

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

**LENINISM AND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA**
LUBOMIR STROUGAL — PAGE 54



**DOCUMENTS
OF
INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE
OF
COMMUNIST
AND WORKERS'
PARTIES**

**Moscow
June 5-17, 1969**

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

JULY 1969

VOLUME 12 / NO. 7 / 35 CENTS

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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

Theoretical and
Information Journal
of Communist and
Workers' Parties

JULY 1969
VOLUME 12
NUMBER 7

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.



WMR

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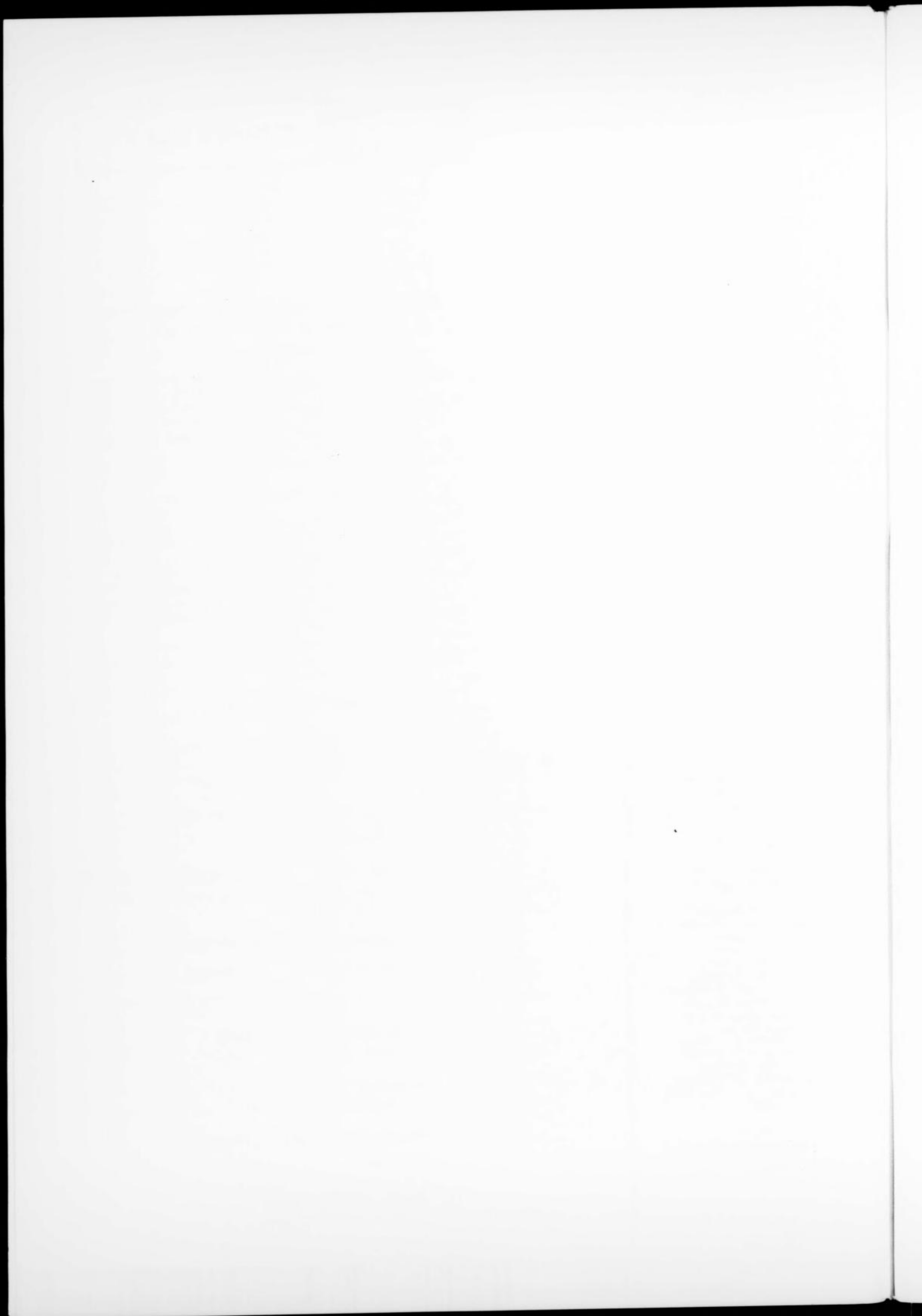
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Communique

on International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties

An International Conference of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969. Participants in the Conference see it as a big event in unfolding the struggle against imperialism, in achieving anti-imperialist united action by the broadest masses of the people throughout the world, as an important stage in cementing the unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.

Delegations of the following Communist and Workers' Parties participated in the Conference: Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, People's Party of Iran, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Jordanian Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of

Lesotho, Communist Party of Luxemburg, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Nigerian Marxist-Leninists, Communist Party of Norway, Communist Party of East Pakistan, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto-Rican Communist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, South-African Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Sudanese Communist Party, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Venezuela and two parties working underground whose names are not mentioned for considerations of security. Delegations of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Left Party-Communists of Sweden were present at the Conference as observers, and set out their positions.

The Conference adopted a Document, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces." Expressing themselves also in favor of cementing the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all anti-imperialist forces, the delegations of the Communist Parties of Australia, Italy, San Marino and Reunion declared themselves in full accord only with that section of the Document that sets forth the joint program of struggle against imperialism, while the delegate of the Dominican Communist Party did not support the Main Document.

The participants in the Conference discussed the question of observing the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth, and warmly and enthusiastically approved the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

The Conference addressed the peoples of the world in an Appeal, "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam." It warmly welcomed the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The Conference issued an "Appeal in Defense of Peace." It adopted a statement in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression and statements of solidarity with Communists and democrats exposed to brutal repressions and waging a selfless struggle in difficult conditions against reactionary dictatorial regimes supported by international imperialism.

The Conference took place in an atmosphere of frankness and fraternal solidarity, and was assured extensive publicity. The principle of the equality of all Parties and collective methods of work were strictly

observed both in the preparatory period and in the course of the Conference.

The participants in the Conference expressed their readiness further to develop ties among the Communist and Workers' Parties. They reaffirmed the desirability of bilateral and regional meetings, and of international meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties when necessary, for the purpose of exchanging opinion and experience and for collective discussion and elaboration of topical political and theoretical questions, problems of struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

* * *

It has been decided to send the proceedings of the Conference also to Communist and Workers' Parties that did not take part in the work of the Conference.

The participants in the Conference are deeply convinced that its results accord with the interests of each Communist Party and of the international communist movement as a whole.

Tasks at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces

Adopted on June 17, 1969

The Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow at a very important juncture in world development. Powerful revolutionary processes are gathering momentum throughout the world. Three mighty forces of our time—the world socialist system, the international working-class and the national liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism. The present phase is characterized by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing. Imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, continues to oppress many peoples and remains a constant threat to peace and social progress.

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.

The Conference discussed urgent tasks of the struggle against imperialism and problems of united action by Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces. As a result of the discussion, held in a spirit of democracy, equality and internationalism,

the participants in the Conference reached common conclusions concerning the present world situation and the tasks arising from it.

I

Mankind has entered the last third of our century in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism. This clash is worldwide and embraces all the basic spheres of social life: economy, politics, ideology and culture.

The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter-offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favor. It has been possible to prevent the outbreak of a world war thanks to the growing economic, political and military might, and the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states; to the actions of the international proletariat and of all fighters against imperialism; to the struggle for national liberation; and also to the massive peace movement. Socialism, which has triumphed on one-third of the globe, has scored new suc-

cesses in the worldwide struggle for the hearts and minds of the people. The events of the past decade bear out that the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character, content and chief trends of the present epoch is correct. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

At present there are real possibilities for resolving key problems of our time in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism, to deal imperialism new blows. However, while the world system of imperialism has not grown stronger, it remains a serious and dangerous foe. The United States of America, the chief imperialist power, has grown more aggressive.

The core of the aggressive policy of imperialism is the drive to use all means to weaken the positions of socialism, suppress the national liberation movement, hamstring the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and halt the irreversible decline of capitalism.

Global in scale, the basic contradiction between imperialism and socialism is growing deeper. Under conditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper, the capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost. U.S. imperialism strives to retain its influence over other capitalist countries and pursue a common policy with them in the main spheres of the class struggle.

The spearhead of the aggressive strategy of imperialism continues to be aimed first and foremost against the socialist countries. Imperialism does not forego open armed struggle against socialism. It ceaselessly intensifies the arms race and tries to activate the military blocs organized for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It steps up its ideological fight against them and tries to hamper the economic development of the socialist countries.

In its actions against the working-class movement imperialism violates democratic rights and freedoms and uses naked violence, brutal methods of police persecution and anti-labor legislation. Moreover, it has recourse to demagoguery, bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy, and is constantly in quest of new methods to undermine the working-class movement from within and "integrate" it into the capitalist system.

In its struggle against the national liberation movement, imperialism stubbornly defends the remnants of the colonial system, on the one hand, and, on the other, uses methods of neo-colonialism in an effort to prevent the economic and social advance of developing states, of countries which have won national sovereignty. To this end it supports reactionary circles, retards the abolition of the most backward social structures and tries to obstruct progress along the road to socialism or along the road to progressive non-capitalist development, which can open the way to socialism. The imperialists impose on these countries economic agreements and military-political pacts which infringe on their sovereignty; they exploit them through the export of capital, unequal terms of trade; the manipulation of prices, exchange rates, loans and various forms of so-called aid; and pressure by international financial organizations.

The gulf between the highly developed capitalist states and the majority of the other countries of the capitalist world is growing wider; hunger is an acute problem in a number of the latter. Imperialism provokes friction in developing countries and sows division between them by encouraging reactionary nationalism. Through anti-communism it tries to split the ranks of the revolutionaries in these countries and isolate them from their best friends—the socialist states and the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

Through military-political blocs, military bases in foreign countries; economic pressure and trade blockades imperialism maintains tension in some areas of the world. It provides reactionary organizations with financial and political support and intensifies political oppression. It resorts to armed intervention, savage repression—especially in countries where the struggle acquires the most acute forms and where the revolutionary forces fight arms in hand—counter-revolutionary conspiracies, reactionary and fascist coups, provocations and blackmail.

In face of the strengthening of the international positions of socialism, imperialism tries to weaken the unity of the world socialist system. It uses the differences in the international revolutionary movement in an effort to split its ranks. It places its ideological apparatus, including mass media, in the service of anti-communism and

its struggle against socialism, against all progressive forces.

In these past years, imperialism has time and again provoked sharp international crises which have pushed humanity to the brink of a thermonuclear conflict. However, U.S. imperialism has to take into account the relationship of forces in the world, the nuclear potential of the Soviet Union and the possible consequences of a missile-nuclear war, and it is becoming more and more difficult and dangerous for it to gamble on another world war. Therefore the ruling circles of the United States, without abandoning preparations for such a war, lay emphasis on local wars.

However, the contradiction between the imperialist "policy of strength" and the real possibilities of imperialism is becoming ever more evident. *Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces.*

The war in Vietnam is the most convincing proof of the contradiction between imperialism's aggressive plans and its ability to put these plans into effect. In Vietnam U.S. imperialism, the most powerful of the imperialist partners, is suffering defeat, and this is of historic significance. The armed intervention in Vietnam holds a special place in the military and political designs of U.S. imperialism. The aggressor planned to destroy an outpost of socialism in Asia, block the way for the peoples of Southeast Asia to freedom and progress, strike a blow at the national liberation movement, and test the strength of the proletarian solidarity of the socialist countries and the working people of the whole world.

Despite the huge quantity of armaments which it has brought into play, U.S. imperialism has been compelled to cease the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unconditionally and to send its representatives to sit at the negotiating table with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

This has been brought about by the unexampled heroism of the Vietnamese people, the far-sighted policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the many forms of assistance rendered to the Vietnamese people by the socialist coun-

tries, by the Soviet Union in particular, and the militant ever-growing international solidarity throughout the world, including the United States itself. The criminal intervention in Vietnam has resulted in considerable moral and political isolation of the United States. It has turned ever broader masses of people, new social strata and political forces against imperialism and speeded up the involvement of millions of young people in many countries in the anti-imperialist struggle. It has aggravated existing contradictions between the imperialist powers and created new ones. The successes of the heroic Vietnamese people are convincing proof that in our day it is becoming increasingly possible for peoples resolutely using all means to defend their independence, sovereignty and freedom and enjoying broad international support, to defeat imperialist aggression.

In the Middle East a grave international crisis has been precipitated by the Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria, and Jordan. Through this aggression, imperialism, that of the U.S. above all, tried to crush the progressive regimes in the Arab countries, undermine the Arab liberation movement, and preserve or regain its positions in the Middle East. This it has failed to do. Nevertheless, supported by world reaction, including Zionist circles, the ruling forces of Israel continue to ignore the demands of the Arab states and of the peace-loving peoples, and the UN decisions on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, persist in their policy of expansion and annexation, and ceaselessly commit fresh armed provocations. This policy is opposed by the Communist Party and other progressive forces of Israel. The Arab peoples resolutely continue the struggle to uphold their freedom, independence and national progress, and to recover the occupied territories, for recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The resistance movement against the occupation is growing, assuming diverse forms and is enjoying ever greater support. On the side of these peoples are the USSR and other socialist states, the international communist movement, the solidarity of the forces of national liberation, and ever wider public circles in the capitalist countries.

U.S. imperialism has not abandoned its plans to strangle revolutionary Cuba. It continues to threaten the independence of the Republic of Cuba and in flagrant contravention of international law tries to

blockade it economically and carries on provocative and subversive activity against it. But the courageous people of Cuba, led by their Communist Party and supported by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, progressive forces of Latin America and the entire revolutionary movement, staunchly defend their sovereignty and freedom and thereby the outpost of socialism in the American continent.

In *Europe* the North Atlantic bloc, the chief instrument of imperialist aggression and adventurism, continues to be active. The axis of this bloc is the alliance between Washington and Bonn. Contrary to the will of the peoples of Europe, the ruling circles of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain are doing their utmost to prolong the existence of this bloc, strengthen its organization and maintain the military presence of the United States in Europe.

West German militarism, the main source of the war danger in the heart of Europe, was revived and grew strong mainly with NATO assistance. The imperialist ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, where neo-nazism and militarism are gaining strength, persist in their revanchist program of revising the results of the Second World War and of changing the frontiers of a number of European countries. This policy, aimed primarily against the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist workers' and peasants' state in German history, threatens the security of all European peoples and the peace of the world.

The *Mediterranean* countries occupy an important place in the plans of imperialism. U.S. imperialism, which has important military bases in Spain, continues to support the Franco regime, thereby helping it to survive in opposition to the struggle of the fighting Spanish people. The U.S. Sixth Fleet and the system of military bases, which are a threat to the peoples and to peace in this area, serve as a permanent instrument of political and military pressure in the Mediterranean. The repeated exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus and the fascist coup in Greece are likewise the handiwork of the imperialists, who support the colonels' junta.

Southeast Asia and the Far East are one of the main areas of imperialist aggression and military gambles. In addition to SEATO, ANZUS and the so-called Security Treaty between the United States and Japan, there is the virtual occupation of the

Southwestern Pacific and the Indian Ocean by U.S. armed forces. This entire system is spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries of Asia, against the national liberation movement, as well as against the neutral and non-aligned states in this area. The U.S. imperialists continue to occupy Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, and obstruct the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations. The U.S. imperialists continue armed provocations against the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the military occupation of South Korea and exercise arbitrary rule, suppressing progressive forces striving for freedom and the unification of the country. They commit acts of aggression against Laos and provocations against Cambodia. They have set up and are enlarging strong military bases in Thailand. They persist in their attempt to pressure India into abandoning her path of non-alignment and independent economic development. The imperialists supported the anti-popular coup in Indonesia, accomplished by reactionary circles, who have physically destroyed hundreds of thousands of Communists and other democrats and continue to commit bloody outrages; all this leads to the destruction of all the gains of the Indonesian revolution and threatens to deprive the country of her independence.

Imperialism has become more active in a number of *African* countries. It tries to halt the growth of the liberation struggle and preserve and strengthen its positions in that continent. The British and French imperialists, and the imperialists of the USA, West Germany and Japan are making extensive use of neo-colonialist methods of economic, political and ideological infiltration and subjugation. The armed intervention in the Congo (Kinshasa), the reactionary coups in Ghana and some other countries, imperialist moves designed to dismember Nigeria, the political and military support given to reactionary and anti-national cliques, to the fascist and racist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the fomenting of inter-state conflicts and inter-tribal strife, economic pressure and monopoly expansion—all serve to further imperialist plans. The Portuguese colonialists, backed by NATO, try to keep their possessions by force of arms.

U.S. imperialism continues to step up its economic penetration, as well as its political, ideological and cultural intervention

in the *Latin American* countries. In alliance with the local reactionary forces it has been pursuing a policy designed to prevent the peoples from following the example of Cuba. It suppresses any step leading to economic and genuine political independence.

To promote this policy the U.S. imperialists put forward the Alliance for Progress program and resort to new, camouflaged forms of domination. They use the Organization of American States and the Inter-American military alliance, exert efforts to set up the so-called "Inter-American Peace Forces" and have arrogated the right to military intervention against any Latin American country as they have done against the Dominican Republic and against Panama. The U.S. imperialists maintain or install reactionary dictatorships, often by way of military coups, intensify splitting activities in the trade union movement, extend their influence over the armed and police forces and inspire repressions against the popular movement. They have taken a direct part in military operations against the guerrilla movement in some Latin American countries. However, the policy of U.S. imperialism is encountering great difficulties. It fails to stabilize reactionary regimes or secure the agreement of all the governments to the setting up of the "Inter-American Peace Forces." The Alliance for Progress program has failed.

Other imperialist powers, particularly West Germany and Japan, likewise seek to entrench themselves in that continent.

This policy of imperialist aggression which threatens world peace and the security and independence of nations is facing growing resistance in the capitalist countries from the working class, peasantry, young people, students, from the broadest masses irrespective of their political views and ideology. The mighty protest movement against U.S. aggression in Vietnam strengthens the militant actions of the democratic forces against U.S. imperialist policy as a whole and the policies of the governments supporting it.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has stimulated in Japan and other Asian countries the movement for closing the U.S. military bases and the renunciation of treaties which bind these countries to the policy of the Pentagon. In the USA itself—which is the main source of aggression—a militant mass movement against war and militarism has developed.

In Western Europe the movement against

the aggressive NATO bloc, for the normalization of relations and the development of cooperation between states and for safeguarding European security, encompasses ever wider strata of the population. Forces actively opposed to revanchism and militarism are growing in West Germany, too. In countries where the USA maintains military bases, demands for eliminating these strongpoints of aggression are becoming more articulate.

The Latin American peoples are fighting against oppression and brazen interference of U.S. imperialism in their internal affairs. The strike movement of the workers, the actions of peasants, students and other strata show that broad masses throughout the continent are intensifying resistance to the dictates of the USA and its military designs. In some countries the revolutionary forces are resorting to armed struggle against the domination of the oligarchy and imperialism. The national feelings of the peoples and economic difficulties might compel even some governments to take important measures against imperialism; this determines the tendency to establish or extend relations with socialist countries, including Cuba. The Communist and Workers' Parties are heading the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, and despite persecution by reactionary camarillas they are fighting with dedication and courage for the demands of the masses and for revolutionary changes.

The upsurge of the national liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples has been a telling blow at the positions of imperialism on these continents. Despite serious difficulties, these peoples are continuing to struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism and contribute to the general offensive against imperialism.

The events of the past decade have laid bare more forcefully than ever the nature of U.S. imperialism as a world exploiter and gendarme, as the sworn enemy of liberation movements. The U.S. monopolies have penetrated the economy of dozens of countries, where they are increasing their capital investments and seeking to gain control of key positions in the economy.

West German imperialism is increasing its economic strength, building up its war machine, reaching out for nuclear weapons and intensifying its drive for domination over Western Europe. It opposes all steps leading to disarmament and the easing of international tension, and pursues a policy of neo-colonialism and expansion in rela-

tion to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Despite the weakening of British imperialism, Britain remains one of the major imperialist powers and strives to maintain its positions in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East by neo-colonialist methods and sometimes by direct military intervention. On the principal issues of world politics Britain acts as one of the most active partners of the United States. It is a leading active aggressive force in NATO and seeks a closer alliance with West Germany.

Japanese imperialism is gaining in strength, intensifying its expansion, especially in Asia. Militarism is again rearing its head in Japan. Linked by many ties with U.S. imperialism, the ruling circles of Japan have virtually turned the country into a U.S. arsenal in the war against the Vietnamese people, and take part in conspiracies against the Korean people.

French imperialism tries to maintain and consolidate its positions in world economy and politics. It persistently continues to build up a nuclear strike force and refuses to join in measures that would promote disarmament. It retains its colonial domination over the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion and some countries of Africa and Oceania, and refuses to recognize their right to self-determination and to govern their own affairs. It uses the influence it still has in its former colonies and, employing new methods of colonialist policy, is particularly active in Africa.

Italian monopoly capital is likewise stepping up its expansion.

Economic development is becoming more uneven among the various imperialist powers and in the capitalist world as a whole. Life demonstrates the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of struggle between the imperialist powers and between the capitalist monopolies for spheres of influence. Industrial and commercial competition are growing sharper, and the financial and currency war is spreading. Competition is growing in Western Europe, including within the Common Market and also between the capitalist countries of Europe and the USA. Japanese imperialism is energetically joining this struggle for markets and maximum profits.

The inter-imperialist contradictions are manifest not only in the economic sphere. NATO is undergoing a serious crisis. The aggressive blocs established in Asia — CENTO and SEATO — are beginning to

crack up. Western Europe is becoming an arena of discord among the capitalist countries. This weakens the world system of imperialism and upsets U.S. imperialism's plans for hegemony.

Contradictions are also growing deeper within the ruling circles of the imperialist countries, between the most belligerent groups who gamble on extreme measures, on war, and those who, reckoning with the new relationship of class forces in the world, the growing might of the socialist countries, tend to take a more realistic approach to international problems and to solve them in the spirit of peaceful coexistence between states with different systems. The ruling circles of some countries realize the need to reckon with the real situation which has taken shape in Europe as a result of the war and of post-war development and are beginning to see that the German Democratic Republic must be recognized. A number of countries have recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China despite U.S. pressure.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, the working class and the anti-imperialist forces take into account all the contradictions in the enemy camp and strive to deepen and utilize them in the interest of peace and progress.

Each imperialist power pursues its own aims. At the same time, together they form the chain of the world system of imperialism.

Present-day imperialism, which is trying to adapt itself to the conditions of the struggle between the two systems and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, has some new features. Its state-monopoly character is becoming more pronounced. It resorts ever more extensively to such instruments as state-stimulated monopolistic concentration of production and capital, redistribution by the state of an increasing proportion of the national income, allocation of war contracts to the monopolies, government financing of industrial development and research programs, the drawing up of economic development programs on a countrywide scale, the policy of imperialist integration and new forms of capital export.

However, state-monopoly regulation, exercised in forms and on a scale which meet the interests of monopoly capital and are aimed at preserving its rule, is unable to control the spontaneous forces of the capitalist market. Practically no capitalist

state has been able to avoid considerable cyclical fluctuations and slumps in its economy; in some countries, periods of rapid industrial growth alternate with periods in which there is a slowdown and often a drop in production. The capitalist system is in the grip of an acute monetary and financial crisis.

The scientific and technological revolution offers mankind unprecedented possibilities to remake Nature, to produce immense material wealth and to multiply man's creative capabilities. These possibilities should serve the general welfare, but capitalism is using the scientific and technological revolution to increase its profits and intensify the exploitation of the working people.

The scientific and technological revolution accelerates the socialization of the economy; under monopoly domination this leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form. Not only have the long-standing contradictions of capitalism been aggravated, but new ones have arisen as well. This applies, in particular, to the contradiction between the unlimited possibilities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution and the roadblocks raised by capitalism to their utilization for the benefit of society as a whole. Capitalism squanders national wealth, allocating for war purposes a great proportion of scientific discoveries and immense material resources. This is the contradiction between the social character of present-day production and the state-monopoly nature of its regulation. This is not only the growth of the contradiction between capital and labor, but also the deepening of the antagonism between the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation and those of the financial oligarchy.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries, millions of people suffer the torments of unemployment, want and insecurity. Contrary to assertions about the "revolution in incomes" and "social partnership," capitalist exploitation is in fact increasing. The rise in wages lags far behind the growth rates of labor productivity and the intensification of labor, behind the social needs and even more so behind the growth of monopoly profits. The position of the small farmers continues to deteriorate and the living conditions of a considerable part of the middle strata are becoming more difficult.

The instability of the capitalist system

has increased. Socio-political crises are breaking out in many countries, in the course of which the working masses are becoming aware of the necessity of deep-going and decisive changes.

