power." These repressions, however, are a sign of the government's weakness. The state of siege and official terror speak loudly of the dictatorship's bankruptcy in all spheres.

However, the barbarity and terror which have been made official policy, are powerless to prevent the struggle of our Party, of the working class, of the entire people, gaining momentum. This was clearly de-

monstrated in the strikes that swept Argentina on May 30 and July 1, virtually paralyzing all life in the country, in the numerous demonstrations in the cities, the mass protests against the visit to Argentina of U.S. imperialism's emissary, Rockefeller. These facts show how deeply the working people, the entire nation, who are displaying true heroism in their resistance to the policy of terror, abhor the fascist dictatorship. Even some judicial figures, acting in the spirit of respect for the Constitution, which all the country's democratic forces demand, declared that the "law" establishing military tribunals was unconstitutional.

The broadest sections of the people realize that the fight for democratic liberties has become a political necessity, and, as a consequence, the movement to put an end to the McCarthy system imposed by the dictatorship is spreading far and wide. Effective mass actions can compel the reaction to retreat, *Nuestra Palabra*, organ of the Central Committee, wrote on July 8, 1969: "Whenever public personalities have been imprisoned in our country, there immediately arose a powerful solidarity movement with them and the members of their families, campaigns for their release and the restoration of civil rights. But never before has this movement been so widespread and so militant as it is today . . ."

In their long struggle for freedom the Argentine people have always been able to rely on international solidarity. This solidarity is manifested also at the present moment when workers', parliamentary, student and democratic organizations of different countries are extending ever wider

support. The Communist Party and the other democratic organizations in our country have likewise expressed their support for the victims of reaction in America and in other continents. Thus, in 1968 a delegation of Argentina public figures representing various ideological trends travelled to Paraguay to investigate the conditions of 150 political prisoners there. The delegation was headed by Dr. Enrique Coronas, a former ambassador. It denounced the inhuman conditions in which the prisoners were detained and petitioned for their release. Some of the prisoners, as for example, Antonio Maidana and Julio Rojas, have been incarcerated for more than 11 years now, despite the court's order acquitting them. The delegation received wide publicity in Paraguay and in other countries.

The fight for civil rights occupies an important place in the common struggle of the working class and the people against the dictatorship. The Communist Party, in the van of this struggle, is sparing no effort to rally and unite the forces ready to uphold democratic liberties. It is engaged in extensive work to unite the actions of workers, peasants, students and other sections for their economic, social, political cultural and other demands, to establish a common front of struggle to overthrow the military-fascist government, and establish a broad democratic coalition government which would convoke a Constituent Assembly based on free elections and proportional representation, and guarantee the country democracy, economic independence, national sovereignty and social progress.

Communist Party of USA celebrates its 50th anniversary

In September American Communists, and with them the international Communist movement, marked the 50th birthday of the Communist Party of the USA. The foundation of the Marxist-Leninist party of the American working class was laid on September 1, 1919 in Chicago when the Left wing of the Socialist Party, headed by John

Reed, fearless champion of the working class, formed the Communist Workers' Party of America which later united with the Michigan group of the Socialist Party, led by Charles Rutenber.

Throughout the 50 years of their history the American Communists, undaunted by persecution, using legal and illegal forms of

work, have selflessly upheld the interests of the working people of their country, have tirelessly championed socialist ideals. Today they are to the fore in fighting to end U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam, against the militarization of the country, for peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

The Communist Party's jubilee was widely marked by progressives throughout the country with anniversary meetings in New York and other cities and by the Party press. In a special anniversary issue, *The Daily World* commented editorially that together with many in the United States and abroad it salutes the past of the Communist Party, its inspiring present and future when it will play its historical role in helping to build a world of brotherhood free from war, racism and hunger.

The Party's theoretical organ *Political Affairs*, devoted its September-October issue to the anniversary.

The Party's National Committee received congratulatory messages from many fraternal parties. In a cabled message the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union noted:

"Throughout the 50 years of its militant activity, waging an uncompromising fight against all manifestations of opportunism whether from the Right or the Left, the Communist Party of the USA has unswervingly demonstrated its loyalty to the ideas of the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine, of proletarian internationalism. It consistently works for unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of the principles collectively formulated in the documents of the International Meetings of Communist and Workers' parties."

The message from the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam stated:

"The Communist Party, the working class, different sections of the population, organizations that treasure peace and justice, and individual citizens in the United States warmly support the patriotic struggle of our people against the aggression of U.S. imperialism. This support is a positive contribution to foiling American imperialism's aggressive plans against our country and is an inspiration to our people in their just struggle."

A special anniversary meeting in Moscow was addressed by Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the USA. Winston spoke about the difficult path traversed by the Party in its 50 years, the unflagging struggle of the American Communists in legal, semi-legal and illegal conditions against imperialism, the tasks facing the Party at the moment. He stressed the need for the Party to win the mass support of the working class and the trade unions, to establish a powerful anti-monopoly coalition to fight for the rights of the American working people, for equality for the Negro population, against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, and for ending the shameful war in Vietnam.

The Party, Comrade Winston noted, was gaining in strength, and influence. He expressed the confidence that the Party will overcome the difficulties in its way and fulfil its historical mission: "We shall go forward despite every trial," he said, "and we shall win. We shall have socialism in the United States."

I.M.

In brief

ARGENTINA

Despite the conditions of illegality in which the Communist Party of Argentina has to operate, it is giving wide publicity to the documents of the recent International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Thus, the conference proceedings, including the speech made by R. Ghioldi,

who headed our Party's delegation, have been published in *Nuestra Palabra*, organ of the Central Committee, and in *Frente Unido*, the Party paper in Buenos Aires province. Also the Party journals *Nueva Era* and *Cuadernos de Cultura* are giving the Meeting wide coverage. In addition, the documents and the speech made by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Cen-

tral Committee of the CPSU, have been put out in separate pamphlets. The Party is also arranging lectures on the significance of the Meeting in the struggle against imperialism.

BELGIUM

It has become increasingly clear in recent months that the need for radical political change is more and more occupying the minds of thousands of citizens of the country and determining their actions, writes Marc Drumaux, Chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium, in *Drapeau Rouge*. He notes further that, "We have reached a crucial stage in the class struggle. Revolutionary change is essential. We cannot depend on the fact that the weakness and instability of the political rule of the big monopolies and, in particular, the crisis in the leading bourgeois parties—the Social-Christian Party, and the Party of Freedom and Progress—will be enough for the Left forces to win an easy majority in future elections. . . ." Marc Drumaux calls for unity of the working-class and democratic movement, for structural reforms based on worker control, for government reforms, especially with respect to the municipalities, for a new foreign policy aimed at achieving an international alliance of all peace forces.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Executive Committee of the British Communist Party, after hearing a report from its delegation to the International Meeting in Moscow, assessed the conference as a big success for the international movement and for the fight against imperialism. The Executive endorsed the stand of its delegation and approved without any reservations three of the four documents adopted at the Meeting.

While the Executive did not find it possible to give its assent to the Main Document in its entirety since on some points it has reservations, it nevertheless accepts the Document "as a valuable basis for discussing the problems of our time, as an essential outline of the main tasks and issues of policy around which the broadest anti-imperialist forces can be rallied in the fight for peace, national independence, democracy and social advance."

The documents of the conference and the speech delivered by John Gollan, head of the British delegation to the Meeting, have been printed in pamphlet form. The conference decisions have been discussed also

at district and branch levels and will feature in talks and discussion in classes throughout the Party's educational network.

DENMARK

On the initiative of twenty progressive political and public organizations, including the Communist Party, an Anti-NATO Week was held during which demonstrations took place in many towns, urging the country's withdrawal from the bloc. Addressing a public meeting in Copenhagen, Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Communist Party, said that Denmark should take the way of disarmament and neutrality. He called on the Left forces in the country to unite in the fight for relaxation of tension and rejection of the policy of military blocs.

WEST BERLIN

At a meeting of the Executive of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Bruno Kuster reported on the results of the International Meeting and the work of its delegation. The Executive unanimously endorsed the documents of the Meeting and activity of its delegation and called on all Party organizations and the membership to study the rich theoretical and ideological material in the documents.

A conference of a thousand Party functionaries held in West Berlin was addressed by Gerhard Danelius, Chairman of the SUP (West Berlin). Danelius called on the membership to make effective use of the documents of the Meeting in their mass work. Similar forums and talks were held in different districts of the city.

ISRAEL

After hearing a report by the General Secretary, Meir Vilner, on the International Meeting in Moscow, the General Committee of the Communist Party of Israel approved the activity of its delegation and adopted a resolution supporting the documents of the international forum. The meeting also discussed Party work in connection with the elections to the Histadrut (Jewish Labor Federation) and the general election.

Meetings devoted to the international forum were held in the principal cities of the country. The documents of the Meeting have been published in a special issue of the Party's theoretical journal *Arakhim*.

INDIA

In a special statement on the Presidential election results, the Central Secretariat of

the Communist Party of India congratulated the deputies to parliament and to the legislative assemblies of the States, and also the people on the splendid victory won over the forces of reaction as a result of the elections. The nationalization of 14 of the country's biggest banks, the removal of Morarji Desai as Finance Minister, the election of V. Giri as president — all this, notes the Central Secretariat in its statement, speaks of a new political situation in the country. The elections showed the ability of the Left and democratic forces to defeat reaction through joint actions.

JORDAN

"The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties supported the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, reaction and Zionism," is how *Al-Watan*, organ of the Jordanian Communist Party on the occupied bank of the Jordan, headed its commentary on the international forum. Noting its importance in promoting unity of the Communist movement, the paper stressed that the Meeting's statement on the Middle East, made on the proposal of the Communist parties of the Arab countries and the Communist Party of Israel, was met with deep satisfaction by the entire Arab world, for it denounced the imperialist Zionist aggression against the Arab countries and the crimes committed by Zionism, demanded the withdrawal of the troops from the occupied territories and called on all democratic forces to support the struggle of the Arab peoples.

SPAIN

The appeal of the National Workers' Commission in connection with Catalonia's national holiday on September 11, was widely circulated in Barcelona. We come to this date, the appeal said, when in the Basque country, Galicia and Catalonia the national struggle is acquiring new scope, when our class brothers in other regions of Spain are fighting against our common foe: the capitalists, landowners and rulers. The Workers' Commission calls on the people to fight for the right to self-determination for Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia, for a general amnesty for political prisoners, the right to strike, national rights in the sphere of culture, against the wage freeze and for a 40-hour working week.

ITALY

On May 18, the working people of Italy started a fund-raising campaign for the Communist press, collecting over 1,342,000

lira by the end of August. From September 9 to 14 *Unita* Week was held in Livorno during which there were discussions and meetings between Party leaders and working people.

PAKISTAN

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Pakistan recently issued the following statement: Nobody can deny that the Communist Party of East Pakistan is operating clandestinely in Pakistan. It is therefore pertinent to note the dispatch of the *Pakistan Observer* which alleges that according to "informed sources" in Islamabad (the present capital of Pakistan) no Communist Party exists in either part of Pakistan and that, therefore, the question of a representative of East Pakistan participating in the Moscow Meeting does not arise. The paper goes on to say that the so-called Communist Party of East Pakistan was represented at the Meeting by a non-Muslim who had travelled on an Indian passport.

This whole dispatch, the CC noted, is false and speculative from beginning to end.

Ever since Pakistan achieved independence our Party has been persecuted. In 1953 the Party decided to operate openly but a few months later, at the beginning of 1954, it was banned by the government. The Party therefore had no choice but to operate illegally in the interests of the working people.

We emphatically declare that a delegation from our Party participated in the work of the Moscow Meeting and that is was a wholly Pakistani delegation.

The "informed sources" in Islamabad should know that at the historic Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties nobody could represent any country but their own.

We strongly protest, the Central Committee concludes its statement, against this malicious and slanderous propaganda by "informed sources" in Islamabad.

PORTUGAL

At a recent meeting the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party reviewed the political situation in the country and passed a resolution on the immediate tasks in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, and also a document on the forthcoming elections to the National Assembly. It also discussed the results of the International Meeting in Moscow, adopting a corresponding decision, and endorsed measures in connection with the Lenin centenary.

Theoretical work in fraternal parties

GDR: UNBREAKABLE LINK BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

That the German Democratic Republic is one huge building site is accepted as a commonplace. But apart from the literal, the phrase has a deeper meaning, underscoring the historical mission of the first socialist state on German soil. Walter Ulbricht has pointed out that in the confrontation with the revenge-seeking imperialist West Germany, the GDR is fighting a steadfast battle in all areas of socialist upbuilding — economy, politics, ideology and culture—in which the Socialist Unity Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory.

In material terms, our Party's contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism is that the socialist system has taken deep root, with further advances possible only through a constructive application of Marxist-Leninist theory. Indicatively, the Central Committee meeting, held in the 20th year of our Republic, was specially oriented on questions of theory, on enlivening our ideological work and strengthening the link between theory and practice.

Einheit, the journal of the Central Committee, concentrates chiefly on the principal aspects of the Party's theoretical work, this year's issues dealing, among other things, with the ways of improving social relations, reinforcing the socialist base, and promoting ideology and culture. Much space is devoted to studies of the present-day imperialism, especially its West German variety, and pinpointing its new features. This provides a scientific basis for our struggle against imperialism.

Noting the sharpness of the ideological struggle and the reasons for it, the journal participates in working out the theoretical principles for the Party's ideological work,

showing that uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideas is essential at all times, no matter how subtle and how well concealed they may be.

The article, "Our Material, Technical and Ideological Tasks Constitute a Single Whole," in the No. 6 issue of *Einheit* examines the dialectical unity of the technico-material and ideological factors in a comprehensive socialist society, linking the key problems of industrial growth with the need for better work among the masses, with each individual. The Party's leading role, the article stresses, should therefore materialize in more intensive ideological work based on scientific principles.