This became primarily evident from the events in France in May and June 1968, from the powerful strike movement there, in which the Communists played an important role and the working people made considerable gains. A serious clash took place in that country between the working class and considerable sections of the intellectuals and students, on the one hand, and the Gaullist regime and monopoly rule, on the other. This clash opened up new possibilities for the struggle for democracy and socialism.

In Italy, the steady growth of the strike movement on a national scale, the big political battles and the electoral successes of the Left-wing forces strongly shook the policy of the Center-Left, which the ruling classes reckoned on using to stabilize capitalism.

In Spain, the struggle of the masses continues to undermine the fascist dictatorship of Franco, which was compelled to introduce emergency measures; despite these repressions, the struggle is expanding, and new social strata and broad circles are joining the anti-Franco opposition.

In Great Britain, major class battles are unfolding, including political strikes in defense of the trade unions and of the right to strike, which are under attack by the Labor Government.

Class battles, strikes and other actions by the working people, students and other social segments have been stepped up in Japan, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, the Federal Republic of Germany, Uruguay, Belgium, Portugal, Chile, India, Pakistan, Turkey and other countries and also in West Berlin. The growth of the democratic movement has also been reflected in the election achievements of the Communists and other progressive forces in a number of countries, including Japan. Democratic front governments with the participation of Communists, have been formed in some states of India. In Finland, the Communists take part in the government.

Moreover, the depth of the crisis in the capitalist world is also strikingly revealed by the advance of the mass struggle in the United States itself, that main pillar of world imperialism. A wave of rebellions against racial discrimination, poverty, starvation and police brutality has swept

the Negro ghettos. Scores of American cities and towns have been the scene of fierce clashes with troops and police, which took a great toll of lives and led to the arrest of thousands of Negroes.

In the USA militant strikes for economic demands take place often in defiance of government pressure and threats and contrary to the will of reactionary trade union officials. In the unions the rank and file and progressive forces are becoming more active. Large sections of the working people oppose the Vietnam war.

Intellectual, professional and religious circles in the USA are becoming more and more active in the movement of social protest and for peace. Young people, students in particular, black and white, are in revolt in different ways against the Vietnam war, military conscription, racism, and monopoly control of universities. Reaction replies to this with the assassination of public figures, mounting repression and massive violence. The notorious "American way of life" is being discredited in the eyes of the world.

Everywhere the monopoly bourgeoisie tries to create the illusion that everything the working people aspire to can be achieved without a revolutionary transformation of the existing system. To conceal its exploiting and aggressive nature, capitalism resorts to theoretical whitewash ("people's capitalism," the "welfare state," the "affluent society," etc.). The revolutionary working-class movement exposes these concepts and wages a determined struggle against them. It thus deepens the crisis of imperialist ideology; increasing numbers of people are turning away from this ideology.

The conscience and intellect of mankind cannot be reconciled with the crimes of imperialism. Imperialism bears the guilt for two world wars which snuffed out the lives of tens of millions of people. It has created a gigantic military machine which devours tremendous human and material resources. Intensifying the armaments race, it plans the production of new weapons for decades ahead. It is fraught with the threat of a thermonuclear world war which would annihilate hundreds of millions of people and turn entire countries into deserts.

Imperialism gave birth to fascism—the system of political terror and death camps. Wherever it can, imperialism wages an offensive against democratic rights and liberties; it tramples underfoot human dignity and cultivates racialism.

Imperialism is responsible for the hard-

ship and suffering of hundreds of millions of people. It is chiefly to blame for the fact that vast masses of people in Asian, African and Latin American countries are compelled to live in conditions of poverty, disease and illiteracy and under archaic social relations, and that entire nationalities are doomed to extinction.

The course of social development shows that imperialism comes into conflict with the vital interests of workers by hand and by brain, of different social strata, peoples and nations. As a result, growing masses of working people, social movements and entire peoples are rising against imperialism.

The working class, the democratic and revolutionary forces, the peoples must unite and act jointly in order to put an end to imperialism's criminal actions which can bring still graver suffering to mankind. To curb the aggressors and liberate mankind from imperialism is the mission of the working class, of all anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

II

The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Each liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, above all from the Soviet Union.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, the triumph of the revolution in China and in several other countries—in Europe and Asia—the emergence of the first socialist state in America, the Republic of Cuba, the rise and development of the world socialist system, comprising fourteen states, and the inspiring influence of socialism on the entire world have created the prerequisites for accelerating historical progress and opened new prospects for the advance and triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Socialism has shown mankind the prospect of deliverance from imperialism. The new social system based on public ownership of the means of production and on the power of the working people is capable of ensuring the planned, crisis-free development of the economy in the interest of the people, guaranteeing the social and political rights of the working people, creating conditions for genuine democracy, for real participation by the broad masses of peo-

ple in the administration of society, for all-round development of the individual and for the equality and friendship of nations. It has been proved in fact that only socialism is capable of solving the fundamental problems facing mankind.

The contribution of the world socialist system to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is determined primarily by its growing economic potential. The swift economic development of the countries belonging to the socialist system at rates outpacing the economic growth of the capitalist countries, the advance of socialism to leading positions in a number of fields of scientific and technological progress, and the blazing of a trail into outer space by the Soviet Union—all these tangible results, produced by the creative endeavors of the peoples of the socialist countries, decisively contribute to the preponderance of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism.

The socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilizing on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure. The building of socialism and its further development rests on the support, participation and initiative of the broadest masses inspired and led by the working class. The Communist Party is the vanguard of socialist society as a whole. The forces of socialism are strengthened and unity of will and action of the people is promoted by the steadily increasing political activity of the working people, by the greater activity of their social organizations, extension of the rights of the individual, irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and by the all-round development of socialist democracy. The improvement of socialist democracy, the growth of the productive forces, the political and cultural progress, the superiority of human and moral values enhance the influence of socialism on the working people of the world and reinforce its positions in the struggle against imperialism, a struggle of worldwide significance.

Practice has shown that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex process, and that the utilization of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system

depends on the Communist Parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development the Marxist-Leninist way.

The application of science in various social and economic fields and the full utilization of the potentialities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution for speeding up economic development and for satisfying the needs of all members of society are made possible by socialist ownership, the planned organization of production, and the active participation of workers by hand and by brain in guiding and managing the economy. An important requisite for the development of socialist society is to give full scope to the scientific and technological revolution, which has become one of the main sectors of the historic competition between capitalism and socialism.

The formation of the socialist world 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 internationalist duty of Communists.

The development and strengthening of each socialist country is a vital condition of the progress of the world socialist system as a whole. Successful development of the national economy, improvement of social relations and the all-round progress of each socialist country conform both to the interests of each people separately and the common cause of socialism.

One of the most important tasks before the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries is to develop all-embracing cooperation between their countries and ensure fresh successes in the decisive areas of the economic competition between the two systems, in the advance of science and technology. As the struggle between the two world systems grows sharper, this competition demands that on the basis of the socialist countries' fundamental interests and aims and of the Marxist-Leninist principles underlying their policy, the socialist system should place greater reliance on the international socialist division of labor and voluntary cooperation between

them, which rules out any infringement of national interests, and ensures the advance of each country and consolidates the might of the world socialist system as a whole.

Relying on its steadily growing economic and defense potential, the world socialist system fetters imperialism, reduces its possibilities of exporting counter-revolution, and in fulfillment of its internationalist duty, furnishes increasing aid to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and promotes peace and international security. So long as the aggressive NATO bloc exists, the Warsaw Treaty Organization has an important role to play in safeguarding the security of the socialist countries against armed attack by the imperialist powers and in ensuring peace.

The successes of socialism, its impact on the course of world events and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialist aggression largely depend on the cohesion of the socialist countries. Unity of action of the socialist countries is an important factor in bringing together all anti-imperialist forces.

The establishment of international relations of a new type and the development of the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries is a complex historical process. Following the victory of the socialist revolution in many countries, the building of socialism on the basis of general laws is proceeding in various forms, which take into account concrete historical conditions and national distinctions. Successful development of this process implies strict adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual assistance and support, equality, sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism. When divergences between socialist countries do arise owing to differences in the level of economic development, in social structure or international position or because of national distinctions, they can and must be successfully settled on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through comradely discussion and voluntary fraternal cooperation. They need not disrupt the united front of socialist countries against imperialism.

Communists are aware of the difficulties in the development of the world socialist system. But this system is based on the identity of the socio-economic structure of its member-countries and on the identity of their fundamental interests and objectives. This identity is an earnest that

the existing difficulties will be overcome and that the unity of the socialist system will be further strengthened on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the citadels of capitalism the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement. The present period is characterized by a sharpening of the struggle of the working class and of the broad masses of working people not only for an improvement of their economic conditions but also for political demands. While defending their vital interests, the working people fight for social rights and democratic freedoms. These demands are increasingly directed against the system of domination by monopoly capital, against its political power. The desire of the working masses to effect a radical change in the economic and social system based on the exploitation of man is growing ever stronger. The big battles of the working class in a number of capitalist countries are undermining the power of the monopolies, intensifying the instability and contradictions of capitalist society. These struggles foreshadow new class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, socialist revolution, and the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other segments of the working people.

Recent class battles have struck a blow at the illusions spread by partisans of neo-capitalism and reformism, and have given fresh proof of the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism. In contrast to the Right and "Left" opportunists, the Communist and Workers' Parties do not counterpose the fight for deep-going economic and social demands, and for advanced democracy to the struggle for socialism, but regard it as a part of the struggle for socialism. The radical democratic changes which will be achieved in the struggle against the monopolies and their economic domination and political power will promote among the broad masses awareness of the need for socialism.

In the new situation, the need for working-class unity has become even more urgent. Facts and the experience gained by the working class in the course of their struggles, and the sharp criticism of opportunist views by the Communist Parties—which remains a constant task—deepen the crisis of reformist concepts. A differentiation is taking place in the ranks of Social-Democracy, and this is also reflected in the

leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defense of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to reckon with the demands of the working masses in the economic and social fields, and in the questions of the struggle for peace and progress.

Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working-class unity, are in favor of cooperation with the Socialists and Social-Democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. They will do everything they can to carry out this cooperation. Communists are likewise in favor of cooperation with other democratic parties and organizations interested in the renewal of society. To advance on this path, it is, of course, necessary for the Socialist parties and other political organizations favoring socialism resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The trade unions, the largest organizations of the working people, play an important role in the struggle against the monopolies. But for the division in the trade union movement in the capitalist world they might be playing an even larger role. Some leaders create artificial obstacles to unity of action by trade unions of different orientation, on a national and international scale, but the desire for such unity has, nonetheless, been growing in the trade union movement in recent years. Communists are consistent champions of trade union unity within the framework of each country and in the international arena.

The Communist policy of united action by all the Parties of the working class and the trade unions draws growing support. This policy of unity affords the working-class movement greater opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle and makes it possible to bring into this struggle that section of the proletariat which is still unorganized or still follows bourgeois parties. Communists will improve their political and ideological work with an eye to securing working-class unity.

Domination by finance capital and the realization of "agrarian programs" by the monopolist states lead to the ruin of ever larger sections of the small and middle farmers. Lately, the farmers have been putting up growing resistance to these measures, conducting mass actions supported by urban working people. The strengthening of the alliance of workers and farmers

is one of the basic prerequisites of the success of the struggle against the monopolies and their power.

Big capital tramples on the vital interests of the majority of the urban middle strata. Therefore, despite their lack of unity and their special susceptibility to bourgeois ideology, large masses of the middle strata are coming forward in defense of their interests, joining the struggle for general democratic demands, and becoming increasingly conscious of the vital importance of united action with the working class.

In this age, when science is becoming a direct productive force, growing numbers of intellectuals are swelling the ranks of wage and salary workers. Their social interests intertwine with those of the working class; their creative aspirations clash with the interests of the monopoly employers, who place profit above all else. Despite the great diversity in their positions, different groups of intellectuals are coming more and more into conflict with the monopolies and the imperialist policy of governments. The crisis of bourgeois ideology and the attraction of socialism help to bring intellectuals into the anti-imperialist struggle. The alliance of workers by hand and by brain is becoming an increasingly important force in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, for the democratic control of production, of cultural institutions and information media and for the development of public education in the interests of the people.

The convergence of interests of the working class, farmers, urban middle strata and intellectuals as well as their growing cooperation reduce the social foundations of monopoly power, sharpen its internal contradictions and promote the mobilization of broad masses of people for the struggle against the monopolies and imperialism.

The numerical growth and mounting political activity of young people have become an important factor in social affairs in Western Europe, America, Japan, Turkey and other countries.

Action by young people reflects the deep-going crisis of contemporary bourgeois society. Working youth, primarily young industrial workers, who are subjected to super-exploitation and see no prospect for themselves under capitalism, are entering the class struggle to an ever greater extent, joining the trade unions and Communist and other democratic organizations. Broad masses of students take a stand not only against the defects of the obsolete system of education and for the

right to organize and share actively in the affairs of educational centers but also against the policy of the ruling classes. Inspired by the struggle of the Vietnamese people and by other examples of heroic struggle against imperialism, growing numbers of young people actively participate in major class actions against imperialism, for democracy, peace and socialism.

Communists think highly of the upsurge of the youth movement and actively participate in it. They propagate in its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explaining the danger of various pseudo-revolutionary ideas, which could influence young people, and seeking to help young people find the right path in the struggle against imperialism and for defense of their interests. Only close unity with the working-class movement and its Communist vanguard can open for them truly revolutionary prospects.

An important feature of our epoch is the large-scale participation of women in the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and, in particular, the struggle for peace. This is strikingly demonstrated in the massive protest campaigns against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The number of women engaged in production and other spheres is increasing. Their political consciousness is growing and their struggle for economic and social rights is becoming more active. Working women demand an end to discrimination in the remuneration for their work, full equality in civil rights, a maternity protection program and so on. They are participating more and more actively in the battles of the workers and democratic forces, and are joining the trade unions in increasing numbers. The Communist and Workers' Parties, in whose activity women members participate on the basis of complete equality, emphatically support their demands and regard the emancipation of women as an important element of the general democratic movement. The example of the socialist countries, where women are guaranteed full equality, is a great attraction to women engaged in struggle in the capitalist world.

Owing to the considerable aggravation of social contradictions, conditions have arisen in many capitalist countries for an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist alliance of the revolutionary working-class movement and broad masses of religious people. The Catholic Church and some other religious organizations are experiencing an ideological crisis, which is shattering their

age-long concepts and existing structures. Positive cooperation and joint action between Communists and broad democratic masses of Catholics and followers of other religions are developing in some countries. The dialogue between them on issues such as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, and neo-colonialism and the problem of the developing countries, has become highly topical; their united action against imperialism, for democracy and socialism, is extremely timely. Communists are convinced that in this way—through broad contacts and joint action—the mass of religious people can become an active force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in carrying out far-reaching social changes.

In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favorable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favorable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The main force in this democratic alliance is the working class. These objectives can be achieved, above all, by diverse forms of powerful mass action by the working class and the broadest sections of the population. While making use of all possibilities of parliamentary activity, Communists emphasize that the mass movement of the working class and of all working people is the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The collapse of the colonial system has considerably weakened the position of imperialism. *In the past decade the role of the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the world revolutionary process has continued to grow.* In some countries, this movement is acquiring an anti-capitalist content.

In many Asian and African countries the national liberation movement has entered a new phase. A large number of national states has emerged in this area, substantially altering the world political structure and changing the balance of power to the detriment of imperialism. The old colonial empires have been almost completely abolished.

Of great importance for the future of Africa and the cause of peace is the liberation of southern Africa, one of the last areas of colonial domination. The armed

struggle which is being waged in this area by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of fascist and racist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists, and is opening up prospects for fresh big victories of the African revolution.

The Arab liberation movement is playing an outstanding role in the battle waged against world imperialism. It is exerting a positive influence on the entire movement against imperialism and neo-colonialism in the Middle East and Africa. The struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and the Israeli aggression are a part of the general struggle between the forces of freedom and socialism throughout the world, on the one hand, and world imperialism, on the other.

The growth of the movement for national liberation, and the social progress of the peoples in this strategically important and oil-rich area, evoke the violent hatred of the imperialists and the oil monopolies, which are weaving a web of intrigues and plots against the movement, and resorting to wars and aggressive actions.

To repel these actions, defeat these plots, and safeguard all gains, the deepening of the social and economic changes, the progressive national fronts, and the democratic freedoms for the masses and for the activity of the progressive national forces are, among other things, of great significance.

Social differentiation is developing in the newly independent countries. There is a sharpening conflict between the working class, the peasantry and other democratic forces, including patriotic-minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and, on the other, imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, the elements of the national bourgeoisie which are increasingly accepting a deal with imperialism. In a number of young states the social role and political activity of the working class have increased. The importance of international ties between the young proletariat of the countries of Asia and Africa and the working class of the socialist countries and the capitalist states is growing.

The toiling peasantry has great revolutionary potential. It is taking an active part in the struggle against imperialism, for the national liberation of peoples, and for consolidating the independence of the

young states. Communists are intensifying their activity among the peasant masses and are carrying proletarian ideology into their midst.

In most of the independent Asian and African states, along with the task of consolidating and safeguarding political independence and sovereignty, the central problems of social progress are to overcome economic backwardness, set up an independent national economy, including their own industry, and raise the people's standard of living. The solution of these problems involves far-reaching socio-economic changes, the implementation of democratic agrarian reforms in the interests of the working peasantry and with its participation, the abolition of outdated feudal and pre-feudal relations, liquidation of oppression by foreign monopolies, radical democratization of social and political life and the state apparatus, regeneration of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions, the strengthening of revolutionary parties and the founding of such parties where they do not yet exist. The pressing problems of social development of these states are the object not only of sharp struggle between the peoples of these countries and the neo-colonialists, but also of internal social conflicts. The establishment of relations of friendship and effective cooperation with socialist countries is of great importance for independent Asian and African countries.

Under the impact of the revolutionary conditions of our time, distinctive forms of progressive social development of the newly free countries have appeared, and the role of revolutionary and democratic forces has been enhanced. Some young states have taken the non-capitalist path, a path which opens up the possibility of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and creates conditions for transition to socialist development. In these countries the socialist orientation is making headway, overcoming great difficulties and trials. These states are waging a determined struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the basic problems facing them. Confronted with rising popular discontent, the internal reactionary forces in these countries are intensifying with imperialist support their assault on democratic freedoms. In a number of cases they are brutally suppressing

the mass democratic and patriotic movements. They are kindling conflicts between national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, thereby jeopardizing the independence won by these countries.

The imperialists show special hostility toward states with progressive regimes. To turn these countries away from their chosen path the imperialists seek to subvert their political parties, subject educational and cultural institutions and mass media to their influence, organize counter-revolutionary activities through their agents and back reactionary elements in the state apparatus and the armed forces. They try to utilize anti-communist prejudices to spread discord among patriots.

The way to carry out the tasks of national development and social progress and effectively rebuff neo-colonialist intrigues is to raise the activity of the people, enhance the role of the proletariat and the peasants, rally working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle strata and democratic army circles—all patriotic and progressive forces. It is this kind of unity the Communist and Workers' Parties are calling for.

Communists fight for the freedom, national independence and socialist future of their peoples. They are bearers of the ideas of scientific socialism and fight in the vanguard of the national liberation movement. This movement, the social progress of the peoples in the newly liberated countries demand close cooperation between the Communist and Workers' Parties and the other patriotic and progressive forces. A hostile attitude to communism, and persecution of Communists harm the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Most of the *Latin American* countries won state independence early in the last century. They have, by and large, travelled a long way along the road of capitalist development; a large proletariat has emerged, is growing and becoming steeled in struggle both in town and country, and there are Communist Parties in practically all these countries. The Latin American peoples are struggling against a common oppressor and exploiter, U.S. imperialism, which has placed the entire continent in a position of dependence, regarding it as its strategic hinterland. Some of them are still fighting colonial domination. The struggle for genuine national sovereignty and economic independence is intertwined with an acute class struggle against capitalist exploitation and, above all, against

the foreign or local monopolies and the latifundistas. Feudal survivals have remained in many countries where there is a great mass of landless peasants. Struggles are being waged for democratic demands and against tyrannical dictatorships, which constitute a very negative factor in the historical development of the continent.

The Cuban revolution has broken the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America and has led to the establishment of the first socialist state on the American continent, marking a historic turning point and opening in this region a new phase of the revolutionary movement. In this part of the world militant democratic, anti-imperialist movements and revolutionary processes are developing which will pave the way to socialism.

The proletariat and the Communist and Workers' Parties play an increasingly important role in the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America. The existence and activity of the working class is an historic advantage and a guarantee of its further development. The struggle of the broad masses for their economic and political demands, and for their revolutionary aims assumes diverse forms. The popular movement in Latin America is gaining momentum in a grim struggle against aggressive imperialism and internal reaction. In some countries it takes the road of armed struggle. In the course of this struggle, the fighting spirit of the working class grows, the political consciousness of the peasantry is awakened, and the rural masses are aroused. The foundations of the workers' and peasants' alliance are thus being laid.

Wide sections of people, students, progressive intellectuals and the urban middle strata are forming an alliance with the proletariat. Joint action and anti-imperialist unity against reactionary regimes are gaining in strength. The mounting struggle against exploitation and the poverty of the masses, against imperialist oppression, makes forward-looking religious circles sympathize with progressive aspirations. Patriotic and democratic trends are gaining ground in the armed forces of some countries.

It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation.

III.

The social and political situation in the

world today makes it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level. Decisive superiority over imperialism and the defeat of its policy of aggression and war can be secured by intensifying the offensive against it. This insistently demands concrete practical steps and actions on all continents in order to give a clear perspective to the democratic and progressive forces, to all the forces desiring a positive solution of the major problems worrying mankind today, the problems of the peace and the security of nations.

The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the Conference, aware of their historic responsibility, propose united action to all Communists of the world, to all opponents of imperialism, to all who are prepared to fight for peace, freedom and progress.

1. A primary objective of united action is to give *all-round support to the heroic Vietnamese people*. The Conference calls on all who cherish peace and national independence to intensify the struggle in order to compel U.S. imperialism to withdraw its interventionist troops from Vietnam, cease interfering in the internal affairs of that country and respect the right of the Vietnamese people to solve their problems by themselves. The final victory of the Vietnamese patriots is of fundamental importance for strengthening the positions of the peoples in the struggle against imperialist diktat and arbitrary rule. Coordinated measures by all the countries of the socialist system and joint efforts by all Communist and Workers' Parties, all progressive parties and mass democratic organizations and by all other freedom- and peace-loving forces are needed to hasten this victory. The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties welcomes the formation of the Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and sees it as an important stage in the heroic liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. The Conference calls for activity to assure a successful outcome of the Paris talks, which is perfectly realizable on the basis of the 10 points proposed by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

2. *The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war, for world peace, against the menace of a thermonuclear world war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind.* A new world war can be averted by the combined effort of the

socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all peace-loving countries, public organizations and mass movements.

3. *The defense of peace is inseparably linked up with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems,* which demands observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of every state, big and small, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the rights of every people freely to decide their social, economic and political system, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by political means through negotiation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence facilitates the positive solution of economic and social problems of the developing countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means it considers necessary—armed or peaceful. This policy in no ways signifies support for reactionary regimes.

It is equally indisputable that every people has the inalienable right to take up arms in defense against encroachments by imperialist aggressors and to avail itself of the help of other peoples in its just cause. This is an integral part of the general anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

The attempts of imperialism to overcome its internal contradictions by building up international tension and creating hotbeds of war are hampered by the policy of peaceful coexistence. This policy does not imply either the preservation of the socio-political status quo or a weakening of the ideological struggle. It helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and worldwide scale. Determined class struggle for the abolition of the monopolies and their rule, for the institution of a genuinely democratic system, and for the establishment of socialist power, whatever may be the road leading to this goal, is an inalienable right and duty of the working people and their Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The Communists of the world are in solidarity with this just battle.

Mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence. Directed as it is against the warmongers, reactionaries and monopoly arms manufacturers, this policy meets the general interests of the revolu-

tionary struggle against every form of oppression and exploitation, and promotes friendship between all peoples and the development of fruitful economic, scientific, technological and other spheres of co-operation between countries with different social systems in the interests of social progress.

Communists regard it as their duty to combat the imperialist policy of whipping up international tension and any attempt aimed by them at bringing back the cold war, and to work for a relaxation of tension, which is one of the most insistent and urgent demands of the peoples.

4. *To preserve peace the most urgent task is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons* and to enforce the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. In urging the ratification of the treaty, the Communist Parties see this as a link in the chain of measures designed to lead to nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapon stockpiles. At the same time, it is necessary to secure a ban on nuclear weapons, the cessation of their production and testing.

The setting up of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world would be of great practical importance in improving the international atmosphere and strengthening trust between states. *The main effort should be directed towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Nuclear energy should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.*

It is necessary to step up the struggle for an effective ban on bacteriological and chemical weapons which have been extensively used by the U.S. forces in Vietnam.

The basic interests of the peoples demand the intensification of the struggle against militarism in all its forms, particularly against the military-industrial complex of the USA and other imperialist states. We call on all peace-loving forces to mount a struggle for a radical cutback in military budgets, for general and complete disarmament under effective international control so as to switch resources now absorbed by the arms race to improving the working people's life, promoting the health services and education and rendering assistance to the developing countries.

Alongside its universal tasks, the struggle for peace has very important tasks of a more specific or more regional nature whose aim is to assure security in some countries or geographic zones. The attainment of these objectives which are inter-

linked corresponds to the interests and aspirations of all Communists, all anti-imperialist forces, all the peoples of the world.

The interests of world peace call for the disbandment of military blocs. As before, the Communist and Workers' Parties consider that the existence of imperialist-imposed military blocs and military bases on the territory of other states are an obstacle to cooperation between countries. A genuine guarantee of the security and one of the conditions for the progress of each European country must be the establishment in Europe of an effective system of security founded on relations of equality and mutual respect among all the states in the continent, on the combined efforts of all the European peoples. In this light the socialist countries have already declared for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The Conference emphatically condemns the provocative attempts of the imperialist powers, particularly, the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain, to step up the activity of NATO. The disbandment of NATO would be a decisive step towards the dissolution of all blocs, the dismantling of all military bases on foreign soil and the establishment of a reliable system of collective security. In conformity with the interests of peace, the peoples demand that the imperialist states put an end to flights of bombers carrying nuclear weapons over foreign territories, that surface ships and submarines with nuclear weapons on board be barred from foreign ports, and demand the renunciation of any forcible actions and of the threat of force.

Attainment of lasting security in this continent is a problem which holds a paramount place in the minds and aspirations of the European peoples. The Conferences of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries in Bucharest in 1966 and in Budapest in 1969, and also the Karlovy Vary Conference in 1967 charted a concrete program of action and measures to create a system of European security.

It is imperative to secure the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, in particular the frontiers along the Oder-Neisse and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and to work for the international legal recognition of the German Democratic Republic, for preventing West Germany from securing atomic weapons in any form, for the renunciation

by the Federal Republic of Germany of her claim to represent the whole of Germany, the recognition of West Berlin as a separate political entity, the recognition that the Munich diktat was invalid from the very outset, and the banning of all neo-nazi organizations. Peace and security in Europe demand the curbing of the revanchist forces in West Germany, guaranteeing the European peoples their sovereign right to be masters of their continent without interference from the USA, mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological cooperation among the European countries and the establishment of relations between them founded on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual trust.

The principle of the inviolability of neutral states must be respected unconditionally. These states can make a major contribution to the policy of peaceful co-existence if they take advantage of every opportunity to act in a spirit of detente and peace. To achieve these aims energetic steps have to be taken in this direction and the problem of European security approached with initiative, with a will to achieve concrete practical measures.

The organization of a broad congress of European peoples, which would prepare for, and facilitate the holding of, a conference of states, is the most important of all these peace initiatives.

5. The Conference calls on world public opinion to display unflagging and active solidarity with the peoples and countries which are constant objects of aggressive encroachments by imperialism—the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the entire Korean people. The Conference calls for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the return of Taiwan at present under United States military occupation. It remains the duty of Communists and all other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and throughout the world to defend the Republic of Cuba.

We Communists call for united action against all imperialist acts of aggression, against recourse to local wars and other forms of intervention by imperialism in any area of the world. In face of the aggressive policy pursued by the imperialists and the ruling circles of Israel, we pledge solidarity with the Arab peoples who demand the return of the territories occupied by the Israeli invaders, this being an urgent de-

mand and an indispensable condition for establishing peace and achieving a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of a complete implementation of the November 1967 resolution of the United Nations Security Council.

6. Communists reiterate their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence and national sovereignty, for liberation from every kind of economic and political hegemony of the imperialist circles and monopolies, for withdrawal from the system of military alliances and blocs imposed on them by the imperialist powers and against imperialist tendencies to step up the arms race on these continents and to preserve and create new hotbeds of tension, for dismantling foreign military bases and for establishing relations conducive to the free development of every people.

The demand of our epoch is to rid our planet completely of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last centers and prevent its revival in new, camouflaged forms. We call on all men of goodwill, on all supporters of democracy, to work together to do away with the vestiges of colonialism and to struggle against neo-colonialism. We urge effective international measures in support of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, in support of all oppressed peoples.

One of the big problems of our time to which the Communist and Workers' Parties are drawing public attention and which they are energetically striving to solve is the elimination of the backwardness of many countries and entire continents engendered by prolonged colonial and imperialist rule. The main task facing these countries today is to promote economic, social and political development, which can be achieved only within the framework of genuine independence from imperialism and as a result of far-reaching democratic and revolutionary changes. To solve this problem it is necessary to mobilize and unite all the progressive forces of each country and develop mutually advantageous ties between them and with the socialist countries.

7. We consider it imperative to step up the fight against the fascist menace and relentlessly to rebuff pro-fascist sorties. Fascism is intensifying its activity at a time when the crisis of imperialism is growing sharper, when reaction is increasingly inclined to use brutal methods to

crush the democratic and revolutionary forces. In Greece neo-fascism has seized power. In Spain the ultras are trying to return to fascist methods of repression and are making futile efforts to halt a powerful mass movement. In Portugal, fascism, gripped by a crisis under the onslaught of the growing popular movement, is resorting to demagoguery about liberalization in an effort to cover up the actual continuation of its terroristic policy. In West Germany the neo-nazis have laid open claim to power. Neo-fascist forces are also becoming more active in other countries. Neo-fascist activity links up with that of imperialist intelligence agencies, which engineer reactionary coups.

All these manifestations of fascism are coming up against growing resistance from the people, and this demands united action by all the anti-fascist forces, and also greater international support from the Communist and Workers' Parties, from all democratic and progressive movements in every country.

The struggle against the fascist regimes is an essential part of action against imperialism, for democratic freedoms. It is the common task of all democrats, of all champions of freedom, irrespective of their political views, world outlook or religious beliefs, to redouble real support for the national progressive forces fighting centers of reaction and fascism, such as the governments of Spain and Portugal, the reactionary colonels' junta in Greece, the oligarchic military cliques in Latin America, and all other tyrannical regimes in the service of U.S. imperialism.

8. We Communists again call on all honest men in the world to unite their efforts in the struggle against the *man-hating ideology and practices of racialism*. We call for the broadest possible protest movement against the most ignominious phenomenon of our time, the barbarous persecution of the 25 million Negroes in the USA, the racist terror in South Africa and Rhodesia, the persecution of the Arab population in occupied territory and in Israel, against racial and national discrimination, against Zionism, and anti-Semitism, all of which are fanned by reactionary capitalist forces and which they use to mislead the masses politically.

Imperialism makes use of racialism to divide the peoples and maintain its rule. Wide sections of the people reject racialism and can be drawn into active struggle against it. In such action they will come

to realize that eradication of racialism is closely connected with the struggle against imperialism and its ideological foundations.

9. The interests of the struggle against imperialism, which attempts to stifle basic human freedoms, demand a tireless fight to defend and win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration and association, for the equality of all citizens, to *democratize every aspect of social life*. A firm rebuff must be administered to any attempt and any legislation by reaction designed to nullify the democratic rights and freedoms won in the course of hard class battles. There must be systematic work both within these countries and in the international arena to save the patriots and democrats who face death, to stop arbitrary court rulings against Communists and other patriots, and to defend the right to political asylum; there must be a fight for the release of the patriots and democrats lying in jail. We Communists oppose all forms of oppression of nations and national minorities. We want to see every nation or national group develop its own culture and language, and we firmly defend the right of all nations to self-determination.

We Communists are convinced that it is impossible to put an end to the policy of imperialist aggression, abolish colonialism and neo-colonialism once and for all and uproot fascism and racial oppression without resolute struggle against the power of monopoly capital, for democratic demands which, once won, would weaken the positions of imperialism as a whole and strike at the very foundations of its rule. Such a struggle would create favorable conditions for achieving the ultimate goals of the working-class movement.

The present situation demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working-class movement and national liberation in the struggle against imperialism.

The Communists regard it as an urgent task today to expose the criminal policy of imperialism with greater vigor and to make public opinion more alive to the aggressive intentions and plans of imperialism.

The participants in the Conference call on all organizations representing workers, peasants, office employees, youth, students, intellectuals, women, on various groups and social strata with different political, philosophical and religious convictions and

views, on realistically-minded political leaders of the capitalist countries, on all democratic parties, national and international progressive public organizations, to pool their efforts with those of the Communist Parties for concerted action in the anti-imperialist struggle for a relaxation of tensions and in defense of peace. We invite them all to join in a broad and constructive exchange of opinion on the widest possible range of issues bearing on the anti-imperialist struggle.

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.

IV

The participants in the Conference consider that the most important prerequisite for increasing the Communist and Workers' Parties' contribution to the solution of the problems facing the peoples is to raise the unity of the communist movement to a higher level in conformity with present-day requirements. This demands determined and persistent effort by all the Parties. *The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces.*

The participants in the Conference reaffirm their common view that relations between the fraternal Parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Strict adherence to these principles is an indispensable condition for developing comradely cooperation between the fraternal Parties and strengthening the unity of the communist movement. Bilateral consultations, regional meetings and international conferences are natural forms of such cooperation and are conducted on the basis of the principles accepted in the communist movement. These principles

and these forms give the Communist and Workers' Parties every possibility to unite the efforts in the struggle for their common aims, under conditions of the growing diversity of the world revolutionary process. All Parties have equal rights. As there is no leading center of the international communist movement, voluntary coordination of the actions of Parties in order effectively to carry out the tasks before them acquires increased importance.

United action by Communist and Workers' Parties will promote cohesion of the communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. Joint action aimed at solving vital practical problems of the revolutionary and general democratic movements of our time promote a necessary exchange of experience between the various contingents of the communist movement. They help to enrich and creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen internationalist revolutionary positions on urgent political problems.

The participants in the Conference proclaim their Parties' firm resolve to do their utmost for the working people and for social progress, with a view to advancing towards complete victory over international capital. They regard joint action against imperialism and for general democratic demands as a component and a stage of the struggle for socialist revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man.

The participants in the Conference are convinced that the effectiveness of each Communist Party's policy depends on its successes in its own country, on the successes of other fraternal Parties and on the extent of their cooperation. Each Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Party are indivisible. Marxist-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national narrow-mindedness and the negation or underestimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony. At the same time, the Communist Parties—the Parties of the working class and all working people—are the standard-bearers of genuine national interests unlike the reactionary classes, which betray these interests. The winning of power by the working class and its allies is the greatest contribution which a Communist Party fighting under capitalist con-

ditions can make to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are conducting their activity in diverse, specific conditions, requiring an appropriate approach to the solution of concrete problems. Each Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country. At the same time, the diverse conditions in which the Communist Parties operate, the different approaches to practical tasks and even differences on certain questions must not hinder concerted international action by fraternal Parties, particularly on the basic problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. The greater the strength and the unity of each Communist Party, the better can it fulfil its role both inside the country and in the international communist movement.

Communists are aware that our movement, while scoring great historical victories in the course of its development, has recently encountered serious difficulties. Communists are convinced, however, that these difficulties will be overcome. This belief is based on the fact that the international working class has common long-term objectives and interests, on the striving of each Party to find a solution to existing problems which would meet both national and international interests and the Communists' revolutionary mission; it is based on the will of Communists for cohesion on an international scale.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, regardless of some difference of opinion, reaffirm their determination to present a united front in the struggle against imperialism.

Some of the divergences which have arisen are eliminated through an exchange of opinion or disappear as the development of events clarifies the essence of the outstanding issues. Other divergences may last long. The Conference is confident that the outstanding issues can and must be resolved correctly by strengthening all forms of cooperation among the Communist Parties, by extending inter-Party ties, mutual exchange of experience, comradely discussion and consultation and unity of action in the international arena. It is an internationalist

duty of each Party to do everything it can to help improve relations and promote trust between all Parties and to undertake further efforts to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. This unity is strengthened by a collective analysis of concrete reality.

The policy of joint anti-imperialist action demands that the ideological and political role of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the world revolutionary process should be enhanced. Marching in the front ranks of the revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements, Communists will continue to fight uncompromisingly against bourgeois ideology and to explain to the working people the real meaning of their struggle and the conditions for victory. To wage a successful struggle against imperialism and to ensure the victory of their cause, Communists will propagate the ideas of scientific socialism in the working-class movement and among the broad masses, including young people: they will consistently uphold their principles and work for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and, in accordance with the concrete situation, fight against Right- and Left-opportunist distortions of theory and policy, against adventurism. These deviations tend generally to underestimate the importance of the real forces which can and must be drawn into the struggle.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, and dedicated and devoted service in the interests of their peoples and the common cause of socialism are a requisite for the efficacy and correct orientation of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, a guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals.

The communist movement is an integral part of modern society and is its most active force. Hence, the banning of Communist Parties is an attack on the democratic rights and vital interests of the peoples. The participants in the Conference support all the Communist Parties of the world, without exception, which fight for their right to legal participation in the political life of their countries. We emphatically condemn the brutal repressions and terror which have claimed the lives of thousands upon thousands of Communists and other democrats and revolutionaries in Indonesia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Paraguay, Guatemala, South Africa, Thailand, Haiti, Malaysia, Iran, the Philippines and some other countries. We

proclaim our solidarity with our fellow fighters in the common struggle who are lying in the jails of fascist and dictatorial regimes, in prisons in the capitalist countries, and we work for their release.

The participants regard this Conference as an important stage in the cohesion of the world communist movement. They consider that the absence of certain Communist Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and cooperation between all Communist Parties without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working-class movement, as well as with the Communist and Workers' Parties not

represented at the present Conference.

* * *

The struggle against imperialism is a long, hard and strenuous fight. Tense class battles lie ahead and they cannot be avoided. Let us step up the offensive against imperialism and internal action. The revolutionary and progressive forces are certain to triumph.

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, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!

Centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

Address of the International Conference

On the eve of the centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birth the thoughts of this Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties turn to the undying genius of our revolutionary age.

Lenin's name has come to symbolize the victory of the Great October Revolution and those immense revolutionary advances which have radically changed the face of society on earth and signify the turning of mankind to socialism and communism.

Lenin was an eminent man of thought who developed in every aspect the science which Marx and Engels established: dialectical materialism, political economy, the theory of the socialist revolution and the building of communist society.

Lenin founded the Bolshevik Party, the first proletarian party of a new type, he led the world's first socialist revolution to victory and founded the first proletarian state in history, Soviet socialist democracy.

Lenin unflinchingly fought imperialism

and reaction, he upheld unity in action of all sections of the working people in battle against the common class enemy; he was a thoroughgoing internationalist, he championed equality, peace and friendship among nations, he wrathfully denounced any manifestation of racialism and chauvinism; he was the friend of all oppressed nations and opened the way to victory in the struggle against colonialism, for the peoples' independence and freedom, for their right to determine their own destiny.

The acknowledged leader of the world working class, Lenin saw in the proletariat the leading force able to carry out the historic task of overthrowing capitalism and bringing about the socialist transformation of society. It was he who evolved the theory of the alliance between working class and peasantry. Upholding unity of the working-class movement, Lenin was irreconcilably opposed to opportunism in all its forms.

Generations of Communists, wholly de-

dedicated to the working class, to the people and the socialist cause, have grown up under the influence of Leninism. Lenin's life and work, his supreme qualities as a revolutionary, a comrade and a human being, will forever by their example inspire millions of revolutionary fighters throughout the world.

It is under the banner of Leninism that the revolutionary movement in most countries has risen to a new height, Communist Parties have been formed and have grown strong, and the international communist movement has become a truly worldwide political force, the most influential political force of today.

All the experience of world socialism and of the working class and national liberation movements has confirmed the world significance of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The victory of the socialist revolution in a group of countries, the emergence of the world socialist system, the gains of the working-class movement in capitalist countries, the appearance of peoples of former colonial and semi-colonial countries in the arena of socio-political development as independent agents, and the unprecedented upsurge of the struggle against imperialism—all this is proof that Leninism is historically correct and expresses the fundamental needs of the modern age.

Today we have every justification for saying about Lenin's teaching what he himself said about Marxism: it is omnipotent, because it is true. Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in specific conditions permit scientific answers to be found to the questions facing all contingents of the world revolutionary movement, wherever they are active.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to this great international teaching, holds the promise of further successes of the communist movement.

Communists regard it as their task firmly to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all

enemies, steadfastly to make them a living reality, constantly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and enrich it on the basis of present experience of waging the class struggle and building socialist society. Communists will always be true to the creative spirit of Leninism.

The approaching Lenin centenary is an historic date of world significance. The Communist and Workers' Parties meet it in a situation of increasing revolutionary activity and will mark it by stepping up political and ideological work among the masses and by extending and strengthening their ranks. They are exerting every effort to rouse the working people's revolutionary energies to struggle against imperialism, for the splendid ideals of socialism.

The participants in this International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties address to all Communists, to all fighters for the socialist transformation of society and to all champions of progress and peace this call for a worthy celebration of the centenary of great Lenin's birth. 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 work 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!

Working people in all countries, peoples of the world!

In the name of the triumph of Lenin's ideals, we call upon you to join actively in the great and noble battle of the working class for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism!

Let us raise higher the banner of Leninism in the struggle for the revolutionary renewal of the world!

Long live Leninism!

June 17, 1969

Independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam!

Appeal of the International Conference

The International Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties sends ardent greetings to the fraternal people of Vietnam and wholeheartedly congratulates them on their historic successes in the struggle against U.S. aggression.

We send special greetings to the vanguard of the Vietnamese people — the Working People's Party of Vietnam and its Central Committee—and to the great patriot and internationalist Comrade Ho Chi Minh, outstanding figure of the international communist movement. The Working People's Party of Vietnam is the inspiring and guiding force in the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. It consistently defends the national interests and the outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia.

We send warm greetings to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV), the lawful representative of the population of South Vietnam and tested organizer and leader of the heroic resistance against U.S. aggression. The NLFSV's Political Program is the basis for uniting the entire South Vietnamese population in its just struggle for liberation.

The International Conference unconditionally supports the 10-point program — "Principles and Main Content of a General Settlement of the South Vietnam Problem as a Contribution to the Restoration of Peace in Vietnam" — put forward on May 8, 1969 by the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. This program proceeds from the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and from the present situation in Vietnam. It is based on the Political Program and 5-point stand of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and coincides with the 4-point stand of the Gov-

ernment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The proposed settlement of the South Vietnam problem fully accords with the national rights of the Vietnamese people and the interests of world peace. It guarantees the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and lasting peace in Vietnam and also accords with the interests of the other peoples of Indochina.

In fighting to defend their homeland the Vietnamese people exercise the sacred and inviolable right of all peoples to self-defense.

Their struggle for freedom and independence evokes the deep respect and admiration of all nations. Their staunchness, heroism and confidence are an example and inspiration in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and for the liberation of peoples from exploitation and oppression. By defending their homeland, the Vietnamese people simultaneously fulfil their internationalist duty and serve the noble cause of world peace. In this most just struggle of the Vietnamese people we have been and shall be firmly linked in solidarity with them.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression is a key component of the worldwide battle between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of progress and those of reaction.

By undertaking armed intervention in Vietnam the imperialist forces of the USA made an attempt to destroy one of the outposts of socialism in Asia, bar the road of the peoples of Indochina to peace, freedom and progress, strike a blow at the revolutionary national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and

test the solidarity of the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces.

These plans of U.S. imperialism are doomed to failure.

With massive support from socialist countries, primarily from the Soviet Union, as well as from all peace-loving peoples in the world, the Vietnamese people have demonstrated to the USA, the most powerful force of imperialism, that its might is not limitless.

The barbarous crimes of the U.S. interventionists against the Vietnamese people, the use of biological, chemical and other means of mass annihilation, which is nothing less than genocide, outrage the conscience of mankind. This has revealed to all the peoples the true, anti-human essence of imperialism.

All this has led to the growing political and moral isolation of the aggressor among broad strata, including ruling circles of some capitalist countries. In the USA itself growing sections of the population are opposing the dirty war in Vietnam, the consequences of which are shaking American society.

The epic struggle of the Vietnamese people is a decisive factor in the movement of the peoples against imperialism and is also manifested in the militant actions of the youth and students.

Although the aggressors have set a huge war machine in motion, they were compelled to cease unconditionally the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and agree to quadrilateral negotiations with the equal participation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. In South Vietnam the peoples liberation armed forces are uninterruptedly dealing heavy blows at the U.S. interventionists and their puppets. People's power has been established in by far the greater part of its territory. The bankrupt puppet regime is kept in power solely by the bayonets of U.S. imperialism.

These are major successes of the heroic Vietnamese people, the world socialist system, the international communist and working-class movement and all other peace-loving and progressive forces.

The successful struggle of Vietnam mirrors the changes in the international balance of power and the growing might of the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation on a global scale.

The broad movement in support of Vietnam against U.S. aggression strikingly and concretely shows the striving of the international communist movement, as well as

of all other anti-imperialist forces, for cohesion and unity of action in the fight against imperialism, which is the common enemy of mankind.

The struggle of the Vietnamese patriots shows that *a people which consistently fights imperialism for freedom and independence and has on its side the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries and the peace-loving forces of the whole world is invincible.*

The stronger the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement and all other anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism—the greater will be their successes.

The more resolutely the Communist and Workers' Parties uphold the freedom of peoples and head the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression, the broader and more effective the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples.

Despite their heavy defeats, the militarist circles of the USA have not yet renounced their aggressive, neo-colonialist plans with regard to Vietnam and continue their attempts to secure a military settlement of the Vietnam problem. They persist in following the dangerous road of escalating the military conflict, as evidenced by the increasing bombing of Laotian territory and constant acts of provocation against neutral Cambodia.

The U.S. Government and its representatives in Paris stubbornly refuse to conduct businesslike and realistic talks on the just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, particularly the demand for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops and other participants in the aggression in South Vietnam. Instead, they seek to mislead world public opinion by demagogic maneuvering and to secure through pressure success at the negotiations which they were denied on the battlefield.

They evade the basic issue of the complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam and insist on what they term as a reciprocal withdrawal of troops. With this the aggressor is put on the same level as the victim of aggression. However, U.S. imperialism will never succeed in concealing the fact that it has unleashed and stubbornly continues the aggression in Vietnam.

The U.S. intervention in Vietnam is a permanent threat to world peace and a direct challenge to all peoples fighting for

peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism and in the spirit of fraternal solidarity, the international communist and working-class movement will continue to render the Vietnamese people all the assistance they require until the final triumph of their just cause. They thereby make a large contribution towards the cause of world peace, the cause of freedom and socialism.

The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties emphatically declares that a just settlement of the Vietnam problem can only be secured by guaranteeing the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people.

Today when the struggle of the Vietnamese people has entered an important stage, when thanks to the initiative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam all the necessary conditions have been created for a just political settlement, we demand:

- the United States must renounce its obstructionist stand at the quadilateral conference in Paris;

- the United States must forthwith cease its acts of aggression in Vietnam and completely and unconditionally withdraw its troops and those of its satellites from South Vietnam;

- the United States must recognize the right of the population of South Vietnam to decide their internal affairs by themselves without foreign interference;

- the United States must end all actions directed against the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

- the United States must cease its interference and aggression in Laos and its violations of the territorial integrity of Cambodia, recognize her frontiers, abandon its aggressive aims with regard to the states of Southeast and East Asia and strictly abide by the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements.

We demand that Thailand, New Zealand and Australia, the South Korean puppet regime and also the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan end their open or veiled participation in the U.S. aggression in Vietnam!

On behalf of the many millions of Communists we appeal to all men of good will who cherish peace, justice and the freedom and independence of nations:

- to protest with greater determination throughout the world against the criminal war waged by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam!

- to take a still more active part in the international movement of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people!

- to demand the withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from Vietnam!

- to demand the prompt peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem on the basis of ensuring the inalienable rights of the Vietnamese people!

- to support the 10 points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!

We call for the immediate initiation of further, still more powerful, varied and coordinated action by the anti-imperialist, peace loving forces in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression!

Boycott transportation of troops, weapons and supplies for the interventionists and their satellites!

Let us turn July 20, the anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements, into an international day of solidarity with Vietnam, a day of struggle to stop U.S. aggression!

Honor and glory to the heroic Vietnamese people fighting with dedication for freedom and independence!

Hold higher the banner of international solidarity!

Independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam!

The just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph!

June 10, 1969

Telegram

of International Conference to Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, convened in Moscow, warmly welcomes the creation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The 75 Parties represented at the Conference regard this event as a new and important stage of the heroic

struggle for liberation waged by the Vietnamese people. They assure the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the entire Vietnamese people of their invariable support for their struggle for final victory.