The article, "Marxist-Leninist Philosophy and Cultivating the Socialist Outlook" (*Einheit*, No. 6), shows the role of cultural and spiritual life in advancing socialism. Every step forward made by society, it stresses, should be based on the conviction of its members and performed by the people consciously. It is always necessary, therefore, to learn and apply dialectical and historical materialism. The world outlook of people is a decisive element of their socialist consciousness. The article defines the tasks of the GDR theorists in consolidating the socialist system of social relations.

An important aspect of the relationship between basis and superstructure is examined in "Economy and Ideology," in No. 7. By virtue of the radical changes in all social spheres, the role of consciousness in the attitude to labor is increasing. The more complicated the economic, technical and ideological tasks become, the more intensively the Party branches, local authorities and factory administrators must engage in educational work.

In No. 8 an article headed, "Economy and Ideology in Science and Technology," studies the problems arising during the development of the socialist economic system, emphasizing the significant part played by science and technology in planning and in socialist reproduction. The article stresses the role of material and moral incentives in science, urging a radical change in the wage system and the training of specialists. The conclusion: success is assured for that Party branch which works on a high scientific level and strives to achieve the best social organization of technico-scientific work, for that branch which uses all its means to secure the conscious activity of the collective.

Full control over the social, theoretical, and economic factors of modern science "is decisive in the contest between the two opposed social systems," says the article, "Science and Socialism," also in No. 8.

The September-October issue of *Einheit* (No. 9-10), which reviews the work of the Party, government and the people in the past twenty years, provides impressive reading. The jubilee issue marking the 20th anniversary of the GDR shows, among other things, that the establishment and growth of the first socialist state on German soil is a triumph for Marxism-Leninism, for the German working class and its Party.

"The twenty years of the German socialist state," the journal says, "is convincing proof of its historic significance. The establishment of the German Democratic Republic is an important link in the chain of victories won by socialism over imperialism in our epoch."

The journal contains Comrade Ulbricht's preface to the book, "The Political Economy of Socialism and Its Application in the GDR," which is due off the presses shortly.

The editorial, "The Socialist Unity Party—the Leading Force in the GDR," surveys in succinct form the importance of theoretical work, its content, form and method, showing that the Party's strategy and tactics are correct because they are based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development. The article stresses that the Party "from the beginning set the task of cultivating a knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory among all its members, so that they should learn to use it in practice and, moreover, to acquire new experience through its application."

The journal shows that the rapidly changing relationship between the productive forces, the relations of production and the superstructure, between economy, politics and ideology, enhances the guiding role of the Party, necessitating constant Party control over social development. No advance is possible, therefore, without accentuating the Party's role and continuously expanding Party activity based on the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Party performs its guiding role by boldly tackling the new problems.

Contributing to the preparations for the centenary of Lenin's birth, the journal's jubilee issue looks at the historic significance of Leninism, showing the growing importance of Lenin's ideas and their role in building the new society, in elucidating the current processes.

The journal gave extensive coverage to the June International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, publishing its decisions in No. 7 and reprinting from *Problems of Peace and Socialism* Comrade Brezhnev's article, "Fresh Upsurge of the Communist Movement." The jubilee issue, too, responded in different ways to the Meeting, that momentous event in the history of the world Communist movement.

CHILE: RELEVANCE OF MARXIST RESEARCH

The Institute of Marxist Research founded by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile has enlivened its work of late. In anticipation of the centenary of Lenin's birth, the Institute plans to examine and develop some general theoretical problems of Leninism in 1969-1970. Its researches center mainly on the topical theoretical and ideological tasks of the Party.

Seminars on philosophy, political economy, sociology, etc., are held regularly under the auspices of the Institute. Many

requests come to it for lectures. Its associates are invited to participate in forums and round-table conferences in universities, schools and religious conventions. The Institute also uses the municipal culture centers (institutions established and subsidized by the municipalities in the bigger towns) as a convenient forum.

In July and August, the Institute held Marxist Days in the northern towns of Antofagasta, Iquique and Arica jointly with the National University. Three lectures have been prepared, "Lenin, His Life and

Work," "The Multi-Party System and Ideological Pluralism" and "Marcuse and Youth Power," contributing greatly to the ideological battle against anti-Communism and revisionism. The lectures were attended by workers, students and intellectuals, the press and radio showing a keen interest in the Party's theoretical work. The undertaking owes its success chiefly to being topical—a living example of the link between theory and practice.

The lecture about Lenin exposes Right attempts at tarnishing the memory of the great workers' leader and reveals, too, how the ultra-Left misrepresents Lenin's life and work, falsifying his ideological legacy, his writings, using quotations out of context in order to "prove" that Lenin believed only in armed struggle, opposed any alliance between the workers and other anti-imperialist forces and parties, disavowed the idea of mass Communist parties, favored "narrow" parties, scoffed at the idea of ever using the parliament as a form of struggle, etc.

Our Party has to contend with these views and the theoretical investigation, therefore, is of considerable practical value.

The lecture on pluralism, highly topical now when the anti-imperialist forces present an alternative power, refutes the contention that at present the working class and its political parties alone should wage

the revolutionary struggle in the so-called Working People's Front and Revolutionary Front. As the Party sees it, Communist and Socialist workers should be the nucleus of all the anti-imperialist forces represented in any newly-formed government, but other forces comprising the anti-imperialist movement should also be included in it. The government's purpose should be to liberate the country from imperialist and oligarchic oppression and to prepare the ground for building socialism.

The lecture about Marcuse and youth power exposed those imperialist groups disseminating Marcuse's ideas. Marcuse and his followers oppose the youth to the working class; they malign the workers, who, they allege, are becoming integrated into the capitalist system and are ceasing to be a revolutionary force. Also, Marcuse sows distrust of socialism and progress. The Party holds that these views could become dangerous if not combated. This was stressed by Comrade Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of our Party, at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. To produce a reasoned analysis of the quasi-scientific and quasi-revolutionary ideas peddled by Marcuse, therefore, is for the Institute a vital assignment in order to show the harm of the "teaching" of this latest "apostle of the third force," as Marcuse is described by the ideologists of anti-communism.

IN THIS ISSUE

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In the section "Viewpoints," Antonin **KAPEK**, member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and Lev **LEONTYEV**, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, write about economy and politics in socialist society.

Tadeusz **JENDRUSZCZAK**, Polish historian, writes about the lessons of history in connection with the 30th anniversary of the beginning of the Second World War.

Replying to readers' questions, Academician Shagdarzhavyn

NATSAGDORZH (Mongolia) writes about the reconstruction of agrarian relations in his country.

The section "Against the Persecution of Democrats" carries material about the arbitrary actions of the Moroccan authorities and the offensive of the reactionary forces in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Economy and politics in socialist society

ANTONIN KAPEK, LEV LEONTYEV

The recent International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties reaffirmed the importance of the link between economy and politics in the socialist world, the need for economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of socialist society. Needless to say, this subject is of considerable theoretical interest and of immense practical importance for the countries building the new society.

The concrete forms of the economic system and political organization in the socialist states may differ, depending on the specific conditions, but the basic principles of the relationship between economy and politics are conditioned by the universal laws of socialist construction, obligatory for all nations that are building socialism. It may be useful, therefore, to recall some of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist ideas about the role and place of economy and politics in the life of society.

Marxism-Leninism postulates that the economic structure of society is the basis, the foundation, on which the political and ideological superstructures rest. The political superstructure arising on a definite economic basis exerts, in turn, a reciprocal influence on the latter.

These Marxist precepts, borne out by experience, have never been so tangible as in our time. The foreign and domestic policies of the capitalist countries and their relationship to the contemporary historical processes would be totally incomprehensible were we to overlook the fact that they are conditioned by the economy of capitalist society, by the interests of the state-monopoly bourgeoisie. Conversely, the policy of

the socialist countries and their community, their role as standard-bearers of social progress, as citadels of democracy and world peace and as the indestructible barrier to imperialist aggression, is based on the socialist economic system.

I.

The dialectical link between the economy and politics during the socialist reconstruction of society was demonstrated by Lenin in the early days of the Soviet state. Lenin's main ideas on the subject are the following: First, politics is the most concentrated expression of the economy (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 32); second, politics cannot but take precedence over the economy (*ibid.*, p. 83); third, economic development is the politics that interests us most (*ibid.*, p. 430); the socialist country is exerting its principal influence on the world revolutionary process through its economic policy (*ibid.*, p. 437).

The concept that "politics is the most concentrated expression of the economy" underscores first that the political superstructure is conditioned by the economic basis. The socialist state born of the revolution is an expression of the social need for economic development or, more precisely, of the objective necessity for advancing towards a new, higher economic system, to socialism. That, indeed, is the main source of strength of the victorious proletariat, the guarantee of success in its constructive activity.

Socialism is unthinkable without certain economic and political preconditions. In the

countries of Central and Southeast Europe it is the logical outcome of years of dedicated struggle by the workers and the people against the exploiting classes and their reactionary policy, a struggle which was crowned with victory after the liberation of their countries from the fascist occupation and the complete defeat of Hitler Germany. The victory won by the Soviet Army was crucial to changing the balance of forces in the world, clearing the way for the socialist revolution in these countries. This victory also enhanced the power of attraction of socialism. Thus, in Czechoslovakia for example, the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, came to power in a peaceful way.

The working class fighting for socialism, Lenin emphasized, cannot but regard political struggle as the principal area of its revolutionary activity, which ultimately leads to peaceful and non-peaceful struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the political rule of the bourgeoisie, for establishing, maintaining and consolidating the political rule of the working class. The conquest of political power by the working class, headed by the Marxist-Leninist party, safeguarding and retaining that power, is the crucial condition for the socialist reconstruction of society. Though in some countries power came peacefully, this does not negate the important—and in some cases decisive—role, played by other forms of the struggle for power, for example, armed struggle.

II.

Lenin's point that politics cannot but take precedence over economy is doubly valid at present. The rise of the socialist world system adds very greatly to its significance. To begin with, it now applies not to one, but to all the socialist countries. Any violation of it, disharmony between politics and economy, or an incorrect policy by any one of the socialist countries, place the gains of socialism and the workers' political power in jeopardy and may thus weaken the entire socialist community. Therefore the international political responsibility of each fraternal Party is all the greater. Furthermore, Lenin's point, which now applies to the socialist community as a whole, postulates consistent strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries in the confrontation with imperialism, consistent deepening of their economic and cultural cooperation.

Imperialism pins its hopes increasingly on a "softening up" in the socialist countries, building its far-reaching designs on schemes for dividing the socialist countries and on penetrating into every crevice created by differences between them. It regards destruction of workers' power and loss of the leading role by the Marxist-Leninist party in any socialist country as the way of changing the balance of forces in its favor. Hence its support for opportunist, revisionist elements that undermine socialist statehood and the Communist Party's leading role, as in the counter-revolutionary revolt of 1956 in Hungary and during the Czechoslovak events. Hence the ceaseless anti-Communist propaganda maligning proletarian internationalism and attributing to the socialist community the spurious concept of "limited sovereignty." A clear appreciation of the unity of the national and international tasks of each country in the socialist community, of each revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, is therefore absolutely essential.

In the context of practical politics this implies, firstly, consistent consolidation of the workers' rule in each socialist country; secondly, educating the working people in all socialist countries in the spirit of socialist internationalism and, thirdly, close political and economic cooperation between all the countries of the socialist community. For this, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries and the authority of their Marxist-Leninist leadership must be extended and reinforced. That is the only possible way of cementing the ideological unity of the Communist movement in the fraternal countries, achieving general economic progress and making more effective the joint actions of the socialist community against imperialism.

Lenin called attention to the indissoluble link between the economic and political functions of the socialist state. He cautioned against neglecting their unity in the process of building socialism. Without the right political approach, he warned, the working class would lose its grip on power and, consequently, would not be able to fulfil its economic tasks (Vol. 32, p. 83). Holding power firmly, the workers and all working people set their sights on building a socialist economy, ensuring its steady growth and prosperity. The ultimate political aim of a Marxist-Leninist party in power is to advance to a communist society.

These have been, and are, the guiding principles of the CPSU which has the great-

est experience in achieving, retaining and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and its economic and organizational function. This experience of the CPSU was accumulated in extremely complex conditions at home and abroad, in the fight against all manner of Right and "Left" deviations. Although not everything turned out the way we had figured, we accomplished the main thing: in a brief space of time a backward country was transformed into a powerful socialist industrial country, which is now effecting the transition to communism.

The experience of the other socialist countries reveals the same dialectical link between politics and economy during the socialist reconstruction of society. To build socialism, the working class must first win political power. And the facts show that to win, maintain and consolidate political power, all economic activity must be geared to this end. And conversely, accomplishment of the economic tasks of building socialism is a major condition for maintaining and consolidating the political power of the workers.

Experience has also shown that any manifestation of dilettantism or Left-sectarian adventurism in guiding the building of socialism is every bit as harmful as Right opportunism. As a rule Right opportunism sets about revising — in practice, as well as in theory — the main guidelines and methods of building socialism, and this could result in a situation imperilling the very pillars of socialism. Dilettantism and adventurism in running a socialist society lead to undue haste in tackling urgent tasks, or, conversely, to doing so belatedly. Both the one and the other tend to discredit the aims of socialist construction, detracting from socialism's power of attraction and clearing the ground for revisionism and Right opportunism.

As many participants at the International Meeting in Moscow noted, nationalism is the common feature of both Right and "Left" deviations. It engenders centrifugal tendencies in the socialist community. It therefore becomes a most important political function of the socialist state to combat it.

III.

The unity of politics and economy in socialist society is embodied in the economic policy of the Party and government. The economic policy of the socialist state is based on the solid foundation of Marxist-

Leninist economic theory, backed by the interest which the people show in the country's economic growth. In the mass of the people, Lenin said, "lie dormant the great forces of revolution, renaissance and renovation" (Vol. 26, p. 482).

The active role of the people in conscious activity, an inexhaustible source of strength in socialist society, plays a growing role as the energy and initiative of the people are released.

"Politics," Lenin wrote, "begins where millions of men and women are; where there are not thousands, but millions" (Vol. 27, p. 100). "Politics," he pointed out, "involves the actual fate of millions of people" (Vol. 30, p. 354). In the socialist state, economic policy affects the lives of millions upon millions of people. It does not allow for oversimplified solutions which may seem to be practicable. On the contrary, it requires that a variety of factors be taken into account, ability to anticipate the consequences, even fairly distant ones, and their effect on the various aspects of economic and social life. With the economic problems and ties growing more and more complex owing to the dynamism of the socialist economy and the technological revolution, the economic policy must be thoroughly considered and scientifically implemented.

In the socialist state economic policy covers a wide range of problems: firstly, defining the scientific concept of the outlook for economic, scientific and technological growth, meeting the long-term and immediate material and cultural needs of society, while providing the necessary conditions for rapid expansion and assigning adequate means and resources to accumulation and defense; secondly, assuring a harmonious and planned growth of the economy, while securing effective structural changes; thirdly, organizing the labor of vast masses of people on a countrywide scale, with provisions for their material interests and moral incentives, releasing their energy, initiative and enthusiasm and making their labor fruitful and effective; fourthly, ensuring a steady improvement in the well-being of the people and providing the material prerequisites for the development of socialist culture; fifthly, extending and deepening different forms of mutually advantageous cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries; sixthly, exercising in one form or another monopoly of foreign trade and promoting effective foreign economic relations.

As we see, the economic policy of the socialist state covers a wide range of tasks—drawing up and carrying forward long-term development programs, medium- and short-term plans, consistently improving the economic structure in keeping with the demands of the technological revolution, and applying the concrete instruments of economic guidance, e.g., prices, wages, incomes, finance, and so on, which facilitate the fulfilment in social practice of the long- and short-term plans.

The investment and technico-scientific policy, a crucial factor of structural change, the technical re-equipment of the economy and the building of the technico-material basis of socialism and communism, figures prominently in the general economic policy.

It is part of the economic policy of the socialist state gradually to harmonize the economic and cultural levels of the different regions or constituent republics of the country, assuring their smooth and steady growth. This helps remove the disparities in living standards, securing equal social conditions for all citizens and strengthening their moral and political unity.

In aggregate, therefore, the economic policy entails important political consequences; its success lays the ground for success in social development generally. That is why the socialist countries and their leading force, the Communist and Workers' parties, are so closely concerned with the various aspects of economic policy. It is an inseparable area of the general policy of the Communist and Workers' parties of the fraternal countries, its success assuring progress in building socialism in each country and the socialist community as a whole. Wherever true concern for the economic policy is replaced by general political talk and verbal fireworks, often conflicting with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the economy inevitably begins to sag, incurring losses and making blunders.

IV.

The unity of economy and politics in the socialist society is epitomized by the fact that socialism stands for labor organized on a countrywide scale. Marxist science has shown and recorded the fact, corroborated in the practice of building socialism, that socialism is no more conceivable without economic planning and management by central bodies than capitalism, for all the change in it, is conceivable without its anarchy of production. Lenin saw socialist

planning as a self-evident and incontestable fact. He regarded planning as one of the greatest socialist gains and advantages and defined it as the central function of the socialist state.

Socialism was the first to set humanity the daring aim of reorganizing the economy along rational lines, of a harmoniously organized economy working according to a single coordinated plan and propelled by one common will. As anticipated, running an economy according to a single plan turned out to be a far from smooth undertaking. Organizing the labor of a thousand or even several thousand workers in a capitalist concern and organizing the labor of millions of people in a socialist economy is different not only in scale. There is also a difference in kind behind that of quantity. Here we encounter one of those cases of quantity passing into quality that frequently occur in life.

Practice has shown that harmoniously planned economic growth is an irrevocable objective law in socialist society. But mastery over it does not come automatically, it requires considerable practical experience, continuous perfecting of organization and planning—this on the basis of due account and generalization of the practical experience of building a new life by millions of people.

The plan should not be regarded as rigid and therefore unalterable. Planning the economy amounts to a rational organization of the creative energies of the people, with the basic cells of the economic organism—the enterprises and their associations—playing an important role in drafting, as well as fulfilling, the plans.

The entire history of building socialism demonstrates the advantages of planning, which has eliminated spontaneity and the unevenness typical of the capitalist system. The economy of the socialist countries, which have resolved the main structural problems, develops at a considerably faster rate than that of the imperialist countries. Socialist planning, both on the scale of the entire economy and at factory level, makes it possible to set the basic goals of future development, concentrate the efforts of the management at all levels on attaining them, mobilize the working people and thus achieve success in a relatively short space of time.

With the growth of the economic potential and economic basis of socialism, the system of planned management is gradually

perfected. In recent years, practically all the socialist countries in Europe have been carrying out economic reforms, aimed at making management and planning more scientific, at enhancing the role of long-term plans, extending the rights of enterprises in keeping with the principles of harmonious development of the entire economy and thus providing broader scope for their initiative. Experience shows that the socialist countries are benefiting from the reforms and that creative development of economic theory based on Marxism-Leninism makes for progress for the individual socialist country and for the socialist community as a whole.

At present, when most of the socialist countries are building a comprehensive socialist society and are concerned with realizing the advantages of socialism in the present era of technico-scientific revolution, an appreciation of the unity of politics and economy is imperative. Any separation of politics from economy inevitably entails grave consequences for the latter, which our class enemies lose no time in exploiting, alleging "de-politicization" of economy and "de-ideologization" of politics. Imperialist propaganda sees this as a kind of Trojan horse in the socialist countries. And the Right opportunists, too, who in effect proceed from the same assumption, demand "separation of the economy from the state." This demand is tantamount to denying the fundamentals of the socialist system.

In Czechoslovakia, for example, the concept of separating the economy from the state was applied in the guise of the demand for so-called factory councils, which were often under the control of anti-socialists and which openly set themselves against the Party and economic leadership, and in the guise of a "theory" advocating liquidation of the leading and organizational function of the state plan. It was argued that the plan should be no more than a general guide for the enterprises, a kind of general exposition of the economic development envisaged by the central bodies in the period ahead.

At the beginning of 1969, Right-wing forces in Czechoslovakia campaigned for a state law on "factory councils." Politically, the aim was to abolish the leading role of the CPC, keep the Party out of economic management, prevent the state from exerting an influence on the economy and in this way destroy the existing political system.

That these revisionist concepts were untenable became evident in the short period

from March 1968 to mid-1969, when economic development began to assume a spontaneous character, departing more and more from the targets of the state plan. The various experiments did not corroborate the much advertised benefits of the "factory councils." Another negative feature was the fact that the former Party leadership failed to give enough attention to economic problems. While the old system of management was discarded, the economic reform only partially covered the economy (and even then it was theoretically ambiguous). In practical terms, the ideological concept of "de-politicizing the economy" and economic liberalism did the Czechoslovak economy considerable harm, giving free rein to spontaneity and anarchy, sharply slowing down economic development, causing inflation and disproportions. Thus, the existing problems in the Czechoslovak economy are the result of two deformations: pre-January 1968 and post-January. The tendency arising from many of the post-January 1968 positions of the Party and government leadership was subjected to criticism and the Party and the government are now directing their efforts towards remedying the situation. The CPC is currently taking steps to reinforce planning, to halt inflation, tighten labor discipline and eliminate the consequences of the previous spontaneous development and sabotage by the anti-socialists.

V.

In its economic policy the function of a socialist state is to promote democratic centralism. Lenin saw clearly that the principles of democratic centralism are beset by two dangers: deterioration of democratic centralism into bureaucratic centralism, on the one hand, and violation of centralism by a variety of parochial and anarcho-syndicalist tendencies, on the other. He described both dangers as being the result of petty-bourgeois influence on the working class, on the socialist state. Currently, democratic centralism calls for preventing senseless bureaucratic centralism in relation to the lower levels of management and guidance in production and society, and the anarchy stemming from the free play of spontaneous economic forces, which ultimately produces conflicting interests at enterprise level, upsets production harmony and causes grave economic damage.

The principle of democratic centralism applied by the Marxist-Leninist parties and

governing the economic policies of socialist states is designed to combine unity of will and unity of aim, without which the socialist economy cannot conceivably function as it should, with the relative independence of the economic cells, the enterprises and their associations, releasing the energy and initiative of the workers.

The ideologues of imperialism maintain that the socialist economy is faced by the dilemma: either centralized economic guidance by purely administrative, "directive" methods, or economic independence at factory level, ruling out centralized planning. That dilemma, however, is non-existent.

Public ownership makes it possible and necessary to advance and consolidate the two basic elements of democratic centralism: the centralized planned guidance of the economy and the democratic methods of management. Proper use of these two interconnected elements, their best combination at every stage in building socialism and communism, is crucial in assuring scientific guidance.

The particular ways of combining centralization and democracy, the practical methods employed in assuring democratic centralism, cannot be the same at all times. They must, and inevitably do, change as the socialist economy expands, augmenting its potential and thereby adding to the range and complexity of its tasks. But in all this flux of the socialist economic system based on public ownership the crucial role naturally belongs to centralized planning.

Dialectically, there are periods in the growth of socialist society when contradictions arise in the relation between the growth of the productive forces and the relations of production. Yet they never become antagonistic and can be solved, given the correct policy of the Marxist-Leninist party and of the state. The main purpose of the economic reforms initiated in most socialist countries by the Communist and Workers' parties, is to bring the production relations in line with the level achieved in the development of the productive forces. In plainer terms this means the endeavor to create an economic and social atmosphere in which the interests of each wage-earner, the collective, and the society as a whole, should harmonize to the fullest possible extent.

The pattern of the economic reforms differs from country to country owing to the specifics in each and the degree of its economic development. Yet the reforms in all the socialist countries have some highly

important features in common. One of these is that to enhance the effectiveness of production and advance planning, the role of economic methods of running enterprises and industries, the role of incentives and economic levers of development is accentuated. The accent on economic levers, far from depressing the significance of centralized planned management, is designed to reinforce it, to improve its scientific level, to make it more effective and efficient.

Thus, the economic reform in the USSR, while aiming at the broadest worker participation in factory management, extending the rights of the enterprises and encouraging their initiative, at the same time helps to improve the scientific principles of centralized long-term planning, enhance the role of the central economic bodies, including the ministries. The latter now concentrate on the key economic tasks and are relieved of petty tutelage over enterprises.

VI.

Of late, imperialist theorists have been trying to palm off on the socialist countries the concept of a "market socialism," connoting rejection of planned management and a free play of the spontaneous market forces. This concept is also espoused by the Right opportunists peddling, in the guise of "new models" of socialism, reformist recipes of the "mixed economy," long ago disproved by Marxist theory and rejected by practice. These various notions, often based on the idea of the "advantages" offered by group ownership of the means of production, mixed ownership, or so-called factory or workers' councils, carry the implication that socialist society is essentially identical to the developed capitalist system, because in either case production based on the spontaneous laws of the market and the free play of the economic elements pursues the same aims. They blandly ignore the social essence of the capitalist system which rests on the exploitation of man by man, ignore the fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism.

Marxist science shows convincingly that the progressive development in socialist economy has nothing in common with the capitalist models and economic "liberalization," which in the language of the capitalist propagandists means departure from the pillars of the economic structure of socialism, from its immutable principles. Yet what the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries are doing with remarkable

singleness of purpose is designed to invigorate the socialist political and economic system, not to disrupt it; to extend cooperation and reinforce the community of the socialist countries, not to loosen the ties between them.

The contention that economy in the socialist society is subordinate to politics and therefore not centered on serving the needs of people, whereas the capitalist economy is geared to the wishes of the consumer, the people, is another invention of anti-Communist propaganda and capitalist political economy. This is a double fraud. First, precisely because of its harmony with politics, with the activity of the state, the vehicle of the interests of society, the socialist economy is centered exclusively on serving public needs, on satisfying the requirements of the people, while, second, the capitalist economy is subordinate to the consumer solely in the writings of its apologists, whereas it is in fact wholly ruled by the capitalist tycoons, who are not in business for any altruism or the public weal, but for personal ends in pursuit of the highest possible profit.

VII.

The current economic reforms in the European socialist countries, naturally, have their political aspect. They are accompanied by a widening of the role of the socialist state and an expansion of socialist democracy. Idle talk of democracy "in general" dissociated from time and space, and emasculation of the class content, is counterweighed by the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries with a genuine unfolding and improvement of socialist democracy based on creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory. Essentially, this is designed to assure the increasingly fuller participation of the millions of workers, farmers and intellectuals in administering the country, economic development and all other public affairs.

Improving the social relationships in socialist society is an extremely complex and important process. Impermissible are all "revolutionary," over-hasty measures sometimes advocated by people not directly associated with building socialism, observing it from the sidelines, on the strength of purely mental deductions. It should be borne in mind that every incorrect move in economic policy inflicts very grave damage to millions of people, harming their vital interests. Not "ultra-radicalism," not spo-

radic campaigns, but methodical scientifically considered activity by the Communist and Workers' parties determines the main trends in the growth and progress of socialist society. The profoundly scientific Marxist-Leninist policy of the Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries sustains the harmonious relation of politics to economy that helps to solve the main tasks of socialist and communist construction in each stage of development.