June 12, 1969

Appeal in defense of peace

Adopted on June 16, 1967

We representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Moscow for the International Conference call upon all peoples of the world, regardless of their convictions and political views, to act jointly to defend and consolidate the peace.

A struggle is being waged for the greatest cause of all—the future of mankind. In the first half of this century two world wars claimed more than 70 million human lives and wiped thousands of thriving towns and rural communities from the face of the earth. The sinister atomic mushroom over Hiroshima is a tragic warning of the possible consequences of a third world war should imperialism succeed in starting it.

Today, when nuclear bombs can reach any continent within minutes and lay waste vast territories, a world conflict would spell the death of hundreds of millions of people and the destruction and incineration of the treasures of world civilization and culture.

Wars, acts of aggression and violence, encroachments on the freedom of nations

—all have their roots in the policies of imperialism.

It is imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, that is stepping up the arms race, increasing international tensions, and sparking off conflicts and local wars in various parts of the globe. Sworn enemy of the freedom of nations, U.S. imperialism seeks by all possible means to suppress the national liberation movement, organizes reactionary coups and installs and maintains anti-popular regimes.

For many years the U.S. imperialists have been waging an aggressive war in Vietnam employing the most barbarous means.

As a result of Israeli aggression against Arab peoples, a dangerous breeding ground of tension remains in the Middle East, which may at any time kindle the flames of war.

The provocative intrigues of imperialism against Cuba, off the shores of Korea and against many Asian, African and Latin

American states are creating a constant threat to peace.

Bellicose West German imperialism is gaining strength and neo-nazism is rearing its head in the heart of Europe. Relying on the aggressive NATO bloc and acting in close alliance with U.S. imperialism, the ruling circles of Bonn, who have not drawn the necessary lessons from the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, are pursuing a policy of of revanche, eagerly reaching out for nuclear weapons and threatening the security of all European peoples. Military bases placed at the disposal of the U.S. imperialists in various NATO countries and in Spain are a threat to peace.

The policy of aggression and war, pursued for the profits of monopoly capital, intensifies, in the capitalist countries themselves, the exploitation of the masses, kindles racial discrimination, cultivates brute force, leads to the curtailing of democratic freedoms and jeopardizes the vital interests of the people. The militarization of the economy devours huge material resources, presses down the standard of living and places a heavy burden on the shoulders of working people. Imperialism is responsible for channeling the greatest achievements of science and technology, which throw open new vistas to humanity, for purposes of destruction, while at the same time hundreds of millions of people suffer from hunger and poverty.

That is why the struggle for peace merges with the struggle for the freedom of the peoples, for progress and democracy, for deliverance from alien domination, from colonialism and neo-colonialism, reaction and fascist dictatorship.

Today lasting peace is no longer a utopia—it is a fully feasible aim. Mighty social and political forces exist in the world today which oppose war and work for a relaxation of tension and broad international co-operation. The consistent peace policy of the first socialist country—the Soviet Union and other socialist states, the intensification of the working people's struggle in the capitalist countries, the growth of the national liberation movement, and action by broad circles of world democratic opinion and by peace fighters remove the fatal inevitability of another world war and create a real possibility for effectuating the striving of the peoples for peace.

Imperialism is no longer able arbitrarily to decide the destinies of the world. The U.S. aggressors have been compelled to stop bombing the Democratic Republic of

Vietnam and agree to negotiations. A Treaty banning nuclear tests on land, under water and in outer space has been concluded, and a Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has been signed. This means that when the peoples act vigorously and unitedly they can achieve concrete results.

Although threat of military conflicts remains as long as imperialism exists, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is a realistic matter in our days. But peaceful coexistence demands a constant and persevering struggle of the masses against imperialism, against its positions-of-strength policy.

The struggle for peace embraces peace initiatives by the socialist countries, the victorious battles fought by the Vietnamese patriots in the jungles of South Vietnam, anti-war demonstrations in the cities of Europe and America, the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. military bases. The cause of peace is served by the actions of the working class against the omnipotence of the monopolies, the resistance of the Latin American peoples to the dictatorship of military juntas, the anti-colonial movements in the countries of Asia and Africa, and the Negro people's struggle for their rights in the USA. Every participant in this struggle, whether he works at a factory bench, tills the soil or labors in a laboratory, contributes to the common cause of upholding peace.

WE ADDRESS OUR APPEAL

—to working people—factory workers, peasants, intellectuals, to workers in science and culture, to all who want to save and multiply the fruits of labor and of the creative endeavors of mankind;

—to mothers and fathers, who are concerned over their children's future;

—to young people and students striving to realize lofty plans and visions and dedicate their strength and energy to furthering the prosperity of their countries;

—to parliamentarians, statesmen and political leaders evincing anxiety for the destinies of their peoples;

—to political parties, trade unions, and mass organizations and movements;

—to religious communities and associations, to people of different creeds;

—to participants in the peace movement and anti-war campaigns;

—to all men and women;

● to demand an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the withdrawal of U.S. troops,

respect for the sovereign rights of the Vietnamese people and independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam;

- to secure the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution;

- to work for the complete eradication of colonialism and the attainment of independence by all the oppressed peoples, for the ending of the wars of the Portuguese colonialists, for the uprooting of disgraceful racialism in South Africa and wherever else it is manifest, and the abolition of corrupt regimes serving foreign monopolies;

- to exert greater effort in the struggle for the complete implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states regardless of their social system, for the relaxation of world tensions, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by negotiation, against the encroachments of the imperialists on the independence and sovereignty of the peoples, for their right to determine their own future, and for the promotion of broad and equal cooperation between countries on a basis of equality.

We appeal to all who suffered and remember the horrors of the last world war, to all the champions of peace in Europe, including peace-loving social forces in West Germany:

let us block the road to the policy of territorial claims pursued by the FRG and its striving to obtain nuclear weapons; let us compel the forces of neo-nazism to retreat!

Recognition of the real situation which has arisen in Europe as a result of the Second World War, the inviolability of existing frontiers and recognition of the German Democratic Republic are the indispensable conditions for a lasting peace on the European continent.

Let us launch a struggle for the establishment of an effective system of collective

security in Europe and the elimination of the world's division into military groupings, for the creation of an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding between nations. The road to this would be paved by an All-European Conference of states which has been proposed by the Budapest Conference of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Peace on earth cannot rest on a "balance of fear." Lasting peace is inconceivable without a cessation of the arms race.

It is imperative to secure the creation of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the globe, the banning of all nuclear tests, the speediest possible enforcement of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the participation of all countries in this treaty, the banning of nuclear weapons and the destruction of their stock-piles.

It is imperative to demand the dismantling of military bases on foreign territory, the release of countries from the aggressive military pacts forced on them and the imposition of an effective international ban on all types of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

It is necessary to work, consistently and perseveringly, towards general and complete disarmament.

In face of all trials we Communists have preserved our boundless devotion to Lenin's ideas of peace and friendship among nations. Today, as before, we shall struggle for these lofty aims of the whole of mankind together with all who oppose the policy of militarism, aggression and war. For these aims we are ready to develop contacts and cooperate with the most diverse public and political forces.

The unity of all progressive, peace-loving forces is the demand of the day. United we shall ensure the triumph of the sacred cause of world peace.

Statement

**in support of just struggle of Arab peoples
against Israeli aggression**

Two years ago Israel launched an open aggression against the UAR, Jordan and Syria. Since then, the Israeli ruling circles, supported by the imperialists, above all by the U.S. imperialists, world reaction and

Zionist circles, continue to occupy Arab territories seized as a result of the aggression, refusing to fulfil the UN decisions, including those of the Security Council; they are enforcing their expansionist and

annexationist policy, perpetrating acts of repression against the Arab population in the occupied areas, and incessantly committing fresh military provocations.

The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties resolutely condemns Israel's continued aggression, which is a gross violation of the national rights of the Arab peoples, including the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, a gross violation of the UN Charter, which condemns aggression.

In their just struggle against aggression the Arab peoples have the effective support of the socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union. In this struggle they are backed by the world communist move-

ment, the national-liberation forces and ever growing sections of the public in the capitalist countries.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties holds that peace and tranquility in this area can be established only provided Israeli troops are withdrawn from all occupied Arab territories and the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 is fully implemented.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties appeals to all progressive forces throughout the world to increase their effective support for, and enhance their solidarity with, the Arab peoples in their just struggle.

June 7, 1969

Statement

**of solidarity with communists and democrats of Greece
who struggle against military-fascist dictatorship**

The representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Moscow are deeply indignant at the fresh wave of terror, brutal court persecution, mass arrests and torture of Greek Communists, democrats and other opponents of the junta.

The dictatorial regime forced on the Greek people by the reactionary military with the assistance of the U.S. imperialists and the aggressive NATO bloc is savagely persecuting the democratic forces of Greece, above all Communists, consistent champions of their country's freedom, indepen-

dence and happy future.

The participants in the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties express their fraternal solidarity with the Communists and democrats of Greece who are fighting the military fascist dictatorship. The Conference calls upon the broad masses of working people, democratic and progressive forces in all countries to resolutely demand an end to the repressions and the immediate release of all political prisoners in Greece.

June 12, 1969

Address

of the International Conference to Indonesian Communists

On behalf of millions of Communists, we participants in the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties send fraternal revolutionary greetings to our Indonesian comrades.

Having proclaimed anti-communism as the foundation of their policy, the reactionary forces of Indonesia in alliance with world reaction have brutally put to death leaders of the Communist Party and massacred hundreds of thousands of Communists and other patriots, and subjected their

families to repressions and persecution. This is the fourth year of unceasing blood-bath in Indonesia. Thousands of patriots are in prison or concentration camps, or exiled to certain death in the foulest parts of the country. The present rulers of Indonesia have banned the ideas of scientific socialism. They seek to exclude from Indonesian political life everybody who cherishes the democratic gains of the people. The crimes of the military dictatorship in Indonesia and its anti-national policy are wrath-

fully denounced by the whole of progressive mankind.

The communist movement lives on in Indonesia despite the police terror. Under the extraordinarily difficult conditions of underground activity many Indonesian Communists are fighting to restore the Communist Party of Indonesia and uphold the interests of the working people. They courageously defend the country's national independence against the inroads of imperialism, which makes use of the anti-popular and anti-national policy of the Indonesian ruling circles.

The International Conference pays homage to Indonesian Communists who fell

victim to the bloody terror and expresses its internationalist solidarity with those who are continuing the struggle. The Conference believes in the future of the fraternal Party, that it will overcome the difficulties of the present period. We are convinced that by firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the Indonesian Communists, in alliance with other progressive democratic forces of Indonesia, will lead their people to the triumph of the bright ideals of genuine national independence, progress and socialism.

June 14, 1969

Statement

of solidarity with communists and democrats of Haiti

The representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties, gathered in Moscow, received with anger and indignation news of fresh wholesale arrests and brutal killings of Communists, democrats and other patriots in Haiti.

Comrades Gerald Brisson, Daniel Sansaricq, Gerard Wadestrandt, Jacques Jeannot and other prominent Communist leaders, were murdered some days ago. The life of Comrade Joseph Roney, General Secretary, Central Committee, United Party of Haitian Communists, seized by Duvalier's cutthroats, is in danger.

In twelve years Duvalier's tyrannical regime, maintaining power solely with the support of the American monopolies, has turned the country into a concentration camp. Savage persecutions, tortures, death sentences, anti-popular legislation and, in particular, repeal of the right of asylum—all this is designed to suppress the resistance of the Haitian patriots. The Duvalier regime aims the main blow against the members of the United Party of Haitian

Communists, courageous fighters for the freedom, independence and bright future of their country.

The Conference of Communists and Workers' Parties declares its fraternal solidarity with the Communists and Democrats of Haiti, daily risking their lives in the selfless underground struggle against tyranny.

The Conference calls on the toiling masses, the democratic and progressive forces of all countries, to demand resolutely an end to the terror, the slaying and persecution of Haitian Communists and other patriots.

The memory of the heroes who laid down their lives in the fight against tyranny, for the freedom and independence of their country, for socialism, shall live for ever!

We demand freedom for Comrade Joseph Roney.

We demand freedom for all political prisoners in Haiti!

June 16, 1969

Indictment of imperialism

Worked out by Communist and Workers' parties on behalf of the Commission for the Preparation of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

We accuse imperialism of being the most terrible present and future threat to all peoples of the world

Imperialism is a social system under which power is exercised by monopoly capital.

Imperialism means that as a result of the labor and privations of the working people a handful of monopoly capitalists accumulate enormous wealth.

Imperialism means that many peoples of other countries are dependent on or are oppressed by it, that they are pillaged by the capitalist monopolies with the result

that hunger and poverty reign in these countries. Imperialism signifies a ceaseless struggle by the monopolies for spheres of influence and for power, and this gives rise to the constant threat of a new war.

We accuse imperialism of having turned an epoch with hitherto unheard of possibilities for human advancement into a period in which millions of people eke out a miserable existence filled with fear and horror.

We accuse imperialism of causing more death and destruction in our century than ever before

More than 60 million people have died and 110 million have been disabled in the last two world wars alone. Moreover, tens of millions of people have died as a result of the epidemics and diseases caused by war. At the same time, mankind has suffered enormous losses from the fall in the birth rate and the sharp rise in the death rate in many countries directly or indirectly drawn into war.

During the frightful period of fascism more than 26 million people were incarcerated in concentration camps and 11 million were exterminated in gas chambers, hanged, or shot, or killed by other bestial methods.

As a result of economic crises, material values of more than 1,000 thousand million dollars were destroyed while millions of people were doomed to hunger, disease and poverty.

Note: Quotations were translated from German sources. The following were used in preparing this publication: The official statistical data of the United Nations and its specialized organizations; official statistical publications of various countries; materials and documents of Communist and Workers' Parties; materials of the following scientific institutes: Institute of World Economics and International Relations, Moscow; Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, Moscow; Institute for Research on Asia, Moscow; Institute for Research on Africa, Moscow; Institute for Research on the USA, Moscow; Institute of Law,

Moscow; Institute of International Studies, Moscow; German Institute of Contemporary History, Berlin; Institute of the Social Sciences, Berlin; German Economic Institute, Berlin; Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw; Swedish Institute for Peace Research, Stockholm; Institute for Strategic Studies, London; Institute of International Affairs, Rome; Center for Foreign Policy Studies, Paris; Maurice Thorez Institute, Paris; Gramsci Institute, Rome; Center of International Studies, Princeton, USA; Center for International Affairs, Cambridge, USA; Council on Foreign Relations, New York.

GROWING DANGER OF IMPERIALIST WARS

On the continent of Europe wars have claimed as victims:

3 million people in the 17th century
5.2 million people in the 18th century
5.5 million people in the 19th century.

Nearly 10 million servicemen were killed or died during the First World War, and some 20 million were disabled.

During the Second World War (1939-45) more than 54 million people were killed and over 90 million were wounded, of whom 28 million were disabled. Two million civilians died in air raids.

A new, thermonuclear war would claim hundreds of millions of human lives.

DESTRUCTION CAUSED BY WAR

Material values amounting to 338 thousand million dollars were destroyed during the First World War.

During the Second World War the material values destroyed exceeded 4,000 thousand million dollars, of which some 500 thousand million were in the Soviet Union.

EXPENDITURE ON THE MEANS OF DESTRUCTION

During the First World War direct military expenditure amounted to 208 thousand million dollars.

During the Second World War they totalled 1,380 thousand million dollars. U.S. military expenditure in 1946-68 totalled 1,050 thousand million dollars or more than double the total military expenditure in the entire history of the USA up to 1945.

Between 1949 and 1967 NATO military

expenditure was about 1,250 thousand million dollars.

Altogether, as a result of destruction and unproductive expenditure the material values wasted amounted to more than 5,000 thousand million dollars from 1900 to 1957.

LOSSES SUSTAINED AS A RESULT OF ECONOMIC CRISES

Of the 57 relatively peaceful years in the 20th century (exclusive of world wars) 25 were years of economic crisis embracing most of the imperialist world, seven were periods of depression and only 21 were marked by an economic upswing, largely, however, caused by armaments and preparations for war.

During the general crisis of capitalism in the 1930s alone, losses in the USA amounted to 300 thousand million dollars and in the rest of the capitalist world to 400 thousand million dollars.

Losses due to economic crises that griped the USA in 1948, 1954 and 1958 totalled 400 thousand million dollars.

THE BILL WE PRESENT TO IMPERIALISM

As a result of unproductive military expenditure, of big and "small" wars, of crises and depressions, imperialism has inflicted on the peoples of the world losses of material values amounting to at least 6,600,000,000,000 dollars. And this in the world where more than 1.5 thousand million people live in poverty and millions starve to death. (According to the official Report of the 13th Session of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) 20 November-8 December, Rome 1966, p. 57.)

We accuse imperialism of the crimes perpetrated by colonialism

The UN General Assembly resolution condemning colonialism states that "the subjection of peoples to foreign oppression and rule and their exploitation are a negation of the basic rights of man, contradict the United Nations Charter and prevent co-operation and the establishment of world peace." The UN General Assembly solemnly proclaimed "the need forthwith and unconditionally to put an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations." This resolution was adopted in 1960 by 89 votes with nine abstentions.

Although the UN thus denounced colo-

nialism as a crime against mankind, the UN General Assembly was compelled to state in 1968 that

with the support of the imperialist forces the colonialists "are resorting to ever more brutal measures, including military operations and the forcible imposition of racist policies in order to suppress the legitimate struggle of the local population aimed at achieving freedom and independence."

● Colonialism is perpetrating such crimes as the forcible *annexation of foreign territory* and the violation of the peoples' right to self-determination.

- It is conducting *colonial* wars by the foulest methods and by weapons banned by international law, including chemical and bacteriological weapons.

- It is *exterminating and mass-murdering* populations in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

- It is *condemning the local population to hunger*.

- It is *undermining the health of entire nations*

- It is *preserving illiteracy and religious prejudices for its own ends*.

- It is *preventing the development of education*.

All these crimes are committed in order to ensure fabulous profits for the monopolies of the imperialist countries.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF COLONIAL EXPLOITATION

In the 1950s the colonies, semi-colonies and underdeveloped countries, in which some two-thirds of the world's population live, accounted for only five per cent of world industrial production.

The average annual per capita earnings in colonial and semi-colonial countries were one-eleventh of those in the developed capitalist industrial countries.

COLONIALISM MEANS THE EXTERMINATION OF PEOPLES

Colonialism began its rule by annihilating entire peoples.

This included the abduction and sale of 100 million people as slaves from the second half of the 15th to the 19th centuries.

The population in the French Congo in 1900 was estimated at 12-15 million people and in 1921 at only 2.8 million.

In the Belgian Congo there were 30 million people in 1884 and 15 million in 1915. In the 17th century the African continent had one-fifth of the world's population. Under colonial rule it fell to one-tenth.

PROFITS OBTAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE COLONIES

During their rule the imperialists appropriated nearly a quarter of the national income of India and about one-third of the national income of Indonesia.

The rate of profit in the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia in 1937 was 2,000 per cent.

According to UN data for 1967, in the

Middle East the USA gained a net profit of 7,779 million dollars from the oil regions, on investments in that area of only 747 million dollars.

DISEASE AND DEATH RATE

According to UN statistics, 375 million people live on the verge of death from starvation. Each day 80,000 people die of undernourishment, *one person every second!*

According to the journal of the World Health Organization, "one-third of all children in Africa die before they reach the age of five."

A Pan-American health journal has reported that "in Latin American countries 44 per cent of all deaths are of children up to the age of five, whereas in the USA this figure is about eight per cent."

The death rate per 1,000 inhabitants is 22 in Africa and 18 in Asia as compared with 10 in Europe and 9.5 in the USA.

The average life expectancy in most Asian, African and Latin American countries is what it was in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Although cholera, plague, smallpox, malaria and other epidemic diseases are rife in these countries, the number of doctors is catastrophically small. For example, in Indonesia there is one doctor per 30,000 inhabitants and in Central African countries there is one doctor per 25,000 inhabitants (in the USA—one per 505 inhabitants).

This is one of the frightful consequences of colonial domination.

ILLITERACY

After 300 years of Dutch imperialist rule only five per cent of the population of Indonesia could read and write.

In the British colonies only eight to 20 per cent of the local children went to school. To this day 97.3 per cent of the population of Angola is illiterate as a result of Portuguese colonialist rule, while in Mozambique the figure is 98.7 per cent.

As a consequence of colonial rule in Africa, 80 to 85 per cent of the population is illiterate. The number of intellectuals averages 7.5 per 100,000 inhabitants. When the Belgian Congo became independent only twenty of the local population had passed through higher education.

COLONIALIST WARS ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

During the past hundred years the imperialist powers conducted 121 wars and

military punitive operations in Africa alone. In these wars 5.3 million Africans were killed.

Most victims were in Algeria (1,600,000), the Sudan (1,000,000), Ethiopia (750,000) and Congo Kinshasa (550,000).

We accuse imperialism of pillaging and oppressing the peoples by neo-colonialism

The liberation struggle has made it impossible for imperialism to preserve its colonial rule openly.

Sixty-seven countries achieved recognition of their independence after the Second World War.

But imperialism tries to preserve or re-establish its rule over that part of the world by neo-colonialist methods.

Neo-colonialism strives to shackle the new states by political means — by forcing unequal treaties on them or by drawing them into economic and military blocs;

by military means through the establishment of bases, armed aggression or the export of counter-revolution;

particularly by economic means, which make it possible to rob the people:

—through capital export and the appropriation of colossal profits from invested private capital;

—through the recovery of debts which have piled up enormously as a result of government loans and credits;

—through the imposition of unequal terms of trade and through the manipulation of prices.

All this is declared to be "aid," but in fact makes new states dependent and means that they are being pillaged and deprived of labor-created values greatly exceeding the amount of capital imported.

Essentially, the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism is aimed at keeping the developing countries within the framework of the capitalist economy and preserving the unequal division of labor.

THE LOOTING OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The profits squeezed out of the developing countries by foreign capital considerably exceed investments in those countries, as the following table shows:

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
	(in millions of dollars)				
Net inflow of private investments, loans and credits	2,436	2,253	2,846	3,770	3,092
Export of profits, dividends and interest	3,643	3,980	4,187	4,614	5,166
Surplus	1,207	1,727	1,341	844	2,074

The developing countries are forced to accept unequal terms of trade as a result of

which they incur great losses:

Year	Loss (million \$)
1961	1,824
1962	2,158
1963	2,109

Year	Loss (million \$)
1964	2,026
1965	2,519
1966	2,752

The price level for 1953-1957 is taken as the basis for these UN figures.

THE PEOPLES OF THE NEW STATES RECEIVE EVER LESS FOR THEIR LABOR

The deterioration of the terms of trade leads, among other things, to such injustices as: "For the money received from the sale of one ton of cocoa, Cameroon could purchase 2,700 metres of textiles, or 1,200 kilograms of cement in 1960, and only 800 metres of textiles, or 450 kilograms of cement in 1965" (From a statement by the President of the Republic of Niger, Diordi Amman, in an EEC commission on 25 October 1966).

"In order to import a tractor we now have to export double the number of sacks of flour or double the quantity of ore as a few years ago" (From a statement by Galo Plas, General Secretary of the Organization of American States, at the National Press Club in the USA in October 1968).

DOLLAR PROFITS INCREASE

The US imperialists themselves boast of the profits which neo-colonialism ensures them.

The president of International Harvester,

an American company, declared: "For every dollar that in the course of the past five years we have been spending for various purposes outside the United States, we have received 4.67 dollars."

In the period 1960-1966 the United States exported 3.2 thousand million dollars to the developing countries. In that period the profits received by US monopolies from these countries totalled 16.2 thousand million dollars, of which 13.6 thousand million dollars flowed back to the USA.

A PARADOX OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The new states are desperately short of specialists—scientists, technicians, doctors, etc. The specialists trained in these countries do not stay there, many go to imperialist countries as part of the "buy brains." This flagrant injustice is described as the paradox of the 20th century.

A total of 28,714 specialists emigrated to the United States from the Latin American countries in the period 1961-65.

There are 80 medical schools in Latin America. On graduation as many doctors leave for the United States as are trained by 20 of these schools. This gives the USA

a direct material benefit, which is equal to the entire "aid" rendered by it to the educational systems in these countries.

But the countries themselves continue to lag behind in their development.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES WHO HAVE WON THEIR FREEDOM IS A STRUGGLE FOR LIFE

Neo-colonialism means that in an age when technological advancement has reached its highest level new nations are thrown back in their development and are doomed to hunger, disease and all the other miseries of colonialism.

According to FAO data, the level of production per head of the population in the developing countries has dropped from 105 in 1962-63 to 102 in 1965-66 (1952-1957 = 100).

The General Secretary of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East declared that food production per head of the population in the developing countries of Asia is five per cent below the necessary minimum. Food consumption in the developing countries is 20 per cent below subsistence level.