In the political sphere, there has been much talk of late in Czechoslovakia about a pluralistic system under socialism—with the Communist Party actually not playing the leading role—although this concept has so far not been applied in practice. True, some socialist countries have a multi-party system, different political parties, which participate in building socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party. The pluralist concept, however, is something different. It implies opposition parties competing with one another and with the Communist Party in the process of building socialism and legally contesting for power. But practice in Czechoslovakia has shown that this kind of pluralism leads to elimination of the leading role of the Communist Party, dissipates social energy on sterile political discussion and debate and clears the way for counter-revolution. The situation in Czechoslovakia was aggravated by the fact that the former leadership of the CPC did not energetically enough combat external pressures of various political forces and that there was practically no ideological unity in the leading bodies of the Party. The "theory" that the Communist Party should not concern itself with economic problems, concentrating its efforts purely on ideological matters, is just as liquidationist. In Czechoslovakia, where that "theory" was vigorously peddled, we have seen its highly dangerous implications, jeopardizing the leading role of the Communist Party and undermining the foundations of socialism. In a short period of time that "theory" and its proponents sharply aggravated the present economic difficulties, actually nullified the CPC's positive efforts in recent years to stabilize the economy and did damage to the Party's international ties. Thus, any departure from Marxism-Leninism in ideology and politics, upsetting the proper balance between politics and the economy, has an unfavorable effect on the life of the socialist society and leads to grave economic and political difficulties.

We are at present making a searching analysis of the past political and economic developments, which we hope will give a clearer picture. But already now we can see that such concepts as separating policy from the economy, introducing free competition or eliminating central leadership, etc., are absolutely wrong and harmful. These were either subjectivist, or were based on distorted facts of the country's past development (for example, the drawbacks of the earlier forms and methods of guidance were due not only to the excessive concentration of functions by the central leadership but also to the subjectivist approach of some top executives and planning bodies). As a result, measures were introduced that were un-Marxist and wrong and which objectively did not correspond to the present level of the productive forces.

The point of departure in harmonizing the relationship between politics and economy is to be found in the Marxist-Leninist theory of building socialism and in its constructive application to practice. To ensure the consistent development of Marxist-Leninist theory and to safeguard its purity we must combat all Right opportunist and revisionist trends and, at the same time, all ossified dogmatic concepts. Both must be firmly repulsed. This will safeguard the economy from non-Marxist ideas which, in the final analysis, weaken the economic pillars of socialism.

The practice of building socialism shows that wherever this side of things was neglected, wherever the leadership of the Communist Party yielded to Right opportunist pressure in either theory or practice, in the political and the economic fields, its authority was impaired, the foundations of social-

ist society gravely weakened. "The formation of the socialist world," says the Document of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged in the international arena. The enemies of socialism are keeping up their attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist state power, thwart the socialist transformation of society and restore their own rule. To give a firm rebuff to these attempts is an essential function of the socialist state, which relies on the broad masses led by the working class and its Communist vanguard. The defense of socialism is an international duty of Communists."

Gradual economic integration would be an important step towards consolidating the socialist community. It would contribute to greater effectiveness of the economic development of individual countries and to gradual unification of the main forms and instruments of guiding the economy of the entire socialist community. Thus, economic integration would help to accelerate economic progress and consolidate the ideological unity of the socialist countries in the sphere of economic theory in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

The continued progress of each socialist country and the socialist community as a whole depends entirely on the correct implementation of the Marxist-Leninist proposition on the relation of politics to economy. And the creative projection of the theoretical foundations of this relation in line with the results achieved in building socialism, is a guarantee of the progress of Marxist-Leninist theory and the emergence of new and better forms of economic and social guidance.

Thirty years since outbreak of the Second World War

TADEUSZ JENDRUSZCZAK

I.

Thirty years ago, on September 1, Hitler Germany invaded Poland and raised the curtain on the Second World War.

That aggression was the logical sequel to the traditional policy of German imperialism which began to prepare for revenge and conquest almost immediately after the First World War ended. The capitalists and the Junkers and the generals spared no effort not only to preserve, but to enlarge Germany's military potential.

Every effort was made to arouse public discontent over the international situation and to make the idea of revenge popular among the German people. Poland and the Polish-German frontier were brutally attacked. The German imperialists demanded an end to the Polish state, the existence of which, as the militarist von Seeckt put it, was "incompatible with German interests" or, more precisely, a hindrance to their expansionist aims. They demanded that Gdansk should be incorporated into the Reich, as well as Pomorze, referred to as the "corridor," Great Poland and Poznan and the part of Upper Silesia returned to Poland in 1922.

The policy of revenge was backed by a ruthless struggle at home against the progressive forces, primarily the Communist movement. The Communist Party, an influential political force in the Weimar Republic, was singled out for brutal attack by gangs of terrorists. The anti-communism of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders played into the hands of the Nazis.

Yet with Polish-German relations badly strained and nationalist delirium running high, Polish and German Communists, true to proletarian internationalism, worked hand in hand, especially in working-class Silesia. In the section of Silesia that was then part of Germany, the Polish population fighting for national rights and the Communists fighting for the workers' cause were exposed to vicious terrorist attacks by chauvinist elements. A dastardly assassination took place on the night of August 9-10, 1932, with a Pole, Konrad Piecuch, member of the German Communist Party, as the victim. The murderers were decorated with the Blutorden (Order of the Blood), a high Nazi decoration.

During the Weimar Republic, Germany received considerable financial and political aid from the United States and the West European powers under the so-called Dawes Plan. The Locarno agreements concluded between Germany and a group of Western states in 1925 encouraged the German imperialists to direct their expansion eastward, against Poland, Czechoslovakia and, of course, the Soviet Union.

These reactionary actions helped clear the way for Hitler's seizure of power on January 30, 1933. And after Hitler and his fascist party proclaimed the Third Reich, the international situation changed drastically. Expressing the interests of the ultra reactionaries, fascism lost no time in assuming the offensive. A reign of terror was initiated; the Communist Party was outlawed; militarism, anti-communism, nationalism and racialism became the pillars of

ideology. The war clouds gathered inexorably over Europe. Hitler's main purpose was to effect territorial annexations in Eastern Europe in keeping with the hoary German imperialist slogan, "Drang nach Osten." "We shall halt the age-old striving of the Germans to the south and west of Europe," he wrote in *Mein Kampf*, "and shall send them to lands in the East . . . When we speak of new lands in Europe today, we primarily mean Russia and the marginal states under her rule."

Faced by this threat of aggression, the Soviet Union worked hard for collective security in Europe, the same purpose being pursued by its proposal for an eastern pact.

The world Communist movement took resolute action. In July-August 1935 the Seventh Congress of the Communist International convened in Moscow. The Congress denounced fascism and its reactionary bellicose nature, stressing that Hitlerism was its most dangerous variety, and calling on all people to intensify the struggle for peace and democracy. The Congress formulated the idea of united workers' and anti-fascist popular fronts in the capitalist countries. The Communist Party of Poland made its contribution to the Congress, which was a milestone in the history of the Communist movement, with a beneficial effect on its growth, strategy and tactics.

By 1936 Hitler's revenge-seeking policy had become even more lunatic. In March of that year German troops occupied the demilitarized Rhineland. Shortly after, Germany and Japan concluded the Anti-Comintern Pact, aimed first and foremost against the Soviet Union, to which fascist Italy, then pursuing an aggressive policy in Africa, soon acceded. Anti-communism became the main political slogan. Tension set in between the Soviet Union and Japan, the latter becoming increasingly aggressive in the Far East.

In 1937 Hitler, at a conference with his immediate associates, defined the plans of future conquest. The details and decisions of the conference are known to us from the so-called Hossbach protocol, a revealing document that casts light on the designs of Hitler and his gang.

In March 1938, Hitler annexed Austria and the following autumn invaded the Sudetenland, a part of Czechoslovakia, delivering her a mortal blow.

These annexations were facilitated by the appeasement policy of the British and French governments, illustrated most strikingly by the Munich Agreement (Germany,

Italy, Britain and France) on September 29-30, 1938. The United States, for its part, proclaimed an isolationist policy. Nothing could have pleased Hitler more. Anglo-French appeasement was also in evidence vis-a-vis Italy, and in the Far East vis-a-vis Japan, being based on anti-communism and, specifically, on the desire to provoke an armed collision between the fascist powers, the so-called Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other.

Britain, France and the United States, the main imperialist powers of the time, were perfectly willing to conciliate the Axis countries at the expense of the smaller states, being guided by the basic aims deriving chiefly from their hostility to the Soviet Union. Settling scores was a determinative element in the relations between the powers, setting the fashion in all international affairs. The smaller states soon became a secondary factor, though not totally stripped of importance. This was also true of Poland, a pawn in the pre-war game between the Third Reich, Britain and France.

After Hitler struck at Czechoslovakia, he turned on Poland. On October 24, 1938, his government demanded that Gdansk should be incorporated into the Reich and that extra-territorial communication lines should be drawn across Polish territory. But not Gdansk alone, not just a few communication lines, were at stake. The Nazi aim was to conquer and destroy Poland.

II.

The independent Polish state was constituted in 1918 as a consequence of the October Revolution in Russia, the defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary, the revolution in those countries, and the many years of resolute struggle by the Poles for national and social liberation. It was one of the most significant events in the modern history of Poland. But Rightists gained the upper hand over the revolutionary and progressive forces in the struggle for power and in shaping the social system in the Poland of 1918-19, with a capitalist-landlord state emerging. In foreign policy Poland was anti-Soviet. In political, military and economic matters she associated with the Western states and, in the early twenties, chiefly with France. Poland's Western allies regarded her as an important link in the anti-Soviet "cordon sanitaire," designed to isolate Soviet Russia from the rest of Europe.

Soviet Russia did not hesitate to recognize the Polish people's right to independent statehood. When Poland was constituted, she unconditionally recognized her independence. The Soviet Government made this clear in a series of official statements, many of them signed by V. I. Lenin. In contrast, the German ruling class flaunted the Versailles Treaty and, though establishing diplomatic relations with Poland, refused to acknowledge her western border, viewing the Polish state as "transient."

In 1918-21 the people in the western Polish lands — Pomorze, Great Poland and Silesia — were compelled to fight for unification with the rest of Poland. Their fight for national liberation was closely linked with the fight for social emancipation, particularly in Upper Silesia, where the working class was numerous. The armed struggle of the people compelled the German imperialists to withdraw but, unreconciled, they let their grudge be known at every opportunity.

Despite the aggressive posture of the German reactionaries, and despite the war preparations against their country, the Polish governments between 1934 and 1938 gravitated towards the Third Reich, co-operating with it in a number of important matters, with a Polish-German declaration of non-aggression issued jointly in 1934. Polish-German rapprochement was advocated by Pilsudski, in power from 1926, and by Colonel Beck, Foreign Minister, on the assumption that Hitler Germany was no threat to Poland. However, the anti-communism and anti-Sovietism which Hitler and the Polish government of the time had in common was probably the mainspring of the Pilsudski policy.

By this token, Warsaw took a negative stand to the idea of an eastern pact and all Soviet proposals for collective security in Europe. By this token, too, it took an ambiguous stand on the remilitarization of the Rhineland and supported Hitler in his policy vis-a-vis Austria and Czechoslovakia.

The consequences for Poland were disastrous. The fascist seizure of the Sudetenland and the suppression of Czechoslovak resistance created an immediate military threat to Poland.

The Pilsudski-Beck attitude to Hitler Germany was extremely unpopular among the people. The opposition parties rejected it. Especially the Communist Party, which criticized the Polish regime for being a reactionary, fascist regime of national betrayal. It pointed out that Poland was im-

perilled by fascist expansionism, argued the Polish character of Upper Silesia and campaigned in support of the free city status of Gdansk. It called on the masses to rally against their rulers, advancing the slogan, "No enemies on the Left!" And it was quite successful, with the government frequently tottering under the impact of the masses and the opposition in 1936 and 1937.

Then came October 24, 1938, when Hitler presented his demands. Workers, peasants and intellectuals were so outraged by this that the rulers dared not seek any compromise with Berlin. Under popular pressure the pro-German Beck was compelled, though quite against his will for it was tantamount to admitting the failure of his former policy, to reject Hitler's high-pressure demands.

III.

With Hitler liquidating the Czechoslovak state, occupying Bohemia and Moravia and setting up a puppet state in Slovakia in March 1939, followed by the German occupation of Klaipeda — all this contrary to earlier promises — the international tension rose sharply. The Soviet Union, Britain and France entered into negotiations for a treaty of mutual aid against aggression. However, the talks dragged out due to the reluctance of the Western powers, who were still hoping to precipitate an armed conflict between Germany and the Soviet Union. What they wished, in a word, was for the war to break out in the East, not the West.

British and French policy towards Poland was based on the same concept. While issuing guarantees for her security in the spring of 1939, both countries deliberately prodded Hitler eastward, singling out Poland as the next victim to be handed over to Hitler to "appease" him. At the same time, however, London and Paris were becoming increasingly apprehensive over Hitler's run of scoops. The contradictions between Britain and France, on the one hand, and Germany, on the other, mounted. The chances of a conflict breaking out loomed large.

In the summer of 1939, however, hostility towards the Soviet Union took precedence in British and French policy. The project for a mutual assistance treaty with the USSR was dropped, which was a direct encouragement to Nazi aggression. The Polish and Rumanian governments of the day played an unsavory part in this, refusing

to give their consent to possible participation of Soviet troops in operations against aggression on their territory. In the circumstances, the USSR had no choice but to accept the German offer for a non-aggression treaty, duly signed on August 23, 1939. The treaty gave the Soviet Union a gain of nearly two years for reinforcing its defenses, and foiled the Western designs of turning the German and Japanese aggression against the Soviet Union.

An extremely difficult situation arose then. Encircled on three sides by German troops poised for action (Hitler's directives in March and April 1939 had readied them for the march), Poland awaited the imminent attack. The Anglo-Polish Mutual Aid Treaty of August 25, 1939, it is said, made Hitler hesitate, but not for long.

The patriotic forces in Poland rallied in face of the German threat. The resolve to resist was universal. The freshly (but belatedly) mobilized troops en route to the western borders saw tokens of nationwide support and sympathy all along the way. The Communists declared their determination to fight the fascist aggression, to join the battle alongside the people. This applied not only to the Communists at liberty, but even to those whom the bourgeois-landlord regime had for years kept in prison. Some imprisoned Communists contributed all their savings to the army fund.

The Polish people were acutely aware that national freedom and their right to existence were at stake in the imminent battle, a continuation of the national liberation struggle and, particularly, the fight against German imperialism in 1918-21.

IV.

On September 1, 1939, at 04.45 Central European time German troops in overwhelming force crossed the border into Poland. The outcome was a foregone conclusion, and doubly so since Poland was fighting alone, without any effective aid from her Western allies committed to help by existing agreements. Admittedly, Britain and France declared war on Hitler Germany, but this was not followed by any action in the field.

Yet by reason of the heroic resistance of Polish soldiers and people, the September war was not the clean sweep for the Germans that it had been earlier in the Rhineland, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Warsaw fought staunchly against the invaders, so did the garrisons in the Hel Peninsula, the

Westerplatte base and the fortress of Modlin. The last big action was fought at the beginning of October near the town of Kock. Workers' battalions were formed in Warsaw and along the sea coast, with the Polish Communists, many of them going to the lines directly from prison cells, distinguishing themselves in the fighting.

In the circumstances, with the Nazi troops overrunning Poland, the liberation of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia by Soviet troops spelled deliverance for their population from the Hitler invader, reunified the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples and enhanced the defensive potential of the Soviet state.

For the Polish people the September campaign of 1939 was the first battle of the Second World War. Losing the battle did not mean losing the war. It never occurred to anyone to lay down arms. Soon, a mass movement spread, developing into regular partisan warfare in the concluding stages of the war. The ruthless reprisals, though claiming millions of victims, did not bring the Poles to their knees. Hitler's aim was to exterminate the entire nation. Oswiecim, Treblinka, Majdanek and Stuthof were but the more notorious of the death camps.

The lost campaign of September 1939 came as a terrible shock. People discussed the reasons for the defeat, drawing the pertinent conclusions from the lesson. The Sanacja and its foreign and home policy, contrary to the interests of the people, were roundly condemned. The outlines of a new Poland materialized in this criticism amid the dogged and costly fight against the Nazi occupation—a realistic and progressive image, comprehensive and profoundly revolutionary, as presented in its program by the Workers' Party founded in January 1942.

The entry into the war of the Soviet Union as a result of the Nazi aggression in June 1941 acted as a powerful stimulant to the Poles in their difficult struggle. The embattled Soviet stand was decisive not only for the outcome of the war, but also had an immediate bearing on Poland's future.

The Soviet Union bore the main burden of the war against fascist Germany and her allies. The collapse of the blitzkrieg, the numerous Nazi defeats on Soviet soil, tilted the scales, prodding the anti-Hitler powers into action, and giving impetus to the resistance movement in the Hitler-occupied countries and in Germany proper. The Manifesto of the Polish National Liberation

Committee issued on July 22, 1944, in Helm near Lublin, on Polish soil liberated by the Soviet Army and the Polish Armed Forces, was a turning point in Polish history, heralding a new, socialist Poland.

The common war effort of many nations crushed Hitler Germany and its allies. But a heavy price was paid for the victory. Tens of millions were killed and immense material and cultural values destroyed. It is doubly important, therefore, to draw on the lessons of the Second World War, never to neglect consolidating its results, shoring up the foundations of the present European security.

The war lasted nearly six years and ended in the unconditional surrender of Germany and her allies. What we should never forget is that it was not a war merely between states, but also, and chiefly, a war with a class complexion. On one side were the Soviet Union, a socialist worker-peasant state, the peoples fighting for freedom and all the democratic and anti-fascist forces, and on the other the extreme reactionary fascist states — Germany, Japan and Italy, and their allies. It was therefore a war for the freedom of nations, for the victory of anti-fascist, democratic and socialist forces. The Poles are proud to have contributed to the victory, proud that theirs was the first country to render the German fascist invasion armed resistance.

V.

In the unforgettable days of May 1945 no one cast any doubt publicly on the origins of the Second World War and the identity of those responsible for starting it. Belief in the guilt of the Third Reich was universal. No one disputed it. This unanimity was the basis for the international decisions concerning borders, European and world security; it was also the foundation for the war-crimes trial in Nuremberg. All this was done with the lofty aim of preventing German imperialism from jeopardizing peace again. In that context, the Four-Power decisions taken in Potsdam were the most momentous. Even in Germany no one disputed the responsibility of the Third Reich and all agreed that this entailed definite consequences. Pertinent statements could be found then in the newspaper published by the Free Germany Committee, which played a prominent role in founding the German Democratic Republic. A few there were, like Friedrich Meinecke, historian and author of *Die deutsche Katastrophe* who

were less certain, it is true, and less consistent in acknowledging the responsibility of the Third Reich.

However, as the revenge-seeking trend gained ground in West Germany, expressive of the desire to revise the post-war situation, the attacks on the idea of Germany's responsibility became more frequent. For West German *revanche* the matter is of crucial significance. If the conclusion that Germany (not only Hitler himself, but also his party, big capital, the Junkers, the Army and some sections of German society) is guilty of starting the war were reversed, it would follow that the postwar arrangements and particularly the Potsdam agreements, were unjust and groundless. That is why so much importance is attached to the matter, for Bonn would like nothing better than to relieve the Third Reich of all guilt and portray it as a victim of abuse, spite, even shortsightedness, on the part of the victors, which would undermine the legal, political and moral foundations of the post-war status quo in Europe.

U.S. historian David L. Hoggan's book, *Der erzwungene Krieg*, provided much fuel for this campaign. Not published in the United States, the book appeared in West Germany in 1961. Hoggan endeavors to prove that neither Hitler nor the Third Reich were responsible for starting the Second World War. He blames Poland, referring to her with hostility, rebuking her for intransigence in the Gdansk issue, while lavishing praise on what he calls the confidence of Hitler and the Third Reich. Although the book is slanted, inaccurate, distorting many important facts, it created an uproar in the FRG by reason of its general concepts. *Der Spiegel* discussed it extensively on its pages, Hoggan was invited to West Germany, making a series of public lectures, and was awarded the Leopold von Ranke Prize of DM10,000. Two years later, another of Hoggan's books *Frankreich, Widerstand gegen den 2. Weltkrieg*, appeared in the Federal Republic as an apology for the Munich concessions to Hitler.

Various neo-fascist publications, especially the *Deutsche National- und Soldaten-Zeitung* and the journal *Nation Europa*, were active in the field long before Hoggan. War guilt was their main topic. A special issue of *Nation Europa* was devoted to this in 1964, informing its readership, for example, that the pre-war German minority in Poland was brutally persecuted, that the "Gleiwitz provocation" in 1939 is an invention, and that Hitler was compelled to attack the

Soviet Union in 1941 because the Soviet Army was poised to attack Germany. These falsehoods merit no reply, though we should not underestimate the fact of their being spread in West Germany and beyond its borders, and that some people accept them as gospel.

The West German Institute of Post-War History, headed by Dr. Herbert Graber, is a center of revanchism. That is where it is historically justified and from where the views of Hoggan and people like him are disseminated. The Institute publishes a journal for university professors, devoting considerable space to the subject of war guilt.

The purpose, clearly, is to indoctrinate teachers and, through them, the youth. Historians and journalists (e.g. Glasebock, Walendy, Richthofen) are peddling these ideas in the Federal Republic, but some exponents are also in evidence in Britain, such as A. J. Taylor and Nicoll, and in the United States, Barnes and a number of lesser authors.

To be sure, the views of Hoggan, Glasebock, Walendy and others like them do not predominate in West German historiography. However, they have been gaining popularity in recent years. In the meantime, attacks are mounted against those Germans who, respectful of the truth, acknowledge that the Third Reich's aggressive policy was the immediate cause of the war and that Hitler Germany was therefore responsible for it. Yet exponents of the truth are becoming fewer. An atmosphere of contempt is created around them, they are isolated, while concepts toning down German guilt appear in increasing numbers.

Their exponents (e.g. Jacobsen) maintain that all the belligerents were equally responsible. This is meant to obliterate the difference between the aggressor and his victims. Yet the thesis that Hitler alone is responsible for everything (Ritter, Hillgruber) has the widest circulation. Hitler, an evil man, is counterposed to the Army, always virtuous, and to the far-sighted and remonstrating generals who, ostensibly, wanted no war (that is the theme, chiefly, of numerous war memoirs). The attempt on Hitler's life on July 20, 1944, is glorified, the tenacity of the German soldier extolled, the merits of German weapons and the German war economy highly praised (e.g., Schramm). These constructions are, evidently, designed to "save from the 1945 defeat" the mil-

itarist traditions and cultivate the myth of the "exceptional" qualities of German soldiers and officers, etc. The same is evident in, say, the praise heaped on Von Seeckt, the well-known militarist and reactionary ("Seeckt" by Meier-Welcker).

Many West German books and textbooks sidestep the "ticklish" issue of war guilt, while discussing other problems, namely: why Germany did not win the war, what should have been done to win it, and so on. Some writers argue that Germany should have seized the Mediterranean before tackling the Soviet Union; this would have enabled her to attack the USSR not only from the West, but also from the South. That was the so-called "Raeder Plan," sometimes opposed to the Barbarossa Plan favored by Hitler.

The view that the Western Powers made a mistake by not concluding an agreement with Hitler against the Soviet Union is frequently expressed. Hitler, too, is blamed for this, who, by the way, is often willingly "sacrificed" in order to whitewash other figures of the Third Reich.

All this could be regarded as ordinary political speculation prompted by nostalgia for a dream that did not come true, as a "lesson in history," but, unfortunately building on past experience, the present revanchist program for the Bundeswehr and Nato is being modelled against the setting of all these discourses.

The grim facts of history enable us to understand current events and chart the future course. The situation in Europe and throughout the world has changed radically in the past thirty years. Nowadays, the nations of Europe have realistic opportunities to bridle the aggressive forces in the Federal Republic and their helpers in other countries. The socialist states, members of the Warsaw Treaty, call for an effective system of European security. The proposals of the conference of Warsaw Treaty states in Budapest and the decisions of the recent International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, are an inspiration for all champions of peace vigorously to combat the revival of fascism, to resist the continued arming and the plotting of another slaughter. Acting on the lessons of history, Europe's progressive democratic forces are striving to make the continent a zone of lasting peace, progress and fruitful international cooperation.

Reconstruction of agrarian relations in Mongolia

We have had requests from readers wanting to know how the old system of feudal land-ownership was reconstructed in the Mongolian People's Republic.

Academician **Sh. Natsagdorzh**, Director of the Institute of History of the MRP Academy of Sciences, answers this question.

Pre-revolutionary Mongolia was wholly a country of nomadic pasturage. The bulk of the population consisted of arats (herdsmen). Socio-economic relations derived from the feudal ownership of land and from the serfdom of the arats. In 1918 the feudals and the higher clergy who numerically constituted a negligible percentage of the population, owned approximately half of the total live-stock, while the numerous monasteries of those days owned a fourth of the total. More than 20 per cent of the laboring population toiled for the monasteries and the higher clergy.

Land property relations were anything but clearly defined juridically. The state was designated as the sovereign landowner and the people as the common owner of the numerous pasture lands. The purpose behind this was to conceal the class nature of feudal land ownership, the fact that the pastures were virtually controlled by the feudals.

The people's revolution of 1921, which triumphed in Mongolia under the direct influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, resolved the national-liberation and the social class question. In the course of the revolution the arats, led by the People's Revolutionary Party, and actively supported by the peoples of Soviet Russia, overthrew the domination of the feudals and established their own, people's power, thus becoming, for the first time in the history of their long anti-feudal struggle, the ruling class in the country.

Immediately after the revolution the new People's Government, tackling the land question, decreed the emancipation of the

khamjilgas, the serfs of the feudal lords, who constituted nearly half of the population. Their emancipation, however, did not spell the complete abolition of serfdom. The so-called somon arats, that is, the bondsmen of the state who were terribly exploited by local princes, still had to be set free.

The emancipation of the latter meant replacing the old feudal administrative-political unit, the khoshun, by the new units of the people's democratic rule. The princes were removed from power and their hereditary right to rule the khoshuns abolished.

As a result of these measures feudal landownership was completely abolished during 1922-23 and, together with it, the peculiar form of attaching the direct producers of the country's material wealth to the land.

Thus, the abolition of serfdom in people's Mongolia went hand in hand with the abolition of the land monopoly of the feudal class. This historic act sapped the economic foundation of feudalism, making the land the property of the people in the true sense of the word. This, however, was only one aspect of the anti-feudal problem. Another important means of production in Mongolia at the time, besides land, was live-stock. The redistribution of this means of production, the property of the former feudals and monasteries, was essential to solving the agrarian question as a whole.

In 1928 the Party and the Government therefore decided to confiscate the live-stock and other property of the feudal lords and to transfer them to the arats.

The expropriation was carried out with

the active participation of the population. The historical significance of the measure is that it was the death knell of the economic power of the feudals.