We accuse imperialism of war and war crimes against Vietnam and other peoples striving for freedom

All peoples have a right to national independence. When they rise to throw off the yoke of colonialism and imperialism they act in conformity with this right.

When imperialism perceives a danger to its neo-colonialist domination it does not shrink from criminal war to maintain its oppression of other peoples or to regain it.

Since the Second World War the imperialists have waged more than 30 wars and launched hundreds of armed actions to this end.

The war of the United States against the Vietnamese people is the worst and most abominable of all these wars. All the most monstrous inventions of modern weaponry and means of mass destruction, except nuclear weapons, have been thrown into action but the USA cannot subjugate the liberty-loving Vietnamese people.

Wars of subjugation are also a crime against the imperialists' "own" people. The United States has never waged such a protracted war causing such huge losses in blood and material as in Vietnam.

The peoples of the whole world are unanimous in their condemnation of the war crimes of imperialism.

ONE WAR AFTER ANOTHER

After the Second World War the imperialist powers waged criminal wars and carried out cruel military operations to secure or reestablish their domination:

France against Laos and Cambodia (1945-54)

France against Vietnam (1946-54)

Britain against Oman and Aden (since 1946)

Britain against Malaya (1948-1959)

The Republic of South Africa against South-West Africa (Namibia—1949)

The USA against the national liberation movement in the Philippines (1948-51)

France against Madagascar (1947)

The USA against the Korean People's Democratic Republic (1950-53)

Britain against Kenya (1952-54)

The USA against Guatemala (1954)

France against Algeria (1954-62)

The USA against Laos (since 1954)

Britain against Cyprus (1955-59)

Portugal against Angola (1961)

France against Tunisia (1956-58)

Britain, France and Israel against Egypt (1956)

The USA and Britain against Jordan and the Lebanon (1958)
 The USA against China (Gulf of Taiwan—1958)
 The USA against Panama (1959)
 Portugal against Mozambique (1964)
 Britain against Nyasaland (Malawi—1959)
 The actions of several imperialist states against the Congo (1960-62)
 The USA against the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam (since 1960)
 The USA against Cuba (1961)
 France against Tunisia (Bizerta—1961-63)
 The USA against Cuba (the crisis in the Caribbean area)
 The USA against Panama (1964)
 The USA against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (since 1965)
 The USA against the Dominican Republic (1965)
 Israel against Arab countries (1967)
 Portugal against Guinea (Bissau—1962)
 Britain against Anguilla (1969)

THE CRIMINAL WAR OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AGAINST THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

The following means of mass extermination forbidden by international law are being employed against the Vietnamese population:

- cluster bombs (since 1966);
- fire producing agents (incendiary bombs, incendiary shells, napalm);
- bacteriological weapons;
- gas and poisonous chemical substances.

NAPALM

By the end of 1968 about 100,000 tons of napalm bombs had been dropped on the territory of Vietnam. That is twice as much as in the Korean war.

"From 1961 to 1966, the use of napalm caused the deaths of 250,000 South Vietnamese children and the disablement of 750,000." (S. W. Pepper, Director, Catholic National Institute, New York, 1968.)

DELIBERATE DESTRUCTION OF THE POPULATION

"Since February they caused destruction by explosives in more than 130 towns and settlements, provincial capitals and other inhabited localities throughout South Vietnam, including Saigon, Hué, Dalat, Phan Thiet, Kontum, Pleiku, Ban Me Thuot, Can Tho, Ben Tre, Mai Tho, Chau Doc, Vinh

Long and Ca Mau.

More than 10,000 buildings were destroyed in 42 urban centers in the Mekong delta. Over 10,000 citizens were killed or wounded and 30,000 people made homeless." (Statement of the Committee for Condemning the War Crimes of the U.S. Imperialists and Their Accomplices in South Vietnam, Hanoi, 15 August 1967.)

THE DESTRUCTION OF CIVILIZATION

"We must bomb North Vietnam back into the stone age." (General Curtis Lemay, former chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force, candidate for the vice-presidency in the 1968 elections in which he received 13 million votes.)

From June 1966 to December 1967, 1,307 aircraft dropped 4,557 demolition bombs and 440 cluster bombs on Hanoi. Seventy-five per cent of the town of Than Hao was destroyed.

By the beginning of 1968 the most important cities and localities of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were repeatedly subjected to mass bombing. Of 30 provincial capitals, 25 were severely damaged and five were reduced to rubble and ashes. Thirty-nine localities were completely destroyed. By the end of 1966, 391 schools, 149 churches and 80 pagodas had been bombed. From August 1964 to August 1967, 24 of 30 provincial hospitals had been damaged in terror attacks.

BOMBS TO DOOM THE POPULATION TO HUNGER

"By destroying water-conservancy installations, the U.S. imperialists aim at wiping out the production of rice and other grains.

"In the dry season from April to June, when water is particularly needed for rice and vegetables, the Americans concentrate their air raids on places where dams, pumping stations, locks, canals and sea dikes are located in order to flood the fields with salt water.

"More than 300 air raids were made on 17 dams.

"Strategic B-52 bombers made brutal raids on Vinh Linh in the course of which damage was inflicted on large areas. In the last five months B-52 bombers made 670 sorties and dropped 20,000 bombs on 23 villages. Hundreds of people were killed and wounded and thousands of homes and large quantities of vegetables and other foodstuffs destroyed.

"U.S. aircraft and warships bombed or shelled seven state farms and more than 400 agricultural cooperatives; all agricultural cooperatives in Vinh Linh district were destroyed by American bombs and shells.

"In July alone B-52 bombers made 44 raids, in the course of which they dropped 10,000 tons of bombs on more than 300 hectares planted with rice and vegetables." (Communique of the Commission on the Investigation of War Crimes in Vietnam, 10 September 1968, Hanoi.)

ADMISSION OF MADNESS

"It is absolutely fantastic that a country faced with such intricate internal problems, a country which actually stood on the brink of serious international financial humiliation continued to waste its wealth to the tune of about one-fourth of its budget and had sent more than 500,000 men on a military venture in another part of the globe, in an area with which important U.S. interests were only remotely linked." (George F. Kennan, former US ambassador to Moscow, stated in a speech delivered in Williamsburg, Virginia, in June 1968.)

POISONOUS CHEMICAL SUBSTANCES

The USA has made extensive use of poisonous chemical substances against the population, animals and plants.

The extent of the contaminated areas were

up to 11,000 hectares in 1962
up to 300,000 hectares in 1963

up to 500,000 hectares in 1964
up to 750,000 hectares in 1965.

According to American data 22 per cent of the forested area of South Vietnam, controlled by the FNL, was "treated" with poisonous substances up to 1968.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

"More than a million South Vietnamese were killed, wounded or tortured to death in concentration camps from 1954 to 1967." (*Black Book of the Permanent Representation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in Hanoi, 1967.*)

HOW MUCH HAVE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES LOST?

According to official American data, the United States has lost more than 250,000 people (killed and wounded) in the course of the war in Vietnam.

The United States spent \$100 thousand million on the Vietnamese war from 1958 to 1968.

This money could have been spent:

On the war against poverty in the United States	\$70 thousand million
On the building of hospitals, etc., for providing a comprehensive medical service in the United States	\$21 thousand million
On building homes for the aged and pensioners	\$ 7 thousand million
Total:	\$98 thousand million

We accuse imperialism of violence and war against the peoples of its own countries

The imperialists resort to violence against the people of their own countries when they consider it necessary and possible, and it does not deter them if their actions are in contradiction to the peoples' constitutionally established rights.

In the United States, the principal country of imperialism, entire cities and districts are in a state of permanent civil war.

In West Germany "emergency laws" have been adopted which can annul all constitutional rights. In many capitalist countries, the police break up peaceful demonstrations using the latest weapons for suppressing the people.

NATO has "emergency plans" for estab-

lishing military dictatorships. Such a plan was used to establish the dictatorship of the "black colonels" in Greece.

In Latin America, the U.S. imperialists organize coups to set up more and more military dictatorships. Many dictatorships are waging open war against the peoples in their own countries.

In Africa the imperialists are encouraging such coups and fomenting bloody clashes. There have been 38 military putsches in African countries from 1963 to 1968. In Indonesia, the imperialist-backed regime has murdered half a million Communists and other democrats.

A WAR DISPATCH FROM THE STREETS OF THE USA

"During the break-up of the demonstration in Chicago, where the Democratic Party held its convention in 1968, more than 700 civilians and 83 policemen were wounded and 653 people imprisoned, according to incomplete figures.

"The number of demonstrators was under 10,000, that is, only half the number of policemen, FBI agents, National Guardsmen, and soldiers who took part in suppressing the demonstration. Shouting 'Kill them! Kill them!' the policemen attacked the demonstrators and peaceful on-lookers. On the order of Chicago's Mayor Daley the policemen turned the streets into 'brutal chaos'. . ." (*Observer*, 8 December, 1968.)

"Heavy police forces and troops were standing by in all large cities in the USA on 3 and 4 April 1969, the anniversary of the murder of Martin Luther King.

"Eighty-nine persons were wounded and 267 arrested in the Negro quarter of Chicago, 60 people were arrested in Washington and 100 in Baltimore.

"Tear gas was used against pupils of a Negro school in Flint. A Negro church in New York was damaged by incendiary bombs . . ." (Reuter report)

WAR AGAINST THE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA

Since 1960, 11 anti-popular coups have been staged in Latin American countries.

In Paraguay one-third of the population

We accuse imperialism of reviving fascism and nazism

At the end of the Second World War the peoples were given assurances by the victor powers in the declaration of Yalta and the Potsdam Agreement of 1945 that Nazism and fascism would be extirpated.

But where imperialism was in power denazification was turned into a farce. This happened above all in West Germany. The fascist regimes in Spain and Portugal were not abolished but strengthened.

Neo-Nazism and neo-fascist movements are being revived without hindrance in West Germany and other imperialist countries.

Wherever the imperialists set up puppet regimes, the latter often acquire a fascist tinge as in South Korea, South Vietnam, and Latin America.

In Europe, a new fascist regime was es-

fled the country during the Stroessner dictatorship. Thousands were murdered and many more were confined to concentration camps such as the notorious Tacumba camp.

The "tonton macoutes" guards of dictator Duvalier rampage in Haiti. On a gallows in front of the presidential palace hang the latest victims.

More than four thousand patriots were killed in Guatemala in the last two and a half years alone.

More than 200,000 people have perished in Colombia since 1948 during the interne-cine strife period (*violencia*). Tens of thousands of peasants were killed by government troops with the participation of U.S. military missions and "anti-guerrilla warfare" advisers.

POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS AS A SYSTEM

In the United States, political leaders who are in the way of the plans of the reactionary forces are removed by assassination.

In recent years political assassinations have claimed the lives of John F. Kennedy, Viola Liuzzo, Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King, Robert F. Kennedy.

NEW TECHNIQUES

U.S. police have accepted "with gratitude" a new weapon for combating "rioters"—"mace," a tinned poison gas, which causes a temporary loss of sight and deprives a person of the ability to move. (*Time*, 7 May 1968.)

established in Greece supported by NATO bayonets.

Fascism was, is and remains a crime against humanity. The toleration and promotion of fascism by imperialism is equally a crime.

THE BLOOD TRACES OF FASCISM

In its own interest mankind must never forget the horrors brought about by fascism.

In Germany, during the 12 years of fascism tens of thousands of Germans were murdered and more than one million were thrown into concentration camps.

In Spain, Franco came to power over the bodies of 600,000 Spaniards. In 1968, there

were 12,109 political prisoners in Spanish jails. Franco's dictatorship unleashed bloody repressions against workers, students and such national minorities as the Basques. This dictatorship receives economic and military assistance from the USA and West Germany.

In Portugal, the Salazar dictatorship has plunged the country's working people into poverty. A reign of terror rages in the country enforced by the secret police, the PIDE, which was set up with the assistance of the Gestapo, Hitler's secret police. Since 1961, 150,000 people have fled the country. The fascist regime receives support from West Germany, the USA and France.

In Greece, which had previously lived through fascist dictatorship, the "black colonels" imprisoned 60,000 patriots in a single year; many were murdered. Terrible concentration camps have been built on Jura and Leros islands.

THE "DENAZIFICATION" FARCE

In that part of Germany which has remained imperialist the promise "to extirpate Nazism" was "carried out" as follows:

Preliminary investigation proceedings have been opened against 77,000 out of about one million persons who were guilty of committing crimes during the period of the nazi dictatorship. Of these 77,000 only 6,192 were convicted, the rest acquitted, 114 had only to pay a fine.

For comparison: since 1951, 200,000 criminal proceedings have been instituted in West Germany against 650,000 persons for anti-fascist and other progressive activities, which are termed there as "activity directed against the state."

As the West German minister of justice declared on 1 July 1968, 3,000 court proceedings were introduced against students and representatives of other democratic forces who had taken part in protest demonstrations against the Springer trust.

Former nazis receive compensation for "losses suffered" as well as pensions. The state allocates 1,371 million marks a year for such pensions. Big nazis receive up to 2,700 marks pension per month, whereas the victims of fascism must get along on a monthly average pension of 300 marks.

We accuse imperialism of continuing shameful racialism

The most terrible chapters in history are connected with race hatred and persecution on racist grounds. Racialism reached

Twenty ministers and state secretaries of the West German government were active members of the NSDAP (Nazi Party), the SS or SD (security service), among them Federal Chancellor Kiesinger. Federal President Luebke, who was at the head of the West German state for ten years, from 1959 to 1969, was a builder of concentration camps.

More than 1,800 nazi criminals hold leading posts in the state apparatus, the organs of justice and in the military establishment.

A total of 189 Nazi officers hold high rank in the Bundeswehr: 17 in the Ministry of Defense, 12 in the NATO Supreme Command, 160 as generals; among them are the general inspectors (supreme commanders) of the Bundeswehr, the air force and the army. There are 1,118 nazi criminals in the organs of justice, 244 in the Foreign Office, 300 in the police and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

FRIENDS, BE ON GUARD!

In imperialist countries, where official propaganda misleads the masses, new fascist movements are becoming widespread under the influence of official propaganda.

In the United States, over 2,600 ultra-rightwing organizations operate with a membership running into hundreds of thousands. Leaders of the John Birch Society claim that their organization numbers 80,000, and the leaders of the Minutemen say that their organization has 25,000 members. In the 1968 presidential elections, Wallace, who came out with a rightwing extremist program, polled 13 million votes.

In West Germany, there are 113 clearly fascist organizations the organizational center of which is the *National Democratic Party of Germany*, which has the votes of some 1,900,000 people. This party has a strong influence in the Bundeswehr and 30 per cent of its members are former Nazis.

France has lived through the reign of terror unleashed by the OAS. *In England* Enoch Powell's racist extremism is gaining ground.

Similar trends can be observed in many other countries.

"Friends, be on guard!"—these were the last words uttered by the Czech anti-fascist Julius Fucik before his execution.

its most frightening scope during the Second World War.

Since 1945 all racial discrimination and

segregation were condemned in numerous international documents: in the Charter of the UN (1945), in the Declaration of Human Rights (1948), in the Declaration on the Abolition of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1963), in the Convention on the Abolition of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), and in the UNESCO Declaration on Races and Racial Prejudice (1967).

Nevertheless, under imperialist rule millions of people are still suffering from discrimination and persecution because of their race or the color of their skin; racial hatred is fomented and racist crimes are committed.

Racism is artificially kindled because imperialism, endeavoring to preserve exploitation and oppression, tries to incite peoples against each other and to exploit racial prejudice for its bloody imperialist crimes.

INHUMAN TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO POPULATION IN THE USA

In the USA, the biggest imperialist country, 22 million Negroes live as second-class citizens. Other national minorities, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Jews are also subjected to discrimination.

Negroes comprise some 11 per cent of the population, and over 20 per cent of the working class. But their average wages are only 53 per cent of those of white workers, and in the southern states, only from 30 to 40 per cent.

Poverty: "Thirty-nine per cent of the Negroes in the USA live in poverty. Over 30 per cent of Negro girls and 25 per cent of Negro boys from 16 to 21 years of age are unemployed. Unemployment in the Negro ghettos of big cities often reaches 50 per cent." (In 1967 unemployment averaged 3.8 per cent in the USA for the whole population able to work). (From a speech by U.S. Attorney-General Clark to the National Press Club on 13 April 1967).

No equality in life or death: The life expectancy of the Negro is five years less than that of a white. Infant mortality among "colored" children is 40 per cent higher than for white children. The white American on an average has three more years of education than a Negro. The level of unemployment among the non-white population is twice as high as among the white. Fifty-six per cent of the buildings in which Negroes live are unfit for human habitation. The income of an average Negro family is about 40 per cent below that of an average white family. (President Lyn-

don B. Johnson, Message to Congress, 15 February 1967) .

The ghettos rise up: "Some 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 Negroes, or 16-20 per cent of the entire Negro population of the big cities in the country, live in ghettos and suffer privations." (From the report of the Commission to Investigate Civil Unrest in the USA)

Ghetto inhabitants frequently rise in revolt in desperation and anger.

Troops using gas and machine guns are sent against the ghettos in reply.

BRUTALITY OF SOUTH AFRICAN RACISM

In South Africa (Republic of South Africa) 14 million "non-whites" are deprived of all rights and live in conditions of apartheid — a legal system devised to deprive the "non-white" population of the rights and living conditions enjoyed by the whites.

Out of 35.6 million people living in the countries of South Africa (Republic of South Africa, South-West Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola) where the struggle against colonialism and racism goes on, only 4.4 million are Europeans. In the Republic of South Africa there are 3.6 million Europeans out of a total population of 18.7 million.

Of the 170 members of parliament in South Africa 166 represent the white rulers. Every day 1,000 persons are imprisoned.

South Africa seeks to spread this system by the illegal annexation of South-West Africa (Namibia). In Rhodesia a racist regime likewise maintains its rule through terror. These regimes can remain in power only because they are supported by the imperialists.

THE "MASTERS' " VOICE

South African prime ministers declare:

Verwoerd: "Our main task is to see to it that the white nation rules here."

Herzog: "The native is psychologically unable to drive a car."

Vorsteyer: "Only whites will ever have the right to sit in our Parliament, which is called upon to decide the future of the Republic of South Africa and its inhabitants."

Without rights. On 87 per cent of the territory of the Republic of South Africa all Africans are proclaimed aliens and are deprived of all rights but one, the right to work for the white master.

Their wages are only one fifth of the wages of the European workers. Those em-

ployed in mines receive on an average only one-fifteenth of what European miners get.

According to the law the daily wage of an African may not exceed a maximum of \$2.80, whereas the minimum wage in the USA is \$1.50 per hour.

Africans do not have the right to form trade unions in South Africa. The penalty for attempting to do so is three years in prison.

For the maintenance of schools £75 sterling are spent annually for a white child, and for an African child £6.9 sterling.

According to reports of the National Society for Combating Tuberculosis, 67,000 persons contracted this disease in 1968, that is, 180 persons every day. Each day 40 persons die of tuberculosis.

In 1957 the Law on Care for the Sick was passed. According to this Law "Each person who instructs a white nurse to look after a non-European in any hospital or similar institution is guilty of a disciplinary offence."

EXTERMINATION OF THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS

In Latin America racial oppression is directed mainly against the indigenous population, the Indians.

Over 30 million Indians in Bolivia and Brazil, in Peru and Ecuador, Central America, Mexico and some other countries still live exactly as they were forced to live under the Spanish and Portuguese colonizers.

In March 1968 the Brazilian government officially admitted that the relentless extermination of the Indians of Brazil was taking place with the considerable participation of the official "Indian Defense Service," in order to safeguard raw materials (for example rubber) and minerals for the imperialist monopolies. The extermination of the following tribes was confirmed: 19,000 Munducurus were reduced to 1,200, 5,000 Guaranis to 300, 4,000 Carajas to 400. Of the Cintas Largas, against whom air attacks were made, there are only 500 out of 10,000 left. Well-known tribes such as the Kadiweus and Bororos now consist only of groups of 100 to 200 persons. The Tapalunas were completely exterminated by means of gifts of food which had been poisoned with arsenic. Brazilian sociologists estimate that only 50,000 to 100,000 Indians survive and that these may also be exterminated by 1980. According to official data animals and personal property valued at 62 million dollars were stolen from the Indians in the last decade.

We accuse imperialism of creating unbearable living conditions for the working people

Imperialism oppresses not only the peoples of other countries. It steps up the exploitation of working people in its own country, from where it continues to draw a great part of its profits. Although this takes place in conditions of highly developed industrial production and the growing production of consumer goods, the existing disproportions between production and consumption do not decrease but increase.

The share of the working people in the national income is falling, whereas the share of the monopolies is rising. The new technology, particularly the transition to automation, leads to new chronic unemployment.

The growing intensification of labor gives rise to new mass diseases and increasing premature incapacity to work.

Large groups of working people and whole regions have low living standards, low wages and poor housing conditions.

New forms of exploitation are developing outside the framework of production — taxes, rents, fares are arbitrarily increased

and working people get in debt through the sales of goods on the instalment system.

In our era, in which technical development gives mankind more and more possibilities for well-being and happiness, imperialism is to blame for the fact that millions upon millions of people must live under unworthy and inhuman conditions.

VALUES CREATED BY LABOR ARE LOST

At the close of the past century there were 30 million hired workers in the capitalist countries. In 1950, there were 160 million and in 1960, 200 millions in the developed capitalist countries.

The capitalists appropriate the surplus value created by the labor of these workers which in the USA alone (65 million workers and other employees) annually amounts to 315 thousand million dollars (1967).

These values could have been used to create millions of new work places, to find a solution to the housing and other urgent problems, to improve the education and health services.

But these values go to pay for the luxurious life of a small stratum of the "upper class" and to push arms expenditure ever higher from year to year.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In the imperialist countries there are at present six to eight million fully unemployed and three to five million partially unemployed. Thus, every year tens of millions of people suffer from unemployment for varying periods.

Unemployment signifies privation, humiliation and unworthy living conditions for the families of the unemployed.

As a result of unemployment in capitalist society up to 10 per cent of the national income is lost.

Imperialism is unable to solve problems of the scientific and technological revolution without increasing unemployment.

The cost of establishing a new work place in the USA in 1955 was 12,000 dollars, in 1965, 30,000 dollars and in 1975 it may reach 75,000 dollars. By that time a maximum of 1,000,000 work places can be set up. But the number of young people in search of jobs is constantly increasing. In 1963 they numbered 2,500,000, in 1965, 3,500,000 and by 1970 their number will rise to 4,000,000.

The rising generation is faced with unprecedented unemployment. According to U.S. estimates, the number of unemployed among young people will have risen by approximately three million by 1970.

PROFIT-MAKING THAT KILLS

A constantly increasing number of people in the developed capitalist countries lose their lives or are crippled by industrial accidents. As the American Department of Labor notes, each day 55 workers are killed in production in the USA, 8,500 are incapacitated and 27,500 injured in industrial accidents.

Medical care is so expensive in the USA that people often avoid consulting a doctor, although that omission may lead to fatal results.

The pharmaceutical monopolies are waxing fat on the sale of "patent medicines," which are often useless or even harmful, as, for example, the Contergan (Thalidomide) scandal in West Germany and other capitalist countries clearly shows.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM

Despite the rapid technological development of the building industry, large numbers of people in capitalist countries live in houses which do not provide decent living conditions.

In Britain more than half of the entire housing was built over 50 years ago. These houses have no modern amenities and often are a hazard to the lives of their tenants because they are dilapidated.

Districts with the most primitive housing conditions exist around many big cities in capitalist countries. Three hundred million people live under such conditions. Latin American cities have entire "poverty belts," which in the case of Lima are inhabited by 26 per cent of the entire population, in Mexico City by more than 30 per cent and in Rio de Janeiro by 38 per cent. One-seventh of all dilapidated dwellings in the USA are in New York, 800,000 in the slums of that city.

The housing emergency is growing wherever capitalism exists and hits old people and families with many children with special severity.

POVERTY-STRICKEN AREAS

The population of entire areas in highly developed capitalist countries lives in poverty.

The average annual income per capita in Italy is 657,000 lire (1,039 dollars). In the southern provinces it falls to 327,000 lire (519 dollars) in Calabria and to 305,000 lire (484 dollars) in Cosenza.

The average standard of living in Calabria, Italy's poorest province, is 27 per cent lower than the average for the country.

The plight of the working people in Italy compels many to leave the country. In the last five years, 1.5 million people emigrated from Italy. More than 70 per cent of all the emigrants come from the southern provinces. In some Sardinian villages up to 65 per cent of the entire able-bodied population has left in the last five years.

In the United States it is officially admitted that about 30 million people live in poverty. Only 18 per cent of them receive very low government aid, which amounts to \$8.50 per person per month in the state of Mississippi. At the same time the government pays subsidies to big landowners to reduce the production of grain, etc., and hundreds of thousands of acres of fertile soil lie fallow.