However, the economic pillars of the numerous monasteries had to be undermined before the agrarian question could be considered fully solved. The gradual restriction and ultimate abolition of monastery property, the last bulwark of feudalism in the country, proved to be more difficult than the expropriation of the secular feudals. The property of the monasteries could not be directly confiscated as was done in the case of the secular and clerical feudals, since it was considered—even though actually the property of the church hierarchy—the joint property of the lamas. It was therefore necessary first to carry out a series of measures aimed at solving the lama question in general, at wresting the ordinary lamas from the influence of the reactionary upper clergy, and giving them the possibility to engage in socially useful work. Our revolution successfully tackled this difficult task as well. A very important measure in this respect was putting the monastery herds to pasture on the arat farms on terms advantageous to the latter. As a result, the economic base also of the monasteries was weakened and undermined. From shepherds of their masters' herd the arats became the owners of the herds.

Thus, the expropriation of the live-stock of the feudal class and its transfer to the possession of the arats was one of the basic measures that helped put an end to feudal relations and solve the agrarian question in favor of the working people.

By 1940 the main tasks of the democratic phase of the people's revolution in the MPR had been accomplished—the feudal class

and the survivals of feudal relations in the economy were abolished. This cleared the way for the individual arat farms to take the way of socialist cooperative farming, which precludes the exploitation of man by man.

* * *

Since the establishment of the people's power Mongolia has become a socialist state, a rapidly advancing agrarian-industrial country. Industry accounts for approximately 45 per cent of the gross national product. In the past 18 years industrial output has increased more than six-fold. In 1968 the MPR mined 1.5 million tons of coal and produced 320 million kwh of electric power. In per capita power production the MPR is far ahead of such countries as India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Turkey, Afghanistan and Iran.

Considerable headway has been made also in agriculture, which is becoming more and more varied. For the first time in her history Mongolia now meets her own grain requirements.

Economic progress has brought with it a considerable rise in the standard of living. A veritable cultural revolution has been carried out. There are more university students per 10,000 of the population than in such developed capitalist countries as the FRG, France and Britain. The MPR is also ahead of many capitalist countries in the number of doctors and hospital beds per 10,000 of the population.

Having skipped the capitalist stage of development, the Mongolian people are successfully building socialism under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party and with the generous fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Arbitrary act of Moroccan authorities

Ali Yata, General Secretary of the Party of Liberation and Socialism (PLS), Chouaib Rifi, a member of its National Committee, and Ismail Alaoui, a reader in literature at Rabat University, were recently arrested in Morocco on charges of "restoring a juridically dissolved association." In a special statement issued in this connection the Party notes that "the charge is not corroborated by a single fact," and that the PLS was established in full conformity with the requirements of the law.

The Party of Liberation and Socialism resolutely protests against this new arbitrary act of the authorities which violates elementary democratic freedoms. It categorically demands that the arrested be released and the unjust sentence revoked.

Not contenting themselves with persecution of the Party's leaders, the Moroccan

authorities are obstructing the publication of its weekly *Al-Kifah Al-Watani*. Its August issue was confiscated, while the printing of its next issue was held up by the censorship.

News of the arrest of Ali Yata, well-known fighter against imperialism, for democracy and the interests of his people and of the working people of other countries, and of his colleagues was received with indignation by democratic public opinion. The Communist parties of a number of countries have strongly protested against this arbitrary act of the Moroccan authorities. Protest telegrams have also been sent by numerous public organizations. Communists, democrats and people of good will in many countries of the world demand that Ali Yata, Chouaib Rifi and Ismail Alaoui be released.

Ousmane SAMB

Reactionaries on the march

Reactionaries in the Federal Republic of Germany, escalating their attacks against the democratic and progressive forces, are resorting increasingly to outright police terror. This feature of the Bonn political situation is glaringly manifested in the current election campaign with the authorities doing their bit to prevent the democratic opposition of workers, intellectuals and students from winning the day.

There have been threats against the recently formed German Communist Party,

calls to re-introduce the law banning it, and slanderous allegations by government officials that the Party's policy is "incompatible with the Constitution." The Bonn authorities demanded that Herbert Mies, deputy chairman of the Party, be tried, on the alleged charge of insulting Defense Minister Schroeder.

Meanwhile, the most favorable conditions are being created for the neo-nazi National Democratic Party. The Minister of the Interior of North Rhine-Westphalia issued

an order virtually banning all measures and demonstrations against the NDP. This party's leaders, headed by Adolf von Thadden, have brazenly formed armed units, patterned along the lines of the Hitler storm troopers, to protect the rallies of the neo-fascists and to attack democrats.

The persecution of progressives in West Germany, which is being steadily whipped up, was triggered by the decision of the Bonn rulers to ban the Communist Party of Germany. This unlawful ban, promulgated in 1956 by the FRG constitutional court, was used not only against Communists, but also against a section of the Social-Democrats, trade unions, and other democratic forces. Telephone tapping, shadowing people and informing on them are characteristic of the climate in West Germany. As in Hitler's time, people are tried for their political convictions. It is estimated that to date the Federal judiciary has instituted proceedings against more than 500,000 progressives who have spoken out against militarism, revanchism, neo-nazism and for democratic development in West Germany. After the ban on the Communist Party and the adoption of the "Emergency Laws," anti-communism and anti-Sovietism became state doctrine in Bonn.

In its statement in connection with the 13th anniversary of the unlawful decision of the Federal's "constitutional courts," the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany stressed: "Today the facts irrefutably corroborate what the Party said at the time the ban was imposed: the Communist Party was banned on government orders because as a Marxist-Leninist party it is the most consistent champion of the working class, standing for peace, democracy and social progress; it was banned so as to clear the way for an aggressive, great

power and anti-democratic and reactionary policy."

The facts show that the Government retains the ban on the Party as a "lawful" means for persecuting Communists and democrats. Recently the press reported that the Federal court intends again to imprison Josef Ledwohn, former Communist deputy to the North Rhine-Westphalia Landtag who at the beginning of the 'fifties was sentenced to 3½ years imprisonment.

In 1955 a West German court, using fabricated evidence, sentenced J. Angenfort, a leading anti-fascist, to five years' hard labor and suspension of civil rights for another five years on the charge of "plotting high treason." Under pressure of world public opinion and progressives in West Germany who protested against this vindictive sentence, the Bonn authorities were compelled to release Angenfort four years later. However, in 1968 the West German court rejected the application of Angenfort's counsel to quash, on the basis of the amnesty law, the remaining part of the sentence. Not long ago Angenfort was again served with a court summons, this time from the Hamburg Prosecutor's Office which "suspects" Angenfort of "defamation of the state."

The offensive against democracy in West Germany is a threat to the future of its people. It encourages the neo-nazis who are straining to get into the saddle, curtails the rights of the working class, of all working people and facilitates militarization and revanchism. For this reason West German progressives are resolutely opposing the policy of repressions and demanding annulment of the ban on the CPG, of the "Emergency Laws" and an end to the anti-Communist hysteria.

G. KRAUSE

Dedication

Reminiscences of V. I. Lenin

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU, jointly with Politizdat of Moscow, are preparing a five-volume collection of reminiscences and memoirs for the centennial of Lenin's birth. It contains biographical sketches and memoirs, many written in the twenties and thirties when time had not yet erased important details from the writers' memories; also, out of print memoirs, now a bibliographical rarity, and some heretofore unpublished.

Volume One* consists of the reminiscences by Lenin's relatives, who had stood beside him in the revolutionary struggle, tracing back the entire course of his life.

These memoirs treat every detail and fact with the utmost fidelity, each work complementing the others, producing a bright and impressive image and casting fresh light on Lenin the man.

A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova, Lenin's elder sister, describes the home atmosphere of his childhood and youth. "I remember," she writes of 18-year-old Lenin, "how in the evenings . . . he used to tell me with fervor about the fundamentals of Marxism and of the new horizons it opened up . . . A deep, contagious faith emanated from him. Even then, he had the gift of convincing and holding the listener."

Ulyanova-Yelizarova describes Lenin's revolutionary activity in Kazan, Samara, St. Petersburg and in his Siberian exile, portraying him as a devoted propagandist of Marxism, skillfully applying the doctrine to Russian conditions and projecting it onto the new historical situation.

Lenin's younger brother, Dmitri Ilyich, accentuates Lenin's versatility: his love of

music, his interest in chess, nature, hunting. "He would take his books and notebooks and work seriously for five hours or so, until called to the table," Dmitri Ilyich writes in reference to Lenin's capacity for work. "This was so regular that I recall but a few instances when he omitted to do so. Considering his age — he was about 20 then — one is impressed by his self-discipline and perseverance."

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova, Lenin's younger sister, presents a detailed account of Lenin in 1917 and in the post-revolution years. She recreates his image as man and revolutionary, singling out as a dominant feature his all-pervasive sense of purpose. "Having set himself a purpose of life when still a youth," she writes, "he pursued it, his revolutionary work, unswervingly, never changing it . . . He was completely immersed in the revolution, in revolutionary work." The other ingrained feature: "A kind of remarkable intuition where people were concerned; he was drawn to them, and always in touch with them."

She describes how exacting Lenin was to himself and others, how extraordinarily modest, down-to-earth and democratic. "His hard theoretical work," she notes, "did not make him a dry, bookish man. The fervor he put into his work he also put into his leisure, walks, etc. Enamored of life in all its aspects, he was affectionate and kind to people, and reacting at once to any injustice."

Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, Lenin's wife and co-worker, who was by his side throughout the arduous years from the formation of the Party to Lenin's leadership in building socialism in the Soviet Republic, gives a fascinating account of what they lived through, felt and suffered.

* *Vospominaniya o Vladimire Ilyiche Lenine* (Reminiscences of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin). Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU, and Politizdat, Vol. 1, "Recollections of Relatives," Moscow, 1968. 639 pp.

The personal element interlaces with the aim to which both had dedicated themselves. One more detail: much of what Krupskaya writes is recorded from Lenin's own words.

The endeavor to carry out Lenin's plan for building the Party, the fight to uphold revolutionary Marxism, Lenin's activity during the 1905 Revolution and later during the First World War — all are described in detail. As a participant in the October Socialist Revolution, Krupskaya produces a fascinating account of those historic days, conveying the atmosphere in the Smolny when the Bolsheviks took over, and describing Lenin's round-the-clock work. "Delegation after delegation came to him, most numerous being delegations from the front," she writes. Often she saw how in Lenin's small reception room "soldiers crowded closely, listening intently, while Lenin stood by the window, explaining."

Krupskaya recalls the hardships and the first successes of the young Soviet Republic, the burden of work undertaken by Lenin in guiding the world's first worker-peasant state.

Volume One also contains Krupskaya's recollections of Lenin in Gorki in 1923, her speech at the memorial meeting of the Second Congress of Soviets on January 26, 1924, her articles. "Lenin the Man" and "About Vladimir Ilyich", and her replies to the questionnaire submitted by the Institute of Brain Research.

Lenin's relatives have given us lucid, richly factual memoirs, recreating the image of the man — an affectionate and considerate son, brother and husband. They show how he loved his mother, how good he was to his younger sister who adored him.

COMRADES-IN-ARMS AND FRIENDS

Volume Two* is devoted to the years from 1891 to the 1917 October Socialist Revolution — a unique collective effort by his closest associates: professional revolutionaries, fellow-fighters, Party veterans, and the finest men of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. They on their part recall Lenin with warmth and affection, portraying him as a man of principle, hard-working, deeply considerate. All stress his profound knowledge of Marxist theory, the extraordinary skill with which he applied it to specific situations, his revolutionary optimism stemming from a knowledge of the objective laws of social develop-

ment and, consequently, his granite faith in the working class and in the victory of the socialist revolution.

"V. I. Ulyanov's appearance among us in the autumn of 1893 was comparable to a flash of lightning, vitalizing in its effects. From then on a new life began for us," wrote Lenin's friend, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, in a reference to Lenin's early revolutionary activity in the Marxist circles of St. Petersburg.

Lenin was the first in Russia to fuse scientific socialism with the working-class movement. He promoted class consciousness among the workers, imparting an appreciation of the need for a Marxist party as the instrument of victory over the exploiters. He gathered around him the foremost workers, peasants and intellectuals with perseverance and singleness of purpose. "You will see," he said to M. A. Silvin, "we shall soon grow into a real party. The revolution will come and we shall come into the light as a Communist Party ready to perform its mission."

M. I. Vasiliev-Yuzhin, K. E. Voroshilov, Y. M. Yaroslavsky, M. M. Essen and others recount how Lenin prepared the working class for the decisive battles against tsarism, building up a revolutionary political army, tempering it in grim clashes with its many enemies, teaching it to fight and win. Upon hearing of the outbreak of the revolution in Russia, Lenin overcame all obstacles to come illegally to St. Petersburg from Switzerland in November 1905 to take personal charge. Shortly after his arrival, he addressed the Executive of the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

"Lenin's appearance and his speech, filled with revolutionary enthusiasm," Essen recalls, "galvanized all of us, and when he outlined his clear and forceful plan, the action program for the further course of the revolution, the murmur of approval grew into a stormy ovation. The resolution drafted by him was unanimously adopted amidst applause and cries of approval."

"That man, the workers said of him as they filed out of the hall, knows what to do and how to lead the working class!"

When the bourgeois-democratic revolution overthrew the tsarist autocracy in February 1917, new problems arose, for which Lenin suggested solutions in his *Letters from Afar* and in his well-known *April Theses*. F. N. Samoilov, J. S. Hanecki, S. I. Gopner and other of Lenin's associates depict the strenuous effort of that time. "The Seventh All-Russia (April) Conference of

*Op. cit., Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969. 494 pp.

the Bolshevik Party was evidence of Lenin's role in the socialist revolution as a leader of genius," S. I. Gopner, a delegate to that conference, recalls. "What surprised us most in Lenin was his highly scientific approach in analyzing current events, combined with daring thought and infinite skill as revolutionary leader."

Lenin's revolutionary genius flowered during the October Revolution. One reads with interest the little-known memoirs of N. I. Podvoisky, Chairman of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee, A. S. Bubnov, E. D. Stasova, A. V. Lunacharsky, A. V. Shotmann, E. A. Rakhya and other veterans of October 1917.

"Vladimir Ilyich prodded us to haste in beginning the uprising," Podvoisky writes. "When it began, he insisted on the utmost energy in developing it and wanted all sensitive points in the city occupied as quickly as possible. On November 6 Lenin arrived after dark in the Smolny and took charge."

EMIGRATION

For nearly 15 years Lenin had been compelled to live abroad—in Germany, England, Switzerland, France and Poland, also visiting other European countries.

Anna Ilyinichna and Maria Ilyinichna lived with him at different times, and he was visited by Dmitri Ilyich on several occasions. When his Siberian exile ended in the spring of 1901, Nadezhda Krupskaya joined him, sharing with him the hardships of emigration. She recounts this in detail in her memoirs, depicting Lenin's emigre life of privation.

"In the autumn of 1911, October and November," his elder sister recalls, "I managed to go abroad and spent a fortnight with Vladimir Ilyich in Paris. It was my impression that he was badly off and did not eat enough. His clothes were worn out."

His interest in the life and customs of the people where he lived was ever alive. Whether in London, Paris, Geneva, Berne, Cracow or elsewhere, he was always keen to know how the workingman lived. "He wanted to see the life of the German, English and French workers," Krupskaya recalls, "to hear them speak at public meetings and in smaller gatherings, to know what they thought. In Paris, no meetings worth mentioning were missed by us. We knew the life of workers in the country of our stay better than emigres usually do."

While abroad Lenin wrote some of his most important works *What Is To Be*

Done?; One Step Forward, Two Steps Back; Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution; Materialism and Empirio-Criticism; Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, etc. Many recount how Lenin worked on his books, how he conceived them before the actual process of writing and how he studied in libraries. He was a frequent visitor in the Berlin Library and in London spent hours in the splendid library of the British Museum, where Marx had worked before him. In Geneva Lenin frequented the Reading Society's Library, in Paris chiefly the National Library, libraries in Cracow, and libraries in Zurich. As a rule, he began his day's work in the library, whatever city he was in.

Living abroad did not make Lenin an emigre in the conventional sense—a man without a country, fenced off from Russia. Krupskaya indicates in her memoirs that he kept in close touch with the revolutionary movement at home, as evidenced by his correspondence (up to 300 letters a month) with Party branches in Russia, giving them advice and guidance, and by frequent visits to Lenin of Party workers from home.

"Vladimir Ilyich helped us considerably in our work," A. E. Badayev, a deputy to the Fourth Duma, recalls. "After our addresses on particularly important issues, we received letters from him either praising us or pointing to the weak spots. We sent Ilyich material on questions raised in the Duma. He looked into it and often sent back pointers for our action."

The memoirs tell how attentively Lenin listened to comrades from Russia, how he always found the right approach to each, winning their respect and unobtrusively loosening their tongues. "On the many occasions that I was present during his conversations with comrades," Essen recalls, "I was invariably struck by his trust and attention. That was the tactfulness of a great man: encourage the visitor, make him feel at ease, put him in good spirits and inspire energy."

* * *

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism and Politizdat are now completing work on the Lenin reminiscences. The third and fourth deal with Lenin's guidance of the world's first socialist state, and the fifth contains recollections by Lenin's foreign contemporaries.

Z. LEVINA, A. SMIRNOVA

Under Lenin's leadership Bolsheviks win over the army

Summarizing the Bolshevik struggle for the army, Lenin wrote in December 1919: "... We are *proud* of the fact that we performed our duty in demoralizing the forces of our class enemy, in winning away from him the armed masses of the workers and peasants *for the struggle* against the exploiters." In fact, had the Bolsheviks not done that, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution would have been impossible. It might be recalled that at the beginning of 1917, the Russian army numbered more than nine million men, of whom over seven million were at the front.

Marxists have always been aware of the importance of winning away the army from the bourgeoisie and thereby depriving the exploiters of their main force and weapon of class domination. On the other hand, by winning over the soldiers, the revolution acquired an armed force of its own.

Bolshevik experience in winning over the soldiers on the eve and during the October Revolution assumed many different, and instructive, forms. For besides purely national features there were many general ones that have a direct theoretical and practical bearing on the problems of our time.

In recent years Soviet historians have turned their attention to the Bolsheviks' struggle for the army. One of their studies is a collection of documents, *The Revolutionary Movement in the Russian Army in 1917**. Its compilers drew on the wealth of archive materials and on the 1917 Bolshevik press. Most of the documents are published for the first time.

In the early days of the February revolution the soldiers instinctively strove for peace, but were largely carried away by a sentiment of "revolutionary defensism" and still trusted the bourgeois government. This "revolutionary defensism," supported and encouraged by the bourgeoisie and by the petty-bourgeois parties, was the chief ideo-

logical obstacle to bringing the soldiers into active revolutionary struggle. The Bolsheviks thus had to contend with a powerful bourgeois propaganda machine. And to this should be added that in the early months of the revolution the soldiers and their organizations were still mainly under the influence of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

But acting on Lenin's instructions, the Bolshevik Party did not hesitate to go against the stream, and immediately after the February revolution began systematic and painstaking political work among the soldiers. It made full use of the opportunities created by the war and the revolution — concentration in the army of the most active part of the workers and peasantry, concentration of army units in the towns and industrial centers, and the new relatively broad political freedoms.

The Bolsheviks offered the people, and, of course, the soldiers, a program of revolutionary reconstruction, of which the priority demand was for a speedy end to the war. The program fully accorded with the vital interests of the working people and appealed to the minds and hearts of millions of Russian workers, soldiers and peasants. It envisaged the transfer of power to the Soviets; exposure of the predatory imperialist character of the war; a revolutionary way out of the war by overthrowing capital; replacement of the bourgeois army by universal arming of the people, and democratization of the army as a transition measure.

The Bolsheviks urged the soldiers to fight in close association with the working class and warned against spontaneous and isolated actions, which would only play into the hands of the enemy. One of the most remarkable features of this Bolshevik program of struggle for a universal and democratic peace, for a speedy end to the war was that it coupled general democratic de-

*Published by Nauka, Moscow, 1968, 619 pp.

mands that were understood and readily accepted by the soldiers with the demand for an end to capitalist rule. It called for election of officers and their control by soldiers' organizations (company, regimental, divisional committees, etc.). Most of the officers were opposed to the revolution, and these measures could safeguard its gains and encourage soldier initiative and action.

The materials in this volume show that the Bolsheviks were not out to disorganize the army and the battlefield, did not call for an end to the war by mass desertion, did not spread defeatist ideas — the things their 1917 political opponents and latter-day bourgeois historians accuse them of. Documents of the period bear out Lenin's observation that "where Bolshevism has a chance to air its views openly, there we find no disorganization." The resolutions of soldiers' organizations declared that the army's combat ability and morale were being undermined by the Provisional Government and the S-R and Menshevik leaders who, in defiance of the people's will, were dragging out a war the country could no longer bear, were sabotaging democratization in the army and doing absolutely nothing to give the men proper clothing and food, or to supply the front with much-needed weapons and ammunition. Revealing in this respect is a document citing the reply of a group of pro-Bolshevik soldiers of the 14th Engineers Regiment to their officers, who accused them of "demoralizing" the army. The soldiers wrote: "You say we are demoralizing the army. Yes, we are demoralizing an army based on humiliation, the only kind of army that could exist under Tsarism, but at the same time we are building a new army founded on mutual trust and respect of officers and men, on conscious, dedicated fulfilment of duty, on readiness to face any hardship, even death itself, at the order of its officers. It is not we, but you who are demoralizing *that kind of army*" (p. 122).

The Bolsheviks considered work in the army a priority task, and on Lenin's initiative, immediately after the February revolution began setting up Military Organizations, the Party's support points in the army and navy. The first of these, under the Petrograd Party Committee, was started in March. It brought together all the Bolsheviks serving in the capital's garrison. A similar organization was set up by the Moscow Party committee, soon followed by Military Organizations in major garrison towns. In March-June 1917 the Bolsheviks consoli-

dated their positions in the frontline armies.

The Party's Military Organizations immediately became centers of attraction for the soldiers, all of whom were seeking an answer to the supreme questions of the day — peace, land, bread, power. Indicatively, a telegram by the Supreme Commander said of the morale of the 5th Army that "in many units feelings are running extremely high, and in some regiments the men say they accept no authority, except that of Lenin" (p. 157).

Overall supervision of front-line and garrison Party organizations was exercised by the Central Committee's Military Organization, which developed out of the Petrograd organization at the end of April. The all-Russian Conference of armed-forces Party organizations, attended by delegates from 43 front-line units and 17 garrisons, summed up the experience of the early months of the revolution and on that basis formulated the new tasks. Its resolutions, published in this volume, concern such issues as the political situation; war, peace, and the projected offensive; army democratization; aims and tasks of the Military-Organization.

It also adopted draft Rules of the Military Organization clearly outlining the aims and character of Bolshevik work in the army.

No other political party was able to form anything like these firm and militant Bolshevik-led organizations. The main bourgeois party, the Constitutional Democrats, had no influence among the soldiers at all, whatever organizations it did have were confined exclusively to officers. The Mensheviks, who had enjoyed a measure of influence among workers and soldiers in the early months of the revolution, never managed to build up anything resembling mass organizations in the army. The S-R's were somewhat more successful — at first they were able to enlist hundreds of thousands into their army organizations, but by October the peasant soldiers turned away from them, and their army organizations shrank rapidly.

The Constitutional Democrats and the petty-bourgeois S-R and Menshevik parties could not offer a solution of the problems acceptable to the people. On the crucial issue of war and peace, the bourgeois slogan was "Fight on to Victory." The S-R's and the Mensheviks, while condemning the war and advocating a democratic peace, were telling the soldiers that the war could be ended only "in unity with our allies."

In other words, they, too, wanted to "fight on."

The press proved a powerful ideological weapon in winning over the army. Immediately after the February Revolution, the Party began publication of newspapers for the soldiers and sailors. The *Soldatskaya Pravda* was published as the organ of the Central Committee's Military Organization. In addition, the general Party press, above all *Pravda*, carried articles especially addressed to the men in the army and navy. Many of these were written by Party leaders and publicists. And though for every soldiers' newspaper published by the Bolsheviks, there were nearly 20 put out by the S-R's and Mensheviks, the Bolshevik press quickly won popularity and prestige, due chiefly to the magnetic influence of Lenin's ideas. The Bolshevik papers were uncompromising in defending the soldiers, truthful in describing their conditions, bold and consistent in exposing the predatory nature of the war and the reckless and reactionary policy of the bourgeoisie and the Provisional Government, indefatigable in advocating internationalism and the need for a general and democratic peace. These were all issues uppermost in the soldier's mind, and the Bolshevik press helped him understand them and get rid of "revolutionary defensism."

One of the basic channels of Bolshevik ideas in the army at the front was the reinforcement units drawn from rear garrisons. Propaganda by Bolsheviks and revolutionary workers in the reserve regiments and their active participation in public life in the towns and industrial centers where these garrisons were stationed, resulted in the reservists becoming thoroughly pro-Bolshevik. The story is told in the documents included in this volume. Thus, one of the High Command morale assessments contains this passage: "All reports from the fronts note the demoralizing influence of the reinforcements from Russia. Thoroughly propagandized by Bolshevik agitators, the Replenishment Companies reinforce not our fighting ranks, but the ranks of the malcontents . . ." (p. 215).

Lenin made it a point to promote closer links between the army and the workers, stressing that the revolutionary alliance of the working class and soldiers was an essential condition for the advance of the revolution. And to form that alliance, the Bolsheviks encouraged visits to the front by worker delegations bringing revolutionary literature and gifts, and return visits

of army delegates to the factories, exchange of banners between worker collectives and military units.

The documents describe the struggle for democratization of the army. From the very outset, the Bolshevik Party firmly supported the spontaneous actions by the soldiers for more democracy in the army, which began in the course of the February revolution, and oriented them on the fight for Soviet power.

The focal point of Bolshevik agitation was the demand for peace. Three years of war had left the soldiers exhausted, disillusioned and longing for peace. The documents show that this desire for peace had become an irresistible force, that the soldiers wanted one thing only — "an end to the war and to return to their homes."

Fraternization was another form of revolutionary struggle against the war. Starting as a spontaneous movement, the Bolshevik Party gave it a political orientation. Revolutionary Russian soldiers had talks with German soldiers, held joint rallies, distributed newspapers and pamphlets, some of them in German, explained the need to stop the war. A Western Front morale assessment, after citing various incidents of fraternization, concluded that "the urge to fraternize is assuming massive proportions" (p. 528). It also cites the statement by soldiers of the 248th Infantry Regiment that "through fraternization the men hope to achieve an early peace" (p. 537). There can be little doubt that fraternization played no small part in fostering revolutionary sentiments among the German and Austrian soldiers.

The Bolshevik appeal for a revolutionary way out of the war and for a general and democratic peace fell on receptive soil. The prestige of the Bolsheviks and of Lenin among the soldiers is illustrated by the letter of soldiers of the 17th Siberian Infantry Division: "Our true comrade, Lenin, we ask you most humbly to come to our aid and not abandon us to the bourgeoisie, who have been sucking our blood in the past and now want to also. We beg you, Comrades Bolsheviks, wipe out the bourgeoisie who are howling for war unto victory. If you can't manage, call on us to help; we'll make short work of them." (p. 225).