In the view of competent authorities, the government should increase expenditure for food deliveries to the hungry and suffering population by \$1.5 thousand million per year.

CRIME A FIRM PART OF PUBLIC LIFE

Crime has become a new form of enterprise in the developed imperialist countries. Even according to official data the American people suffer losses amounting to 22 thousand million dollars per year through reported crimes. Considering the secret machinations by which the crime syndicates have penetrated into the world of business, the trade unions and even into the churches, this 22 thousand million dollars becomes a considerably higher sum.

"Crime is a part of the present way of life in our society and it could not exist other than in its present form." (F. Tannenbaum, *Crime and the Community*, 1951, p. 171.)

The presidential committee on the enforcement of law and administration of justice, in its report *The Problem of Crime in a Free Society* (1967) noted that 43 per cent of the dwellers in districts with a high crime rate in two big cities stated that they were afraid to go out of the house after dark; 35 per cent did not talk to strangers; 21 per cent did not go anywhere by foot at night and 20 per cent would like to move to other districts.

There are 100 million weapons in private possession in the USA. "If the ownership of weapons is to be declared illegal the weapons will remain in the hands of those who recognize no law"—is the slogan of the Birch fascists who oppose the efforts to prohibit the free sale of arms.

NEW FORMS OF EXPLOITATION

Many new methods of reducing wages indirectly lower the incomes and consumption of working people.

Prices increase in many countries owing to the creeping inflation which is a part of modern imperialist economy.

Taxes, which in developed capitalist countries have risen from one-tenth to one-third of the national income in the last 50 years, are collected chiefly from the work-

ing people, who often have to pay 25 to 30 per cent of their wages in direct taxes.

Payments for consumer goods bought on the instalment plan absorb an ever greater part of the wage. In the United States more than half of the workers' families spend up to 40 per cent of their wages for the repayment of debts and interest on instalment purchases. Such methods nullify wage increases and bring down real wages to a level which on the average is lower than the subsistence minimum.

In 1966, average wages were 17 to 25 per cent below the subsistence minimum (in the United States by 17 per cent and in France by 19.8 per cent).

RESISTANCE IS INCREASING

In capitalist countries working people are hampered in the development of their mental abilities, a development which is increasingly demanded by contemporary life. *The lack of adequate educational opportunities* is the cause of a low educational level, with which capitalist society seeks to hold the working people in dependence. In big industrial and public enterprises the workers are deprived of the right to participate in making decisions.

Their situation forces the working people to defend their rights ever more energetically.

The working class is waging the struggle in the form of strikes and other actions. Militant activity is displayed by urban and rural youth and students.

Their struggle is a new indictment of imperialism and its anti-social system.

Whereas the number of wage earners in the capitalist countries increased by 50-100 per cent as compared with the pre-war level, the number of strikes increased by 250 per cent (according to official, underestimated data). Not only economic but also political demands in increasing numbers are presented during strikes.

The number of strikers in the developed capitalist countries (including participants in demonstrations and protest marches) went up from 25-27 million persons in 1958 to 57-58 million in 1968.

Armed force is used against strikers in Italy and other countries.

We accuse imperialism of subversive activity against the socialist countries

Peoples who comprise more than one-third of mankind are building socialist society in struggle against imperialism.

Having established the social ownership of the means of production and possessing the necessary natural resources, the So-

cialist countries are developing at an unprecedented pace.

Imperialism fears the clear proof that its system, the domination of monopoly capital, has outlived its age.

It is carrying on subversive activities against the Socialist states and trying to overthrow the system existing in them because it stands in the way of its drive to world supremacy.

This imperialist crime is not only directed against the Socialist countries but also against all the peoples of the world.

The Socialist countries are demonstrating to the world ever more clearly the superiority of the new social system which is free from exploitation and the profit interests of monopoly capital.

The economic and social challenge of the Socialist world terrifies the ruling circles of imperialism. They are employing every method to prevent the growing influence of Socialist ideas and practice on the peoples of the capitalist and former colonial countries, realizing that time is working for Socialism.

TWO WORLDS

The Socialist share in world industrial production in 1917 was less than 3 per cent, in 1937 about 10 per cent, 1950 about 20 per cent and in 1968 almost 40 per cent.

Between 1956 and 1966 the national income in the Socialist countries grew 1.9 times as fast as in the capitalist countries.

A comparison of the economic and social development of the Socialist and capitalist countries (for example, between Bulgaria and Greece, Hungary and Austria, the Soviet Central Asian Republics and their neighboring Asian states) convincingly shows that growth rates are considerably higher in the Socialist countries.

Rate of Growth of Industrial Production

	1950	1960	1968
Bulgaria	100	397	982
Greece	100	210	375
Hungary	100	267	472
Austria	100	209	282

Rate of Growth of the National Income

	1950	1960	1968
Bulgaria	100	282	506
Greece	100	174	274 (1967)
Hungary	100	177	270
Austria	100	173	234

THE USSR AND THE USA

Despite the incomparably worse starting position due to the backwardness of tsarist Russia compared with that of the most powerful capitalist country, and despite the enormous destruction wrought in the USSR during the Civil War and foreign intervention and during the Second World War, the USSR is steadily and rapidly narrowing the historically conditioned economic gap with the USA.

According to American calculations the USSR lagged behind the level of industrial production in the USA as follows:

by 39 years in 1940
by 14 years in 1960
by 6 years in 1967

MILITARY ACTION AND PROVOCATIONS AGAINST SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

After the Second World War imperialism undertook the following major armed actions against Socialist countries:

Against Korea (KPDP): war from 1950 to 53; frontier incidents in 1966; "Pueblo" spy operation in 1968.

Against Cuba: armed invasion by gangs of mercenaries (1961); illegal military blockade (1962); flights by military aircraft; infiltration of armed wreckers; provocations near the US naval base of Guantanamo on Cuba, and so on.

Against Vietnam (DRV): barbaric bombing attacks and other war acts since 1945.

Against the GDR: organization of anti-socialist actions in 1953, incessant frontier violations. Preparation of a "police action" against the GDR (1961).

Against the Soviet Union: U-2 spy flights 1960, attacks on merchant ships in 1967.

Against Hungary: organization and support of the counter-revolutionary putsch in 1956.

Against Albania: the mining of the Straits of Corfu in 1946.

Against China: provocations in the Straits of Taiwan in 1958.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

A specific form of the struggle of imperialist forces against Socialism is psychological warfare. There are more than 120 research centers in the USA which are especially concerned with psychological warfare. The USA spends 500 million

dollars per year for purposes of anti-Communist propaganda.

There are more than 100 anti-Communist centers in West Germany. Some 125 million dollars are spent every year in the Federal Republic for anti-Communist propaganda.

Anti-Communist radio propaganda has assumed large proportions.

Some 100 broadcasting stations with a total strength of 15 million watts, daily produce incitement and lies against the Socialist countries. The "Voice of America" alone spends 53 million dollars per year and "Radio Free Europe," stationed in West Germany, 17 million dollars.

OPEN THREATS

"Our propaganda in word and deed will have effect only if it pursues the simple and bold objective of overthrowing the Soviet dictatorship and its supporters with all the means at our disposal." (From a speech by McCarran on 6 August 1951.)

"The West can create an advanced strategic deployment area in Central Eu-

rope which will undermine the military and political positions of Soviet Communism in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other neighboring countries." (John F. Dulles, *War or Peace*, 1950.)

The war the United States is fighting in Vietnam "conforms to the requirements of the foreign policy which the United States has been pursuing in the past 20 years." (From a speech by U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson on 4 December 1967.)

"We ought to contemplate the fact that Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and other countries belong to Europe in the same way as Switzerland, the Netherlands or Belgium. The point is that by influencing these countries and by firm negotiations with Moscow over a prolonged period we should act so that these countries again become part of Europe, at least at first in the sense expressed by the term intermediate Europe.

"Our task today must be to create a zone between Russia and Western Europe, an intermediate Europe." (Franz Josef Strauss, *Entwurf fuer Europa*, pp. 45-46 55).

We accuse imperialism of preparing another world war

"The peoples of the United Nations are determined to save future generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind." (From the Preamble of the United Nations Charter.)

Imperialism has drawn the world into preparations for another war, the expenditures for which exceed the money spent during the war years, 1941 to 1945. At the same time all the proposals for international disarmament have been rejected by imperialism.

Money which could rapidly solve the most vital problems of mankind is spent on armaments.

Imperialism has created the threat of a third world war.

In Europe where two world wars were unleashed, West German imperialism, which bears such a grave guilt before mankind, has been put back on its feet with the help of the Western powers.

"Future generations will be saved from the scourge of war" only in struggle against the designs of imperialism.

THE MILITARIST HYDRA

During the twenty years of the imperialist NATO military bloc, expenditure for

military purposes has amounted to 1,250 thousand million dollars.

In 1968 the NATO countries spent five times as much for military purposes as in 1949.

During the five years of the Second World War the USA spent 281.4 thousand million dollars for military purposes, while in the past five years it spent 334.4 thousand million dollars, i.e., 20 per cent more. From 1969 on the USA plans to spend 80 thousand million dollars a year for military purposes.

In 1939 the U.S. armed forces had 334,000 effectives, and in 1968 this number rose to 3,500,000, i.e., it multiplied tenfold. In the past decade the strength of the U.S. armed forces has increased by 1,000,000.

The U.S. armed forces and armaments industry employ nine million people or 11 per cent of the able-bodied population, in the profit interests of the American arms millionaires.

WHAT DOES THIS COST?

World War II aircraft carrier — 55 million dollars.

Aircraft carrier Niemitz now under construction — 545 million dollars.

World War II destroyer — 8.7 million dollars.

Latest-type destroyer — 200 million dollars

World War II submarine — 4.7 million dollars.

Latest nuclear-powered submarine — 200 million dollars.

World War II — bomber 218,000 dollars.

B-52 bomber, 1961 model — 7.9 million dollars.

World War II fighter aircraft — 54,000 dollars.

3F fighter — 6.8 million dollars.

M-1 rifle, 1946 model — 31 dollars.

M-16 rifle, used in the Vietnamese war — 150 dollars.

U.S. TROOPS ON FOREIGN SOIL

Almost half of the U.S. armed forces, over 1,500,000 officers and men, are outside the frontiers of the United States, more than during the Second World War.

In the 1920s United States troops were stationed in only three foreign countries, and during the Second World War in 39 countries, today they are in 64 countries.

In 1968 the USA maintained 450 military bases on foreign soil. The cost of their maintenance was five thousand million dollars a year.

WHAT MANKIND PAYS FOR ARMAMENTS

The arms race conducted by imperialism and its rejection of international disarmament compel other countries also to spend money on armaments. The U.S. arms budget of \$50 thousand million (1968) is 35 per cent of the arms expenditures of the world.

According to statistics published in *Military Balance*, London, 1968, military expenditures in 1968 were:

in NATO countries — 102,877 million dollars

in SEATO countries — 1,724 million dollars

In CENTO countries — 1,009 million dollars

In Warsaw Treaty countries — 49,745 million dollars

Total — 155,355 million dollars.

This sum is more than the entire national incomes of all the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in which one-third of the world's population lives.

If only one-fifth of this money were used for the development of the newly independent former colonial countries they would reach the economic level of Britain and France in twenty-five years.

For 150 thousand million dollars it is possible to build 40 to 50 industrial complexes of world standard or 150 integrated metallurgical works of the size of the Bhilai Works in India or 150 giant power plants equal in size to the Aswan high dam in the UAR, or 40 million homes, or 140,000 hospitals, or 560,000 schools.

EUROPEAN SECURITY

West German imperialism, which has again placed the military potential of the Federal Republic in the hands of former Hitler generals and their pupils, wants to expand its frontiers. For that reason it is running a fierce campaign against the recognition of the status quo in Europe.

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger declared on 25 August 1968:

"The problem is as follows: The Soviet Union wants to maintain at least the status quo in Europe. We must try to change the status quo."

The neo-Nazi NDP states in its program:

"Germany has a claim to the regions which have been settled by Germans for centuries."

The West German "Minister for All-German Questions," Herbert Wehner, declared the following as unacceptable to the Federal Republic:

"1. The recognition of West Berlin as an independent political entity.

"2. The recognition of the other part of Germany as a second sovereign state of the German nation, and

"3. The recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as a final frontier." (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22 September 1967)

But the preservation of peace is vital to the peoples of Europe. The setting up of a system of collective security in Europe is the way to banish the threat of another war.

We accuse imperialism of preparing a thermonuclear war

The threat that nuclear weapons might be used for purposes of destruction hangs over mankind today.

Similarly, other means of mass destruction — chemical and bacteriological — are being developed on a dangerous scale.

Although world public opinion declares that the use of nuclear weapons is a crime against mankind (UN declaration on banning the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of 1961), the imperialist powers continue to prepare for a nuclear war and reject proposals by the Socialist countries to ban nuclear weapons.

There are huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons in all parts of the globe. Operational nuclear weapons are on board aircraft and ships cruising throughout the world which regularly relieve each other.

If imperialism commits its last crime, by using the unravelled secrets of nature to sow destruction, disease, poison and death, mankind will be hurled into a catastrophe such as history has never known before.

We accuse imperialism of preparing that catastrophe. We call upon all people to join in the struggle to avert it in time.

ATOMIC BOMBS IN THE AIR

Since 1961 U.S. bombers carrying nuclear bombs have been flying day and night along four routes. Three of these routes lead to the North across Alaska and Canada to Greenland, and the fourth passes over the Atlantic, crossing Spain and the Mediterranean.

On receiving orders, these bombers can approach a "target" from the North and from the South. The usual load carried by these bombers consists of four hydrogen bombs of 1.1 megatons each.

The code word for the crash of a United States aircraft carrying nuclear weapons is "broken narrow." During the past years there have been 12 reports of "broken arrows," one of which came from Palomares, Spain, and another from Greenland.

MEGADEATH

The atomic bomb that destroyed Hiroshima and killed 100,000 people had an explosive capacity of 0.02 megatons. The nuclear stockpiles in the USA are estimated at 25,000 megatons. This means 12,500 potential nuclear explosions, each

of which can form a crater with a diameter of 20 kilometres, set off a fire within a radius of 50 to 100 kilometres and kill every living being within a radius of 300 kilometres.

U.N. Secretary General U Thant said in 1968: "If a 20 megaton bomb were exploded over Manhattan in the absence of shelters and evacuation, nearly 6,000,000 of New York's 8,000,000 population would die and another million would perish outside the city."

In instructions on civil defense published by the British Home Office, it is stated: "One 10-megaton bomb exploded at a height of 3,000 metres over Trafalgar Square would destroy virtually the whole of London."

United States generals are drawing up their plans with quite different cities in view. The Pentagon leaders, U.S. Secretary of the Air Force G. Brown, in particular, have stated that American strategy is based on the destruction in a nuclear war of "essentially the entire urban population" of the Soviet Union. According to the estimates of U.S. strategists more than 200 million people, or many times the Second World War figure, would die in the "first nuclear exchange."

The following remark shows the spirit in which this estimate was made:

"When it is a matter of the death of 100 or more million people, a deviation from 10 to 20 million people one way or another is a quite permissible margin of error." (Speech by Humphrey in Columbus, Ohio, on 21 September 1968).

The American military have coined the term "megadeath," i.e., a unit equal to a million casualties in a nuclear war.

HITLER GENERALS WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Hitler had made fantastic efforts to be the first to create and use the atomic bomb. One can imagine what the consequences would have been if he had succeeded.

Hitler generals of the Bundeswehr leading staff stated in a memorandum in August 1960: "A unilateral pledge not to equip security forces with atomic weapons cannot ensure the defense of the Federal Republic . . . The Bundeswehr must have a similarly effective weapon as the Allied defense forces."

War Minister Schroeder declared in the Bundestag on December 6, 1967:

"German participation in tactical atomic troops is necessary so that on all sectors of the front including that entrusted to German troops, there would be launching installations for nuclear warheads."

West Germany is preparing for war, developing its atomic industry. In 1966 alone it purchased 57,390 kilograms of enriched uranium in the USA.

The Federal Republic has appeared as the principal opponent of the atomic

weapon non-proliferation treaty. It demonstratively opposed the signing of this treaty at a time when more than 90 countries had already signed the agreement of July 1, 1968.

In Western Europe, primarily in West Germany, the USA has 7,000 nuclear warheads stockpiled and has supplied its NATO allies with 2,250 units of various means of delivering these weapons.

WE ACCUSE IMPERIALISM OF BEING THE GREATEST DANGER TO THE PEACEFUL FUTURE OF ALL PEOPLES.

FRIENDS, BE ON GUARD!

History has passed judgment on imperialism. Now it is up to the people themselves to execute the sentence

The accusations raised here against imperialism are irrefutable, though they have not been described in their full extent and gravity.

A society which constantly engenders such crimes is a sick, out-dated society which has been condemned by history and must disappear.

The execution of the judgment of history is a matter for the peoples. They have every opportunity to tackle the realization of this historic mission in order not to permit imperialism to commit its last and most terrible crime.

The times are past when imperialism ruled over all the world. Now it is confronted by

—the power of the working people in those countries where Socialism has become a reality;

—the working people in the capitalist countries, who comprise an ever larger part of the population and are constantly consolidating their organization and militancy;

—the anti-imperialist national liberation movements, which are gaining ever greater impetus and becoming ever more conscious of the aims of their struggle.

Given unity, these forces are able to determine the course of historical development. In our day there are ample examples of how effective is the power of united action.

The worldwide movement of solidarity with the fighting Vietnamese people has frustrated the war plans of U.S. imperialism and created the possibility of gaining victory in the struggle for the cause of peace and freedom.

Solidarity with the people of Cuba, who live only 90 miles from the borders of the major imperialist power, has helped them to maintain and further develop the achievements of their revolution in spite of all provocations and pressure on the part of imperialism.

Solidarity with the peoples of the Arab states in face of the Israeli aggression prevented the carrying out of the schemes of the imperialists who wanted to block the progressive development of these countries by means of aggression.

The struggle of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies is also supported by broad international solidarity movements and this circumstance will make it possible in the not-too-distant future to abolish the remnants of colonialism in this part of the world.

International solidarity is also a reliable support for the peoples of the Korean People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic who are exposed to constant attacks by imperialism. International solidarity helps the peoples of South Korea and West Germany in their struggle against imperialist oppression and war policy.

Solidarity, cohesion and international aid also inspire many other peoples in their struggle and protect them against the onslaughts of the imperialist forces.

Unity and cohesion are the fighting means with which all the peoples of the world can frustrate the execution of the imperialist plans aimed at unleashing a thermonuclear war and new war adventures in Europe, Asia, Africa or America.

* * *

These questions were in the focus of interest at the International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. Conscious of their historic responsibility these parties have called on all Communists, all opponents of imperialism, all who are prepared to stand up for peace, freedom and progress to struggle in unity, and have proposed a platform for united action.

Above all, it is necessary to help the heroic Vietnamese people in every way in order to ensure their earliest possible victory.

Now as before, united action must be directed at the struggle against the danger of war, the struggle for world peace. The defense of peace is inseparably connected with the struggle for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

It is urgently necessary to prevent a thermonuclear war. Therefore, no further proliferation of nuclear weapons must be permitted. Therefore, all efforts must be concentrated on banning nuclear weapons and other means of mass extermination.

It is necessary to fight against militarism, for an end to the arms race and for general disarmament.

The interests of world peace demand that the military blocs be dissolved and that a system of collective security in Europe be established, that the revanchist and militarist forces in West Germany which rely on the aggressive NATO bloc be restrained.

Imperialism must be prevented by mutual effort from undertaking new aggressions, unleashing local wars or intervening

in other ways in any part of the world.

Our planet must be completely and finally purged of the horrors of colonialism.

It is necessary to intensify the struggle against the danger of fascism and to stand up decisively against the advance of neofascism.

All honest people in the world must unite their efforts in the struggle against the inhuman ideology and practice of racism.

The interests of the struggle against imperialism demand thorough and consistent action for the democratization of all aspects of social life.

On this basis the Communist parties appeal for discussions on the above-mentioned problems, for agreed joint actions which will unite the popular masses into a power which will determine the course of historical development and carry out the sentence on imperialism.

The Communist parties do not disguise the fact that the struggle against imperialism is long, hard and strenuous. Bitter class struggles are to be reckoned with in future. It is necessary to intensify the offensive against the positions of imperialism and internal reaction. The victory of the revolutionary and progressive forces is inevitable.

Therefore the Communist parties appeal:

"Peoples of the Socialist countries, working people and all democratic forces in the countries of capitalism, peoples who have won liberation and oppressed peoples: Unite in joint struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and Socialism!"

On the relevance of Leninism today

LUBOMIR STROUGAL

Next year the peoples of the world and Communists of all countries will be celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Preparations for the jubilee are under way in our Party and country too. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia arose under the influence of the epochal victory of Leninism and the Great October Socialist Revolution. It grew and developed into an increasingly powerful political force by consistently following Lenin's principles, and by its members assimilating Lenin's revolutionary doctrine and the experience of the Bolshevik Party. Led by their Marxist-Leninist Party, the Czechoslovak people carried out a national-democratic and socialist revolution and laid the foundations of socialist society.

In commemorating the Lenin centenary we shall be demonstrating our fidelity to Lenin's ideas, principles and methods, and continuing his revolutionary and political work. Events in the world of today underline the topicality of Leninism.

In these past months the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has gone through a difficult period. Time and again we were faced with extremely grave situations. Crises and conflict developments and mounting political tension could easily have led to disastrous results. And now, as we begin to analyze the experience of this period, which has cost us so dear, we are led to the inescapable conclusion that our greatest difficulties were caused by violation of the fundamental principles enunciated by Lenin. Conversely, reliance on these principles, on Lenin's policy and theory, brought success. Thus, in the most complex situations the Czechoslovak Communists found fresh proof of the efficacy of Lenin's ideas.

We know only too well that it is easier to eulogize Lenin than to learn from him, to apply his doctrine to our present problems. For epitomized in Leninism is a whole revolutionary era. The very substance of Leninism is a dialectical approach to reality, ability to analyze and assess social movements and to take a correct political attitude on pressing problems.

It is characteristic of Lenin that he not only explained, but critically analyzed social development, including the experience of the Party and movement in his own country. He pointed to mistakes and shortcomings, calling things by their right names, never seeking to present reverses as victories or vice versa. He was always outspoken, never fearing that a critical appraisal of the past, even of the recent past, would harm the Party or the revolution. His striving for an objective picture of reality and his scientific approach to the search for truth, were part of his Communist partisanship. He was always aware that only a correct, undistorted analysis of the past, and the lessons to be drawn from it, help to resolve problems of the present.

UPHOLDING LENINISM AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

The fight against the opportunists is inconceivable without a principled and uncompromising polemic with their theoretical propositions and incorrect practice. The Czechoslovak Communist Party is engaged in an active struggle against opportunism which, due to our passivity and inadequate ideological work, has latterly gained currency in our public life.

The Party does not regard this fight as centered only on criticism of erroneous

views. For the Communists must be the first to advance positive solutions of new problems and back them up with practical measures.

We believe we should more actively draw on everything in the Lenin heritage that can help us overcome shortcomings and mistakes in the building of socialism and the negative features which, unfortunately, attended our policy after January 1968.

Experience has shown that for us the most relevant element is Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution, the socialist state and the revolutionary party. And this theory must be consistently developed and upheld against every kind of opportunism. Defense of the basic Marxist-Leninist principles is not a sign of dogmatism, as our opponents try to make out. These principles have not been invalidated by the march of history. Just the opposite — in Czechoslovakia as in all other countries, they have been confirmed by the realities of social development.

In particular, our experience has fully confirmed the class essence of the socialist revolution and socialist society. Though more than 20 years have passed since February 1948 and there are no longer antagonistic classes in our country, the world remains divided along class lines, and bourgeois ideology and alien ideas—if they are not rebuffed — can influence people's thinking and actions. In fact, in some circumstances they can become a force jeopardizing the gains of socialism. Recent events have forcefully brought this home to Czechoslovak Communists.

The doctrine of the Communist Party, its leading role in the revolution and in building socialism, is an important component of Leninism. The leading role of the Party and democratic centralism are basic characteristics of socialism.

Czechoslovakia's socialist development has demonstrated the need to strengthen the Party's role in building socialism and in the political and ideological guidance of society. Any weakening of this role is fraught with grave consequences, for it opens the floodgates to disorganization and ideological and political chaos, and it is on this that the anti-socialist forces are banking.

Lenin teaches us that the Party is strong when it relies on the masses and has the confidence of the working people. Accordingly, our Party will continue to shape its policy on the premise that it draws its strength and influence chiefly from the

voluntary and conscious support of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. Guided by its scientific understanding of social life, and with full account of past experience and of our long-range aims and the realistic possibilities of their achievement, the Party is working out a political line based on the interests of the working people. This implies uniting and coordinating the efforts of all other public organizations, uninterrupted political, organizational, cadre and educational work to foster socialist convictions and draw the people into active participation in carrying out Party policy.