The bourgeoisie and the army command tried to counter Bolshevik anti-war propaganda by presenting the Bolsheviks and revolutionary soldiers generally as defeatists, traitors and German spies. The idea was to incite the army against them. But

grim reality convinced the men that the Bolsheviks were right. And the Bolshevik Party made an historic contribution by linking the struggle for peace with the

struggle for Soviet power. It was able to convince the soldiers that the only salvation from the holocaust was to accomplish a socialist revolution. P. VOLOBUYEV

At the sources of the CP of Great Britain

Next year the Communist Party of Great Britain will celebrate its 50th birthday. Its appearance on the political arena of the country was little to the liking of the capitalist parties and of the Right-wing leaders in the working-class movement. From the very beginning bourgeois propaganda labeled the Party's program and actions as "subversive," as being contrary to the interests of the British working class. As for bourgeois and Labor historians, they chose to ignore the very fact of the Party's existence, that is, until a few years ago when books by men of the Right turned to the Party's history, its ideology and policy, understandably presenting it in a distorted light.

It was essential to make an objective analysis of the Party's activity right from its founding. This is done by James Klugmann in his *History of the Communist Party of Great Britain*, the first volume of which, *Formation and Early Years, 1919-1924*, has been put out by Lawrence and Wishart.

The author, an outstanding British Marxist, is editor of the Party's theoretical journal *Marxism Today*.

In this fundamental work James Klugmann has made a detailed study of party documents, has drawn on rich factual material, on the leaflets, letters, and photographs of those years, which are today a bibliographical rarity.

The author's purpose is to relate the history of the British Communist Party not as something isolated and separate, but as an integral part of the history of the working-class movement, as a many-sided and complex progress in constant development. When speaking of the advances made by the Communists in one or another sphere, the author does not ignore the mistakes made.

Klugmann analyzes the process of formation and development of the Party in the conditions of one of the leading capitalist countries of the world.

Lenin had noted earlier that it was especially difficult to build a party in the center of world imperialism that Britain was in those years. For long an experienced bourgeoisie used various means of subordinating the working class—from the outright suppression of earlier times to wooing them and dropping crumbs. This bourgeoisie possessed not only a powerful state apparatus of coercion but also a no less powerful machine for ideologically influencing the masses; in those days it was adept in subordinating the trade union, cooperative and later Labor leaders through whom it influenced the working masses. Thus the Communist Party was formed in a country where for many years reformists were firmly entrenched in the working-class movement.

And yet the ideas of Marxism-Leninism gradually made headway in this citadel of imperialism. The book shows how the different socialist groups and societies in the country gradually broke with reformism, how, under the impact of the October Revolution, the revolutionary upsurge in Europe, socialists in Britain realized the need for a genuinely revolutionary party of the working class, founded on scientific communism. James Klugmann writes: "Their successes and their failures in the years of the war—the very fact that the war had not been stopped, the triumph of the October Revolution in Russia, the stormy postwar years of Labor struggle, the tumultuous revolutionary events on the Continent—all seemed to them to point to this lesson" (p. 13).

Formed out of the societies and groups that had broken with reformism and taken the way of revolutionary struggle, the Communist Party took shape and crystallized in a sharp battle of ideas. Despite the desire for organizational unity, it took the best part of two years to accomplish this — from the first initial negotiations in 1918, through the London Unity Convention of July 31 - August 1, 1920 to the Leeds Convention at the end of January 1921. This was due to the differing approaches, the differing tactics of the societies and groups out of which the Party was formed. Among them, writes the author, "were many different approaches, different confusions, different backgrounds in different sectors of the Labor Movement, different loyalties to their own particular group, personal differences; inevitably there were a few whose revolutionary attitude was skin deep, because at that time revolution was 'in the air'; and there were just a few who thought they could enjoy the glories of revolutionary success without the patience and sacrifice, the setbacks and defeats, the struggle and sweat, needed for socialist victory in any country, but above all in the country that had so long been at the center of world imperialism" (p. 27).

The founding of the Communist Party in Britain was a significant gain for the working class from which the Party emerged and whose finest traditions it carried forward. The young Party was headed by men known for their devotion to the working class, talented Marxists and mass organizers.

The author shows the significance of Leninism for the British working-class movement. Amplifying Marx's and Engels' analysis of the movement, Lenin pointed to the specific features of British imperialism, and laid bare the roots of opportunism in the British working class.

"Lenin was not only the great practical and theoretical leader of the international working-class movement," writes Klugman, "he had deeply studied Britain — British capitalism and imperialism, the strategy and tactics (and the personalities) of the British ruling class from diehard Churchills to wily Lloyd Georges, British reformism with its Hendersons and Ramsay MacDonalds, the history, struggles, internal differences, literature and leaders of the working-class movement" (pp. 53-54).

Lenin considered sectarianism, which isolated the British revolutionaries, as one of the main obstacles to successful struggle

against opportunism and reformism. We read how in the period preceding the founding of the Party and in the early months of its existence Lenin helped the British comrades to overcome Leftist attitudes. Lenin taught that "the British revolutionaries had not only to break away from and combat the all-pervading influence of reformism, but in so doing, to break with their own sectarian habits and approaches, that had weakened their revolutionary activity and led them to isolation" (p. 58).

It was from this standpoint that Lenin examined the complex tactical questions regarding the Communists' attitude to Parliament and to the Labor Party. Opinion was sharply divided at the Unity Congress on whether the Party, once it was formed, should seek affiliation to the Labor Party, or not.

The book points to the theoretical and practical service the Second Congress of the Communist International rendered the British Communists in this respect. At the request of the British delegation to the Congress, which was in session at the same time as the Unity Convention, this point was included in the agenda. William MacLain, Sylvia Pankhurst and William Gallacher who opposed affiliation, took part in the debate. In his intervention Lenin drew the attention of the British Communists to the fact that the organizations affiliated to the Labor Party had retained full freedom of action. Hence, the Communist Party, too, without foregoing its independence, could pursue its revolutionary policy, expose and criticize those who militated against the interests of the working class. Lenin therefore believed that it would be a great mistake if the British Communists let slip the chance to work in the Labor Party.

The author notes that the Congress discussion, the talks with Lenin and his book "*Left-Wing* Communism did much to clarify things for the British Communist Party. He quotes William Gallacher's letter in which he describes the effect on him of his talks with Lenin:

"The more I talked with Lenin and the other comrades, the more I came to see what the party of the workers meant in the revolutionary struggle. It was on this, the conception of the Party, that the genius of Lenin had expressed itself. A Party of revolutionary workers, with its roots in the factories and in the streets, winning the trade unions and the cooperatives with the correctness of its working-class policy, a Party with no other interests but the in-

terests of the working class and peasant and petty-bourgeois allies of the working class, such a Party, using every avenue of expression, could make an exceptionally valuable parliamentary platform for arousing the great masses of workers to energetic struggle against the capitalist enemy" (pp. 63-64).

The author describes the Party's policy in the early years of its existence, how, though still small in numbers, it actively participated in the trade union movement, in the actions of the working class for their rights, in the anti-war movement. The Party strove for unity of the working-class movement, for affiliation with the Labor Party.

"It was not the Communist Party," writes Klugmann, "which split the working-class

movement, but from the beginning the split was made by the Right-wing leaders who rejected again and again affiliation and every form of united struggle" (pp. 179-180).

Despite this the Communist Party became an integral part of the British working-class movement. And even though it did not always achieve immediate results, its activity exerted a revolutionary influence on the processes in the movement.

James Klugmann's *History of the Communist Party of Great Britain*, as the first volume shows, is a valuable contribution to Marxist history, and its complete edition will be an important event not only in the life of the British Communists.

E. SHIBARINA

Leninism and the world revolutionary process

The experience of the October Revolution and the present revolutionary process is the subject of the book *Leninism and Our Times**, recently published in Moscow. It is the fruit of the collaboration of a group of Marxist scholars representing a number of Communist and Workers' parties.

The book consists of two parts. The first examines the importance of the Leninist theory of socialist revolution for the contemporary revolutionary movement, the historical experience of the CPSU in carrying out the socialist revolution, the crisis of the world capitalist system, and the working-class struggle after the October revolution, the logical development of the three streams of the world revolutionary movement — the socialist world, the fight of the working class in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movement. A special section is devoted to the crisis of bourgeois and reformist ideology.

Part Two contains contributions on the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries of Europe, the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa, and the revolutionary struggle in Latin America.

The authors show the international significance of Leninism and of the October experience in solving the complex problems of the contemporary revolutionary movement, how the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 derived from the objective laws of socio-economic development. It is this that makes it such a rich source of revolutionary ideas for Communists everywhere. This is brought out by the representatives of Communist and Workers' parties who show in their contributions that the parties in all parts of the world draw, in one way or another, on the experience of October, on the experience of the CPSU when tackling the most diverse problems of the theory and practice of the revolutionary movement: analyzing the socio-economic roots of revolution, elaborating its program, building up a political army of the revolution, analyzing a revolutionary situation, studying the art of revolutionary insurrection, combining peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle, tackling the nationalities question, the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the allies of the working class in the revolution and in socialist construction.

Much space is devoted to the growth of

* *Leninism i sovremennost*. Moscow, Mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya, 1969, 559 pp.

socialism — the decisive link in the world revolutionary process. The authors stress the need to deepen the unity of the socialist countries, examine the ways and means of their economic and political cooperation, and amplify on the basis of rich factual material the Marxist-Leninist concept that correctly understood national interests are not at variance with the internationalist duty of Communists.

What gives added interest to *Leninism and Our Times* is that discussion of the current problems of the revolutionary movement is accompanied by a criticism of bourgeois and reformist views. By refuting the arguments of our ideological opponents the authors help the reader to find his bearings in the complex ideological battle of today.

G.P.

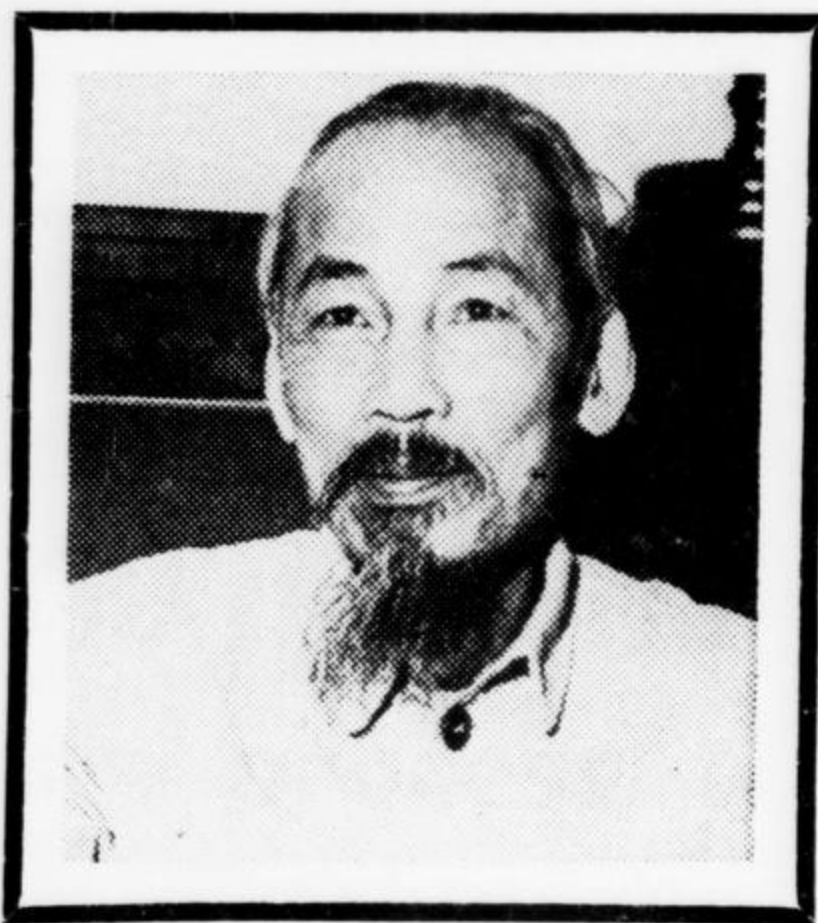
In memory of Ho Chi Minh

The international Communist, working-class and national liberation movements have suffered a heavy loss in the death on September 3 of Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam.

A dedicated revolutionary, he devoted his whole life to the struggle for the happiness of his people, for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, for the triumph of socialism and communism. **Ho Chi Minh's** outstanding personal qualities — boundless energy, revolutionary spirit, iron will and courage, and combined with this his simplicity and humanity, his love for the man of labor—won for him the affection and respect of Communists, democrats and progressives all over the world.

A lifelong and unrelenting opponent of colonialism and imperialism, Ho Chi Minh hailed the October Revolution in Russia, seeing in it the forerunner of Vietnam's eventual liberation. "Like the sun, the October Revolution sheds its light on all five continents, awakening the millions of oppressed and exploited," he wrote later. Vietnam's first Communist, he was the architect of the Working People's Party, founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the acknowledged leader of the Vietnamese people in their fight for liberation and socialism.

Under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh the national liberation struggle of his people swept forward, ending in the brilliant victory of the August revolution of



1945 and the formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first socialist state in Southeast Asia. As President of the republic Ho Chi Minh led his people in the war of resistance against the French colonialists. Under his inspiring leadership the people of Vietnam crushingly rebuffed the imperialist aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in their epic struggle against the intervention of the

United States and its allies, and for the liberation of South Vietnam.

A sworn enemy of aggression and war, Ho worked indefatigably for peace and the security of nations.

In his testament, he urged his people to wage the struggle against the American invader until complete victory, to consolidate the international Communist movement. "My wish is that our Party," wrote this great son of Vietnam, "should exert the maximum effort and make an effective contribution to restoring the cohesion of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, guided by common sense and reason.

"I am firmly convinced that the fraternal parties and the fraternal countries will unite without fail."

The memory of Ho Chi Minh, dedicated Marxist-Leninist, staunch internationalist and consistent fighter for unity and consolidation of the socialist community and of the international Communist and working-class movement, will be treasured by communists and progressives in all parts of the world.

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