Prior to and shortly after January 1968, some leaders (mostly exponents and vehicles of Right-wing opportunism and liberalism) were pretty outspoken in denying the role of the working class, which in their view had become a "manipulated mass" which, corrupted by privileges, had forfeited the right to play a major role. That role, they contended, now belonged to a "spiritual elite."

Having become convinced, in the course of the post-January developments, that they could not achieve their aims through the intelligentsia alone, these leaders used the mass media in an attempt to win over the workers through opportunist slogans. They banked on nationalism, and sought to discredit the Party by such demagogic slogans as "freedom, democracy and humanism," to which they imparted a supra-class meaning totally divorced from reality. We have to admit that the Party, affected as it was by bureaucratic ossification, did not resolutely combat those views. Part of the working class was taken in by this propaganda, although its healthy core remained true to its class and internationalist convictions. Our Party is doing everything to enable the workers to grasp, as quickly as possible, the real significance of the January changes and to see opportunism in its true colors. We know that in the factories the real Communists, those who resolutely countered Right opportunism, make up the majority of Party membership. They are, now as in the past, the guarantee that the Party will carry through its Marxist-Leninist policy.

STRENGTHENING UNITY OF THE PARTY AND RAISING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ITS MEMBERS

For the Party to fulfill its leading role, there must be a concerted effort by the

entire membership and every branch on all sectors of the political and labor front.

That is the appeal that has come from the recent Central Committee meetings. Their decisions are designed to strengthen the Party — an imperative need, for at present the Party, ideologically disunited, is going through a very complex process of differentiation and restoration of unity. Nor is it only a matter of contradictions between the two extremes—Right opportunism and dogmatic sectarianism. The main contradiction is between a motley collection of non-Marxist views and principles on the one hand, and a constructive Marxist-Leninist approach to the country's problems, on the other.

This was reflected in the work of the Party's leading bodies, where there were grave shortcomings. That is why the April and May (1969) Central Committee meetings stated that their strengthening was the chief task in consolidating the Party.

What caused these negative aspects in the pre-January and post-January periods has still to be thoroughly analyzed. But the recent meetings established that part of the responsibility lies with the leadership, in which there were grave infractions of the Leninist principles of Party work and guidance, and of unity of word and deed.

The struggle against revision of Marxism-Leninism is an inseparable element of the Party's leading role. In our conditions, this involves a struggle against the anti-socialist forces in society and against Right-wing opportunism in the Party as the chief danger, but also against sectarian-dogmatic tendencies.

Lenin's principled polemic with opponents of Marxism-Leninism was based on the conviction that Marxism was the workers' sole spiritual weapon in fighting capitalism, for genuine freedom and democracy, for socialism.

And Lenin was irreconcilable in upholding Marxism. He sharply denounced those who would surrender the working class and working people to the prejudices of petty-bourgeois ideology, and, consequently, to the policy of bourgeois parties, particularly when this was done on the pretext of enriching Marxism. He had a burning hatred of opportunism — that policy of unprincipled adaptation to spontaneous pressures, when helplessness and lack of class and revolutionary consciousness are held up as virtues, playing up to transitory sentiment is presented as a progressive

attitude and retreat from revolutionary principles as freedom of thought, and the utmost tolerance is shown for avowed anti-socialists.

Genuine Marxist-Leninists must act in accordance with genuine class interests, and not be carried away by fleeting sentiments. The Party's task, Lenin pointed out, is "not to serve the working-class movement passively at each of its separate stages, but to represent the interests of the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aim and its political tasks, and to safeguard its political and ideological independence" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 368).

The Right opportunists in our Party and the anti-socialist forces in society invoked, and still invoke, all manner of slogans and tactics to prevent implementation of Party decisions. And if our socialist development is to continue, the platform of the Right wing must be demolished, their tactics exposed, and the basic functions of the Party re-established.

Hence, strengthening the Party's Marxist and class character does not presuppose unprincipled merger of irreconcilable positions to the detriment of genuine Marxist-Leninist unity. Ideological unity and united action in the Party presuppose acceptance of the fundamental principles and policies set out in the recent Party resolutions.

This implies, in particular, realization of the following section of the November (1968) Central Committee resolution: "Party organs and organizations must have the courage unhesitatingly to dissociate themselves from those who do not want to abide by the Party's views and are weakening its unity and viability."

The Party will not be weakened by parting company with those who, despite endless persuasion, cling to their ideologically hostile platform and systematically disregard, and even oppose, Party policy, though hypocritically endorsing it. Those who do not, or cannot, submit to the majority, who think that the Party Rules do not apply to them, that the Rules and Party discipline are merely figments of sectarian and dogmatic thinking, men with no conscientious feeling of responsibility to the Party—people of this type have no place in our ranks. We would be forfeiting our right to call ourselves a Communist Party if we failed resolutely to uphold the fundamental principles of Party structure and activity as set out in the Rules.

The Party leadership is only now work-

ing out new methods that will enable it to utilize all the positive aspects of the January (1968) plenum and of the post-January experience. The Party and the public must have full clarity on these issues, all the more so since consistent implementation of the National Front policy and last year's changes in our mass organizations have injected several new factors with which we have to reckon.

By concretizing the principles of the Party's leading role we will also be solving the problem of the so-called autonomy of the mass organizations. In a sense this applies also to the state organs. If we accept that the Party must respect the specificity of these organizations, must not supersede or duplicate them, then it must provide conditions to promote their functioning and initiative. It is along these lines that the Party must orient the Communists working in these organizations, on the understanding, however, that they are not autonomous of the Party. In deciding major problems they must be guided by Party directives, drawn up after consultation with them. Wherever they work, they are always Party members and bear their full responsibility to the Party.

LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY AND THE MASS MEDIA

The mass media play a very important part in strengthening the Party, assuring its unity and viability on a principled basis, normalizing the situation and facilitating continued social development. For several months now the Central Committee has been critically reviewing the work of journalists, many of whom, far from supporting, actively opposed Party policy and contributed to the atmosphere of uncertainty and scepticism.

We know how highly Lenin regarded the role of the press and its organizational and ideological functions. He repeatedly emphasized that the Party could not exist, let alone grow, without its own press. He described the press as "the core and foundation of political organization" (Vol. 32, p. 505).

For us, Czechoslovak Communists, the crucial task today is to re-establish the Party's full and effective ideological control of the press, especially the Party press, and assure its complete and active support in carrying out Party decisions.

After the January (1968) plenum the Party repeatedly stated that it would exer-

cise its leading role primarily through its ideological and political influence. Unfortunately, events were to create a situation in which most leading positions in the press, television and broadcasting were held by men—many of them Party members—who refused to abide by Central Committee decisions. Formal acceptance of decisions was followed by actions manifestly designed to encourage the free play of political forces.

The press, radio and television extend to every major facet of the country's life. They instil in people's minds definite value judgments and set behavioral and action patterns. The Party cannot be indifferent to what judgments and what patterns these are, and to what extent they conform to the Party's aims. The Party cannot, therefore, afford to relax its control in this area, nor to give way to demagogic slogans of absolute freedom of speech, leaving the mass media in the hands of anonymous groups to further their own ends by manipulating public opinion and disseminating ideas and concepts at odds with the Party. The Party will always endeavor actively to influence the mass media. And responsibility for this rests with Communists managing or working in state publishing houses and state-owned broadcasting, television, newspapers and magazines.

After a number of crisis situations—for which the mass media were largely responsible—we now have a process of differentiation among journalists. The Party leadership supports the group of Communist journalists who fully accept Party policy and have dissociated themselves from the dubious activity of some publicists. Honest journalists feel that fomenting of nationalist passions and political tension, anti-Soviet attacks and insinuations, can only lead our society into an impasse, and that in such cases professional solidarity runs counter to Party conscience and discipline.

We are convinced that the majority of Communist journalists will understand and support the measures we have taken to assure smooth development and political consolidation.

FOR PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

All manner of critics, both among the bourgeoisie and in the workers' movement, have been at pains to prove that Leninism is a purely Russian phenomenon, applicable only in economically backward countries.

That was the reasoning of some Czech politicians in "assessing" and explaining the success of the Soviet revolution. Leninism, they contended, had no role in Czechoslovakia. But try as they did, they could not refute Leninism, nor divert the workers' and Communist movement from applying it to national conditions.

Our Party has always seen Leninism as an integral international theory. It accepts Leninism as a system of scientific thought and revolutionary practice that has absorbed the finest experience and achievements of the international, and not only Russian, revolutionary movement.

Sharpening of the worldwide class struggle, especially the struggle between the two systems, socialism and imperialism, is a feature of our age.

United action by the world's progressive forces based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is an indispensable precondition for successful resistance to imperialist encroachments. The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties has, doubtlessly, helped towards a correct orientation of the masses by showing them that world imperialism remains the main danger and that they must be prepared for inevitable class battles. Socialism, the international working class, the national-liberation movement and all allied revolutionary forces are the determining force of world development. Imperialism can no longer count on carrying out with impunity its plans for war and aggrandizement.

Social processes in the capitalist world furnish fresh opportunities for extending the social base of working-class alliances with other sections of the people. But we should not discount either concentrated imperialist efforts to weaken the socialist camp, undermine it from within, or the intensified anti-communist offensive in capitalist countries and attempts to influence the masses.

In Czechoslovakia, too, the imperialist forces, aided by Right-wing opportunism, aimed their attack at the very foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Their object was systematically to vitiate the Party's ideological work and blunt class consciousness. The Main Document of the Moscow Meeting of fraternal parties is therefore a most valuable ideological contribution, and will help our Party more vigorously to conduct its counter-offensive and extend its struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Foremost among our pressing problems is that of the relation of the international to the national. In this respect too, we can draw on the Lenin heritage, with its wealth of political experience and ideas, all of which retain their validity.

Our Party is intimately linked with Leninism and the Leninist understanding of internationalism. This is one of our finest traditions. The Party was and remains the only political force in Czechoslovak history capable of combining class and socialist interests with national interests. Our Party has always been animated by Lenin's behest that: "The thing is not to 'proclaim' internationalism, but to be able to be an internationalist in deed, even when times are most trying" (Vol. 24, p. 82).

It is but natural that internationalism should be a basic requirement of Party membership. That principle is understood by every class-conscious worker, as distinct from the nationalistic-minded petty-bourgeois. The worker accepts internationalism as a principle that stems from his own experience and accords with his convictions and interests.

Lenin emphasized this time and again. And he saw a definite link between nationalism and opportunism. For opportunism sets out to reconcile hostile classes, cover up their antagonism and thereby subject the working class to the bourgeoisie. The very logic of opportunism thus leads to nationalism and its justification.

FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES—AN INALIENABLE PART OF PARTY POLICY

We have always considered the attitude towards the Soviet Union to be the principal criterion of internationalism. And after the people's victory over the bourgeoisie, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union became an inalienable part of our home and foreign policy. Learning from the experience of history, our people supported this policy, which the Party reaffirmed in the Action Program and in the resolutions of the November (1968) plenum as the only course answering to the fundamental interests of our people.

There would be no need to dwell on these questions if some of the problems of our relations with the USSR had not been exploited in some quarters to cast doubt on our orientation, and if anti-Soviet ten-

dencies had not played a big part in the general anti-socialist offensive in Czechoslovakia.

Our attitude towards the Soviet Union is determined not only by geography and by security considerations, but above all by the fact that we are Communists and share with our Soviet comrades and the Soviet people common class interests and aims and a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Consistent proletarian internationalism is intrinsic to Party and government policy. Close cooperation with the Soviet Union does not impair, but in fact guarantees, our national sovereignty.

A sincere attitude towards the USSR and the other socialist countries has always been a major criterion of our sincere attitude towards socialism. The Party is determined to put an end to the situation in which anti-socialist trends and the Right-wing opposition forces in the Party incited—with effective assistance from Western propaganda centers—open or veiled anti-Soviet campaigns on the pretext of “defending national interests” and the post-January policy.

The Rights accuse us of abandoning the principle of national sovereignty and of ignoring national specifics. The Party repudiates these charges. Czechoslovak sovereignty, it is convinced, can be guaranteed only in alliance and close cooperation and friendship with the USSR and other socialist countries.

The directives issued by the May (1969) Central Committee meeting say: “We regard the sovereignty of our socialist state and of our Communist Party not only as our inalienable right independently to develop socialist construction in our national conditions, but also as an essential class obligation to defend and strengthen by every available means the power of the working class and working people, and defend and extend the revolutionary gains of socialism. The sovereignty of our socialist state and its international contacts represent an organic entity expressive of our free choice and of our vital interest in building up the might and solidity of the world socialist community.”

The anti-socialist forces exploited inconsistencies in operating the post-January decisions in an attempt to discredit the Soviet Union's home and foreign policy, and to this end they stage-managed some vandalism earlier this year.

True to its policy, the Party is determined to solve the problems that have

arisen in recent times and to work for full normalization of relations between the socialist countries. Any wavering and indecision in this matter would first of all harm our own interests.

The socialist countries must be prepared jointly to defend their socialist gains against imperialist attacks, no matter from what quarter. For socialist solidarity is the earnest of strength of our community, in which Czechoslovakia holds a firm and important place.

These traditions demand from Czechoslovak Communists fidelity to principle—which we so admire in Lenin—consistency and firm convictions. Those responsible for guidance of the state and society must not only proclaim their devotion to Lenin's ideas and methods, but be guided by them in all their work.

THE PARTY'S CONSOLIDATION PROGRAM

The November (1968) plenum was a historic landmark for our Party. It analyzed the positive and negative aspects of the post-January period and charted our course in re-establishing the Party's viability and in rallying the Party and the people around a realistic long-range program.

In the five months and more since the plenum, the Party has gone through a differentiation process in which the attitude of members and branches to the November resolution was tested. The Right opportunists and their inspirers outside the Party were still able to incite campaigns and actions, and to stage a display of verbal fireworks. But the healthy forces in the Party, who accepted the November resolution as a reliable compass and a guide to action, were now better organized. The realization was increasingly taking hold that the first requisite for overcoming the mistakes was re-establishment of the Party's ability to act. And the first step in that direction was to eliminate the differences and indecision in the leadership that were hampering its work. Accordingly, the April (1969) plenum decided to reduce the size of the presidium to make it a more operative body. With this purpose in view, and also to assure unity on the basis of the November resolution, the presidium was reduced from 21 members to 11. Comrade Gustav Husak was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee—his stand during the crisis and his whole career as a devoted Communist showed that he pos-

sessed the qualities of resolute, principled and sustained leadership.

It can be safely said that the April plenum was the end of a chapter in our political development. It led the Party out of ideological instability, put an end to the negation of the Marxist-Leninist principles of democratic centralism, to voluntarist interpretation of the Party's leading role and curtailment of its authority. It signified a return to the consistent application of Leninist norms and principles in the Party's organization and activity.

The May (1969) plenum drew up a detailed plan for the coming period, actually up to the 14th Party Congress. Its directives are a blueprint for the following tasks:

1. Re-establish Party unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the November resolution, and heighten the Party's action ability.

2. Restore the Party's leading role in society, notably in the mass organizations and components of the National Front, in state organizations and in the economic and cultural fields.

3. Overcome the economic difficulties through a series of integrated measures.

4. Strengthen the functions of the state as the organ of power of the working class and working people; overcome anarchistic tendencies in this sphere.

5. Resolve, on a principled basis, all the difficulties in our relations with the fraternal Communist Parties of the USSR and the other socialist countries, for friendship with them is a cardinal principle of Czechoslovak foreign policy.

The crisis affected the entire Party and society, all the interconnected segments of public life. There must therefore be an integrated solution of these problems, and that is the purpose of the recent measures decided upon by the Central Committee.

The May plenum approved certain organizational and cadre measures: six members whose political activity was contrary to Party policy, and who refused to renounce their anti-Party stand, were retired from the Central Committee. F. Kriegal, who made an avowedly anti-Party, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet statement, was retired from the Central Committee and expelled from the Party. Disciplinary action was taken against several other Central Committee members and Party commissions were appointed to investigate the work of several more. In short, the Central Committee is taking steps to

enforce Party discipline in its own ranks. Declarations are being backed by concrete and energetic action, something we waited for in vain after January 1968.

A few weeks after the April plenum proved sufficient for the process of political consolidation to assume an altogether new character. In some areas Party committees critically reviewed their work and made the personnel changes needed to assure unity of views, and there must be such unity if the Party is effectively to carry out its decisions.

The resolute measures in relation to the mass media have, in effect, prevented anti-socialist elements exploiting them to sway public opinion.

The process of uniting the Party on a principled basis and overcoming hostile views, inculcated in members and non-members by months of psychological pressure, will affect Party organizations at all levels. Isolation of Right-wing opportunists is a pre-condition for overcoming the grave political disorientation of many members, for a successful ideological offensive. Parallel with exposing and criticizing opportunist views and conceptions, the Party will also use organizational measures against those who refuse to understand and accept its policy. This, however, does not signify a return to old procedures, with their violations of socialist legality. There will be a careful, comradely approach aimed at separating the misled from the initiators, from those who persistently cling to wrong views. The point and purpose of this ideological and political struggle—and this follows from the May plenum decisions—is to help the majority of honest Party members to return to the positions of Marxism-Leninism, and win over the majority of the people for conscious support of the Party.

Intensive political work among diverse sections and groups of the population lies ahead. For, to take one example, the youth, and more particularly the student youth, were for several months strongly influenced by alien ideologies, nationalist and anti-socialist views, and often gave way to sensational rumors.

Completing political consolidation is a priority task without which we cannot concentrate the attention of the entire Party on crucial economic and other problems.

In the relatively short period since the April plenum we have done much to promote better understanding with our so-

cialist allies. Our contacts with leaders of fraternal parties and socialist countries laid the groundwork for the revival of close cooperation. These are auguries that in the coming months, given persevering effort, we shall go a long way towards stabilizing the situation.

The Party has approved the April and May plenum decisions and has voiced full support for and confidence in the new leadership, especially Comrade Husak.

LEARNING FROM LENIN

Another Lenin trait that has a special relevance for us was his talent as an organizer, his ability to concentrate and direct the efforts of the Party. A great revolutionary, Lenin never understood revolution merely as destruction of the old. For him, revolution always meant building the new, creating a new, higher quality. And he repeatedly emphasized that this was possible only through painstaking and systematic work. We have only to recall his description of the path of the world socialist revolution upon which Russia had set out: "March forward along that road, undismayed by defeats, lay the firm foundation of socialist society stone by stone, work with might and main to establish discipline and self-discipline, consolidate everywhere organization, order, efficiency, and the harmonious cooperation of all the forces of the people, introduce comprehensive accounting of and control over production and distribution" (Vol. 27, p. 161).

What we need in Czechoslovakia is this day-to-day painstaking work to translate

into practice the ideas of January and the decisions of Central Committee plenums.

The past months have convinced us—in most cases, unfortunately, by negative examples—how important it is to take cognizance of the laws governing the building of socialism, for they are a generalization of the experience of many socialist countries. And that experience shows that the Communist Party and the socialist state must exert an increasing influence on the economy, culture, science, ideology—in short, on all aspects of the country's life. This enhances the importance of efficient functioning of the Party and state apparatus, the need for a higher quality of leadership, for a more operative system of information that will help towards optimal solutions. Under present conditions, it is also necessary to heighten discipline in the Party and society. But this does not mean reverting to old methods and patterns. On the contrary, it presupposes a more rational leadership pattern, flexible reaction to changing conditions and leaving the field open to men able and willing to assume full responsibility for attaining our goals.

Czechoslovak Communists are fully determined to rectify the mistakes committed in the process initiated in January 1968. And in this, systematic and profound study of the Lenin heritage will be of immense help.

We shall learn from Lenin the art of transmuting the boldest ideas into organized effort, complemented by constant control and, when necessary, adjustment, at every stage of our road to socialism and communism.

The force of Lenin's arguments

RODOLFO GHIOLDI

Continuing our reminiscences about Vladimir Ilyich Lenin by veterans of the international working-class movement, we print in this issue the recollections of Rodolfo Ghioldi, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Argentina, who represented his party at the Third Congress of the Communist International.

The enlarged plenary meetings of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and its congresses, an intrinsic part of its theoretical, political and revolutionary work, were valuable contributions to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism. The Third Congress, held in Moscow in July 1921 and attended by representatives from 52 countries, was of particular significance, its basic ideas having been elaborated by Lenin. It was held under the watchword "To the Masses!" which became the starting point of the Leninist united-front tactics, and subsequently the militant line of the parties affiliated to the Comintern. Later, when the rise of fascism and the danger of war loomed large, the Seventh Congress defined the new and urgent need for united action. The need to promote and develop such action is no less urgent today when the socialist world system—which is decisively influencing the course of world events—the working class of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement form the united front of anti-imperialist struggle whose success depends on the cohesion of the alliance of these three streams.

The Third Congress took place at a time when the international situation was characterized by a certain pickup on the capitalist world market and by the ebb of revolution in Europe. This opened the door to reformism with all its consequent adverse effects on the mass movement. Some Leftist groups of the Communist

world movement, however, failed to see or simply denied that any such processes were under way.

The Soviet Republic was grappling with incredible difficulties at the time, the aftermath of the imperialist war, of the foreign military intervention and the civil war, while a terrible drought added to the difficulties.

During the civil war and the military intervention Soviet Russia was compelled to pursue a policy of "war-time communism." Then came the years of rehabilitation. To preserve the alliance of workers and peasants as the guarantee of the revolution's gains and the basis for building socialism this alliance had to be placed on a firm economic foundation. Lenin charted a new economic policy (NEP). Discussing the idea at the Tenth Party Congress he explained that "war communism" had been necessitated by the specific conditions in Russia and was not a hard and fast rule.

The Party also had to contend with the situation caused by the Kronstadt mutiny, to combat the slogan, "Soviets without the Bolsheviks," supported by Milyukov, one of the leaders of the counter-revolution. Western bourgeois propaganda for its part depicted the Kronstadt revolt as a kind of "people's revolution." (It is noteworthy that today too counter-revolution dons the mantle of "democratic" and "humane" socialism. In all cases it is a question, as a rule, of "socialism" without

Marxism-Leninism, of internationalism without the CPSU.)

Our Party, originally known as the International Socialist Party, participated in the work of the Third Congress. Formed in January 1918 at the time of the internationalist struggle waged by the Marxists in the Socialist Party during the First World War, it accepted at its first, extraordinary congress in December 1920 the 21 conditions of affiliation to the Comintern and became known as the Communist Party of Argentina. Our participation in the Third Congress and our close ties with the Comintern in general, were of tremendous importance for our Party which, although it stood on internationalist positions from its very inception, had still to assimilate the lessons of Bolshevism. The mass movement in the country, which had gained momentum under the impact of the October Revolution, spread far and wide: strikes and peasant actions became the order of the day, a "university revolution" (1918) swept the country, a process for democracy and against the oligarchy got under way, the first steps were taken towards a worker-peasant alliance with the conclusion of the Agreement on Unity between the Regional Labor Federation of Argentina (Tenth Congress) and the Agrarian Federation of Argentina.

The nascent Communist movement on the Latin American continent had to contend with national bourgeois slogans, reformist ideas and trends, such as Apraism, which sought to gain leadership of the masses and divert them from Marxism-Leninism. In its own ranks the Party had to combat two deviations: the liquidators who were eager to return to the fold of the Socialist Party, and the revolutionary phrasemongers who ignored the mass movement and indulged in pure subjectivism.

The Third Congress agenda included several important items, among them assessment of the uprising in Central Germany and Lenin's report on the tactics of the RCP(B). Both items attracted the attention of the delegates, the first in view of the role of the Communist Party of Germany and the differences in its ranks and the second in view of the international and internal situation of the Soviet government.

It was at this congress that I saw and heard Lenin for the first time. Until then I had been familiar with only some of his works. Like the other delegates I was great-

ly impressed by his report, his ability to see the essential aspects of the question, to express exactly in a few words the basic trend in future developments, to give a clear revolutionary perspective.

In his report Lenin stressed that the imperialist war of 1914-18 and the victory of the Soviets in Russia were turning the masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries "into an active factor in world politics." He also reminded the foreign delegates that the "main task now . . . is properly to determine and carry out the measures necessary to lead the peasantry, establish a firm alliance with them, and achieve the gradual transition in a series of gradual stages, to large-scale, socialized, mechanized agriculture." Lenin stressed that a large-scale industry, capable of reorganizing agriculture and based on electrification of the whole country, would provide the material basis of socialism.

The central issue debated at the congress was the draft theses on the tactics of the Comintern, which was opposed by some of the European delegates. In essence, the theses pinpointed the need to work among the masses, to win the majority of the working class. The Leftist groups disagreed. The matter was settled by Lenin's trenchant speech. Speaking forthrightly about "Left stupidities" he said that "we Russians are already sick and tired of these Leftist phrases." In the conditions existing at the time the fight to win the majority could not be neglected. Answering those who did not think this was necessary Lenin said that anyone who does not understand that "we must win the majority of the working class is lost to the Communist movement; he will never learn anything if he has failed to learn that much during the three years of the great revolution."

Lenin returned to this idea again and again in his speech. He said that nowhere had the Communist parties actually taken "into their hands leadership of the majority of the working class in their revolutionary struggle" and that even the German Communist Party, one of the best, did not have the majority on its side. When the Left advanced a "theory of revolutionary action," Lenin pointed to the senselessness of posing the question in such a manner. Taking issue with those who justified their stand on the grounds that the Bolsheviks had won power even though they had been a small party Lenin said: "In Russia, we were a small party, but we had

with us in addition the majority of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country. Do you have anything of that sort? We had with us almost half the army, which then numbered at least ten million men. Do you really have the majority of the army behind you?" He went on to say that the revolution was victorious in Russia because the first step was "to create a real Communist Party" which had on its side "the indisputed majority of the working class." He admitted that a small party can be victorious, "but to win, we must have the sympathy of the masses," meaning the majority of the working class, the majority of the exploited rural population. He summed up these ideas in his letter of August 14, 1921 to the German Communists: "Our most important task is to win the majority of the proletariat to our side."

These ideas expressed by Lenin at the Third Congress and contained in his classic *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, are valid to this day.

The same is true of the Third Congress's position with regard to copying mechanically the specific forms of the October Revolution. Some party leaders had accused the Bolsheviks of wanting everyone to imitate them. Replying to one of them, Serrati, Lenin said: "We want the very opposite . . . The revolution in Italy will run a different course from that in Russia." The Comintern would never demand that the Italian workers should imitate the Russians.

Charges of this sort against the RCP(B) had nothing in common with the truth, because what distinguishes Leninism is its insistence that reality be approached concretely. Lenin formulated this as follows in 1916: ". . . variety will manifest itself also in the path mankind will follow from the imperialism of today to the socialist revolution of tomorrow. All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70).

In his message to Bela Kun in 1919, Lenin counselled him to bear this in mind. Lenin noted that the Hungarian revolution had its specific features. He advised the Communists of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Ar-

menia, Daghestan and the Mountain Republic: "Do not copy our tactics, but analyze the reasons for their peculiar features, the conditions that gave rise to them, and their results; go beyond the letter, and apply the spirit, the essence of the lessons of the 1917-21 experience."

Taking issue with Lazzari who declared that the Bolsheviks did not take into account the specific features of Italy, Lenin replied that reference to specific features was in this case merely a cover for Menshevism. Over-exaggeration of local features can only deflect from the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, which are common for all Communist parties in all countries. It is legitimate, even more, essential, to take into account the specifics of a country, or the conditions in which the Party works, in order to apply the general laws of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete situation. To oppose the specific conditions to these laws is to violate or ignore the latter. As Lenin noted, "fundamental revolutionary principles must be adapted to the specific conditions in the various countries."

Pretending fidelity to national features the revisionists reject Marxism-Leninism as a general concept. When they claim that there are as many models of socialism as there are countries, they are thereby trying to negate the Marxist-Leninist criterion which applies to all parties and countries. Revisionism distorts the dialectical connection between the national and the international.

The international significance of Bolshevism lies in the fact that it investigated the phenomena of capitalism's imperialist phase and elaborated the propositions which are today the heritage of Marxist-Leninists. Historically, the Bolshevik Party was the first to break decisively with the Second International. It elaborated the concept of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the hegemony of the proletariat, tackled the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism and resolved it, established the basic principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin explained that his *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder* had as its object to apply to Western Europe what history and the contemporary tactics of Bolshevism consider can and must be applied to all parts of the world. While always being mindful of national features, Lenin persistently explained the international significance of Bolshevism.

At the Second Congress of the Comintern Lenin said that "the theses on the questions of the fundamental tasks of the Communist International have been published in all languages and contain nothing that is materially new (particularly to the Russian comrades). That is because, in a considerable measure, they extend several of the main features of our revolutionary experience and the lessons of our revolutionary movement to a number of Western countries, to Western Europe" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 215). In his *Left-Wing Communism* he wrote: "We now possess quite considerable international experience, which shows very definitely that certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international . . . At the present moment in history, however, it is the Russian model that reveals to *all* countries something—and something highly significant—of their near and inevitable future." "Experience has proved that, on certain very important questions of the proletarian revolution, *all* countries will inevitably have to do what Russia has done" (*Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22, 31).

The Comintern, and especially its Third Congress, indisputably played a significant role in internationalizing Bolshevism. It is undoubtedly one of the sources of the widespread diffusion of Marxism-Leninism.

Proletarian internationalism is an essential feature of the Marxist-Leninist movement and international solidarity is, as before, one of the mainstays of the Communist world movement. Lenin spoke of this time and again. In 1918, that grim year for the Russian working class, he said: "The Russian workers will understand that very soon they will have to make the greatest sacrifices to the cause of internationalism. . . . Let us show that the Russian worker is capable of working much harder, of fighting and dying much more self-sacrificingly when the world workers' revolution is at stake, as well as the Russian revolution" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, pp. 102-103). The entire history of the

CPSU confirms this. Today the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America who have achieved independence, or are still battling for it, receive substantial disinterested economic, technical and military aid from the Soviet Union.

With the revolutionary strengthening of the Communist parties and the spread of their influence among the masses there was no longer any need for the Comintern, it having accomplished its mission. This should not be interpreted as the cessation of contacts between the parties. They have evolved new forms of communication, chiefly in the form of bilateral and multilateral meetings. The international conferences of fraternal parties are of particular importance now. It goes without saying that Marxist-Leninists, the exponents of an advanced theory, must always keep abreast of the problems projected by life. International unity of the Communist movement is a sure guarantee of the success of the fight against imperialism and war. And those who put obstacles in the way of this unity, or try to belittle its significance, are only playing into the hands of the enemy. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and solid unity of the Communist movement are the supreme duty of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Only two parties of the Latin American continent, the Mexican and the Argentinian, were represented at the Third Congress. Forty-eight years later, the continent presents an entirely different picture. There are now experienced and tempered Communist parties in all the countries, many of them with powerful organizations and deep roots in the masses. The greatest event in the history of Latin America in the last decade has been the glorious Cuban revolution which has created a socialist state next door to the citadel of world imperialism.

Under different conditions and in different ways the Latin American Communist parties are making their contribution to world peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, thereby carrying out the behests of the great Lenin.

Twenty-five years of the Polish People's Republic

ZENON KLISZKO

I.

The new, socialist era in Poland's history ushered in by the Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, issued on July 22, 1944 from Lublin, the first Polish soil liberated by the Soviet and Polish Armies, was the logical continuation of the long struggle waged by our working class and its Party.

Organic unity of national and social aims was a distinctive feature of the Polish revolution. That synthesis had always been central to our workers' movement—to the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, the Left Socialist Party and the Communist Party—the forerunners of the Polish Workers' Party that headed the people in their fight for emancipation.

The PWP was able to evolve a new program in which were harmoniously combined Poland's national aspirations with the class aims of her working people. Social liberation, the Party held, presupposed a struggle to rescue the people from the barbarous Nazi occupation and re-establish Poland's statehood. And that struggle could be successfully waged only side by side with the world's first socialist state, whose army was smashing the powerful Hitler war machine and bringing freedom to the peoples of Europe. The march of events conclusively confirmed this strategy of the Polish revolutionary Left.

Founded and led by the Workers' Party, the guerrilla forces operating on occupied territory and the Polish Army formed in the Soviet Union enabled our country to make a meaningful contribution to victory over Nazi Germany.

Poland was resurrected as a country ruled by her people. Created 25 years ago, people's rule has become the firm guarantee of national freedom and, at the same time, the chief instrument of our social revolution.

The ideological and political aims of our people's democratic revolution are identical with those of the Great October Revolution and of the people's democratic revolutions in other European countries. Our revolution followed the general laws enunciated by Lenin, but, at the same time, accorded with Poland's specific conditions and traditions. Revolutionary class aims merged with the people's struggle against the Nazi invader.

Guided by the general Leninist principles and creatively applying them to concrete situations, the PWP was able to elaborate and carry out a program that placed power in the hands of the working people, headed by the industrial working class and its Party. There was thus created a state of People's Democracy and Poland set out on the building of socialism.

Resurrected in the new, just frontiers, Poland wrought fundamental socialist transformations. The organization of a machinery of state of a new type, new both in form and content and designed to serve the national and class aims of socialist construction; revolutionary agrarian reform; nationalization of large-scale and medium industry, which took the economy out of the capitalist orbit; a thoroughgoing revolution in education and culture; consolidation of our new western frontiers; fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries—all this ra-

dically changed Poland and determined her new role in the world.

Addressing the 5th Congress of the United Workers' Party, Comrade Gomulka said: "For nearly a quarter of a century now, our Party, the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and working people, has guided the development of People's Poland. Everything achieved by our people in these years by their devoted labor, all the permanent gains made by our country, her new and just social system, her new and inviolable frontiers, her rapid and economic and cultural progress, our alliance with the fraternal socialist countries—all are intimately associated with our Party and its leading role in the life of our people and in building socialism."

II.

The new social structure, the result of revolutionary transformations, developed in the process of building socialism. This process proceeded amidst clashes with the old world, old views and traditions, and the norms and values inherited from the past. For even when the exploiting classes are deprived of their material base, this does not automatically erase bourgeois ideology from people's minds. More, in definite conditions the enemies of socialism can use people politically and ideologically to undermine the foundations of the new system.

In recent years diverse anti-socialist trends have united on a revisionist platform. Revisionism should be seen in the context of capitalism's ideological offensive, much of which is directed from Western psychological warfare centers.

In its consistent work of re-educating society in a socialist spirit, the Party directs the process of building and strengthening the people's state and its planned economy to assure effective utilization of all material resources for dynamic development. Socialist democracy furnishes the socio-economic guarantees of genuine rule by the people. It harmoniously combines centralism with democracy, centralized directives with initiative from below, public discipline with a large measure of popular self-management. Socialist democracy makes for economic and cultural progress, consolidates the new social relations and promotes mass activity.

While allowing the broadest and direct participation of the masses in the administration of the state, socialist democracy

cannot allow freedom for hostile forces.

"The free play of political forces and competition of diverse parties," the theses for the fifth PUWP Congress said, "would unite the anti-socialist forces around opposition parties. This could generate uncontrolled demagogy, immobilize our social forces and cause anarchy in political and economic life. And this, in turn, would inevitably lead to deep-going economic dislocation, the squandering of social energy on futile internecine struggles, would slacken our dynamic economic and cultural development."

Our Party is the leading force in our socialist state. It has registered especially big achievements in the past twelve years, after the Eighth Central Committee plenum in 1956 overcame the dogmatic and sectarian mistakes that hampered our work for several years.

The Party now has more than 2,000,000 members and candidate-members. Its influence extends to every part of the population and, primarily, of course, to the working class. To quote Comrade Gomulka: "Our Party has its main base among the workers, the men and women of labor; they are the living source of our political strength." The influx of new members, which Lenin regarded as the chief indicator of mass support, has made a more youthful Party and improved its social composition. More than 700,000 joined the Party between the Fourth and Fifth congresses (1964-1968). This mass character, plus the lower average age, is, in our view, a tremendous potential of the Party's political and ideological strength. But if that potential is to be correctly used we must raise the level of ideological and political work, give all Party members a Marxist-Leninist training, instil a strong sense of duty, as demanded by the Party Rules.

The PUWP works in close coordination with the fraternal Peasant and Democratic Parties, both of which have an active share in solving the country's problems. Political activity is on a much higher plane. The National Unity Front now has a wider base, bringing together Party and non-Party people, all patriots who, regardless of religion or political past, want to share in building the new Poland.

The bigger role of the Sejm, the supreme organ of state power, and the steady widening of its legislative and control functions is an important factor in developing socialist democracy. The time of government by decree has gone, and the

country lives by the laws enacted by the Sejm. Sejm committees are instrumental both in drafting legislation and exercising parliamentary control of the government. The deputies maintain close ties with their constituencies and with the local People's Councils. This, and greater initiative by deputies, have made for a more active Sejm.

Socialist legality, an essential element of socialist democracy, rests on the firm foundation of legislative acts subjected to wide discussion in the Sejm and among the public, with the result that legal norms now conform to our socialist social relations. The citizen enjoys full rights and civic guarantees. Encroachments on public property and violations of legal norms are diminishing. Observance of law and civic duties create the foundation of public discipline.

The growing role of representative institutions and self-managing public organizations is a distinguishing feature of our socialist democracy. The People's Councils, in full control in their own areas, enjoy wider authority and have more means at their command. Their members and committees have wider functions, and there is a closer link with the people.

The linkage between government and people was demonstrated in the June 1 parliamentary and local elections, which resulted in an impressive victory for the Popular Unity Front; the people voted their unreserved approval of our program of continued socialist progress.

The system of worker self-management has become more effective, too. Factory self-management conferences are a valuable instrument of worker participation in directing industry. And this method will be carried a long step further with the completion of the present planning and management reform, which allows enterprises much more initiative.

We can also speak of increasing activity by peasants' self-management organizations. This applies to rural People's Councils and various social and economic peasant organizations, which exert a strong influence on rural affairs. The cooperatives, "farmer associations" and similar bodies, bring the people into direct participation in local policy-making and create the conditions for further social changes in agriculture in line with our agrarian policy.

The trade unions now have a more important organizational and educational role. Their work in the economic field goes

hand in hand with safeguarding and improving the workers' conditions.

The youth movement is now stronger, and its organizational forms fit the specific requirements of different groups of the young generation, but also its general interests, which are inseparably linked with continued socialist construction. Socialist democracy offers ample room for a wide range of social and cultural organizations.

All these forms of democracy are strengthened and complemented by comprehensive public initiative, in which we have striking confirmation of Lenin's prediction that socialism would encourage and stimulate differing forms of selfless activity for the benefit of society. Much is accomplished also by community initiative in building schools, cultural centers, parks, etc., by voluntary labor and funds. Last but not least, mention should be made of tenants' organizations, now our organizational base in residential areas, the Neighborhood Courts and the arbitration commissions working in conjunction with them.

We follow the Lenin counsel that the economic results of socialist construction and the level of socialist democracy exert a powerful impact on the cultural level of the people. Accordingly, the Party and government have from the very start made a special effort to expand public education.

Before 1939, Poland had one of the highest illiteracy rates in Europe—only 14 per cent went beyond the four-year primary school. Today, 81 per cent of 8-year school graduates continue their education. The number of university students is six times, the number of vocational-school pupils seven times, and secondary school attendance double the pre-war figure. No less than 140,000 college-trained specialists and about one million with specialized secondary school training have found jobs in industry and agriculture since 1965.

Culture has been brought within the reach of millions, and not only "passively," for the people are adding to the wealth of our national socialist culture through the expanding network of clubs, art circles, etc. And amateur art is a very valuable complement to professional art. The number of radio and TV sets (the latter now total over 3,000,000) increases from year to year. Poland holds fifth place in Europe in per capita newspaper circulation and book sales.

Recent years have seen a cultural renaissance in regions which before were

considered hopelessly backward. Industrialization and urbanization, plus deep-going changes in rural life, are gradually levelling out cultural standards between town and country. Another significant process is the gradual obliteration of the difference between physical and mental work. The paid-holiday reform now being carried out in pursuance of a Fifth Party Congress decision is a long step towards equalizing the social amenities enjoyed by factory and white-collar workers. Now, all persons with 10 years' seniority (and this includes vocational training) are entitled to a month's paid holiday.

This policy of equalizing the rights and privileges of all the people by extending them is, perhaps, the best illustration of what is meant by socio-economic democracy, which is the very foundation of our social system and underscores the humanism of our socialist construction.

III.

The crucial task of socialist construction is all-round economic development to maximize the use of all available potentialities latent in the new system to bridge the gap which still separates Poland from the more economically advanced countries and to secure a steady rise in national living standards. Economically backward Poland suffered more than any other European country in the war. The first task that faced us after liberation, therefore, was rebuilding the economy.

Some indication of how we have advanced in this process is provided by the fact that socialist Poland ranks among the world's ten leading industrial powers. The rate of advance is spelled out in the following figures: national income is 4.5 times greater than in 1938, industrial output nearly 14 times greater, and gross agricultural output 1.6 times greater; per capita industrial production is 75 per cent of the figure for Britain, France, Germany or Italy, compared with only 20 per cent in 1938. And the figures are all the more impressive, considering that pre-war Poland, ruled by capitalists and landlords, was burdened by survivals of feudalism and her economy was largely dominated by foreign capital.

Foreign exploitation (as a rule profits were, of course, "repatriated") made for more economic stagnation and more unemployment, which in the towns was as high as 24 per cent of the potential work force.

To this should be added appalling agrarian overpopulation—there were about 5,000,000 "redundant" people, or a sixth of the country's population.

Economic stagnation and chronic unemployment were the two salient characteristics of pre-war Poland. Suffice it to say that in the period between the two wars industrial production never rose above the 1913 level.

Expropriation of the landed estates and of big and medium-sized industry was the first step on the road to economic and cultural development. Post-war rehabilitation—and it involved a stupendous amount of work—was accomplished in a remarkably short time: pre-war industrial output was regained in 1947 and agricultural in 1948.

Socialism brought with it sweeping structural changes in the economy. It is no exaggeration to say that the country became a vast construction site, with new industrial centers appearing one after another. We have started new industries—heavy engineering, shipbuilding, electrical engineering, electronics, chemicals. The dynamics of this growth are measurable in the annual seven per cent increase of national income over the past 15-18 years.

Our annual industrial output gain has been higher than anywhere in the rest of the world, including capitalist Europe. Furthermore, industrialization has changed the pattern of industry in favor of manufacturing: for every person employed in the extractive industries there are seven employed in manufacturing. The fastest growth rate is in key industries that determine the rate and direction of economic advance.

This can be seen from the following figures: the share of engineering in gross industrial product rose from eight per cent in 1950 to 28 per cent in 1967; in 1950-68 chemical production increased at an annual average of 15 per cent.

Realization of these bold and imaginative development plans has not been without its difficulties and tensions. They are being overcome by readjusting economic policy and by perfecting planning and management methods.

The current five-year plan has taken us into a higher development stage with greater accent on intensive expansion, high quality standards, higher productivity, more modern technology, more efficient operation, and a steady rise in skills.

And the plan is being successfully fulfilled, as will be seen from the following

statistics: gross industrial output last year was up 37.5 per cent from 1965, and gross agricultural produce 17 per cent—the highest growth rate in Europe over this period. Expansion was exceptionally rapid in pace-setting industries: in 1968 we produced 55,500 million kwh of electric power, 11 million tons of steel, 128.6 million tons of coal. We are now mining sulphur and copper ore, and manufacturing hundreds of new items. Work is proceeding on new deposits of valuable minerals and natural gas. More electric and diesel traction is being used on the railways. We are developing a merchant fleet. In the seventies People's Poland will be an industrial nation whose potential and dynamic growth will represent a tangible factor in the economic competition of the two systems.

The same headway is being made in agriculture, which has now surpassed all pre-war output indicators. Our agrarian policy combines rapid increase of agricultural output with far-reaching socioeconomic changes. Practical realization of the worker-peasant alliance has given the farmers an incentive to boost production and investment. Individual farms are linked with an integrated system of cooperative organizations and state farms. With every passing year the state increases its assistance to agriculture, and this is supplemented by the initiative and diligent labor of our farmers. The network of "farmer associations" has been extended. The "associations" are self-managing organizations receiving tractors and other machinery for communal use. Our farmers now have more than 70,000 tractors and hundreds of thousands of other machines. The degree of mechanization can be judged from these two figures: last year there was one tractor for 94 hectares, compared with 264 hectares in 1960. The system of contract sales of products to the state is being extended and brings the farmer into closer contact with our planned socialist economy. The state is providing more assistance in modernizing and mechanizing agriculture and introducing more efficient cultivation methods. At the same time, state farms are playing a bigger role both as producers and centers of progress.

The past few years have been most heartening: cereal yields now average 21 centners to the hectare, which has enabled us substantially to cut imports, always a drain on the economy. The supply of mineral fertilizers in 1968/69 will amount to 100 kg. per hectare, or double the 1964/65

figure. State farms will supply more grain, seed, meat and dairy products. Land improvement over large areas has given us more pasturage and arable land.

Intensive agriculture, higher yields and higher output of food and fodder grains and meat and dairy products—these are still our main tasks for ensuring a stable and abundant supply of food and raw materials.

The figures of Poland's economic development refer to the sixties, that is, the period in which, according to bourgeois prognostications, Poland and the other European socialist countries, having exhausted the initial advantages of industrialization, would come under the law of "diminishing returns." Nothing remotely resembling that has happened. On the contrary, the production facilities built in the years of socialist industrialization are the basis for quantitative and qualitative growth in industry and agriculture, for modernizing and rationalizing production, and widening the range of goods to meet the demands of the home and foreign market, and, in general, improving all economic indicators.

The general line mapped out by the Fifth Party Congress calls for intensive development. This was concretized by the Central Committee at its April 1969 plenum. Its decisions provide, in particular, for optimal indicators in capital construction and new planning methods in line with the management reform now being carried out. The new methods are being used in drawing up the next five-year plan (1971-75)—central plans are being dovetailed with local initiative and the findings of research institutes, designing bureaus and suggestions from local People's Councils.

The plenum emphasized that the new approach to capital construction and planning calls for a new approach in economic thinking and management. There must be an end to conservatism and ingrained routines, more incentives to stimulate efficient planning at every level, more initiative from below, with the entire economic policy geared to intensive development. In this much will depend on the workers' self-management system and on the People's Councils.

In this age of technological revolution, science has become a direct productive force. Technological research and its application have laid the groundwork for tackling and accomplishing bigger and

bolder tasks. In this context, it is highly important correctly to orient research, concentrate efforts and funds on key projects, and apply new scientific findings in industry—that is the job of our scientists and research institutions. Complete fusion of socialism and the new technology will open the door to a qualitatively new stage in economic upbuilding. As Comrade Gomulka declared at the Fifth Party Congress: “Uniting the socialist revolution with the technological revolution will make socialism invincible.”

An important factor in our continued development is the economic cooperation of the socialist countries. In this respect, the crucial Moscow meeting of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance opened a new chapter. We can anticipate closer international division of labor through specialization and cooperation based on coordinated scientific and technical projects. But this will necessitate closer economic ties between CMEA members. We are convinced that such ties with fraternal socialist countries, notably plan synchronization, will go a long way towards rapid selective development. There are compelling reasons for closer economic ties within the socialist community and our Party and government regard this not merely as an economic, but also as an important political matter.

All the problems involved in the continued advance of socialism—improving living standards, building up Poland's strength and increasing her contribution to the achievements of the socialist camp—are being resolved on the economic front, in the production sphere, in its organization and in the attainment of higher productivity. And now, in entering her second quarter-century, People's Poland dedicates herself to the accomplishment of these tasks.

IV.

Poland is a socialist country and this determines her place and role in Europe and the world. Identity of ideas, aims and aspirations unites us with peoples building socialism and communism and makes our country an impregnable link in the socialist world, a fighter for the continued strengthening of socialist unity. Our socialist fatherland is a conscientious, devoted and active participant in the struggle of the two social systems, which permeates every aspect of world affairs.

Alliance with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community is the cornerstone of our policy on all world issues and the guarantee of our security and peaceful development. And we stint no effort to cement this alliance, as evidenced by the conclusion or prolongation in recent years of treaties of cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary. We are working with unabating energy to strengthen the Warsaw Treaty organization, that defensive alliance of the socialist states.

Poland has taken many international initiatives expressive of her deep feeling of responsibility for peace. A member of the socialist community, Poland is combating the aggressive actions of imperialism, giving full political and material support to the heroic Vietnamese in their liberation war, taking the side of the Arab people in their just fight against the Israeli aggressors—Poland is the ally of all nations whose right to freedom and progress is being flagrantly violated by imperialism and neo-colonialism.

“All our Party's activity,” the Fifth Congress resolution states, “is insolubly connected with the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all the revolutionary forces of our time for peace, progress and socialism.” The Party has contributed to the preparation and successful conduct of the International Meeting of fraternal parties, and is actively involved in all actions to promote unity of the socialist camp and of the world workers' movement, for upon this depend the impact and success of our joint struggle for social progress and freedom, for world peace and solution of the pressing problem of European security.

The situation in Europe, where the two systems confront each other, makes it incumbent on Poland vigorously to advocate and promote coexistence based on effective guarantees of collective security. We believe that finding a basis for enduring peace on our continent is the only alternative to tension and the arms drive, with their implicit danger of military conflicts that would threaten the very existence of nations, and the centuries-old achievements of European civilization.

Our active peace policy is helping check West German revanchism, the chief menace to European peace. As long as the

FRG government does not alter its present course, with its implicit menace to peace, all its peaceful professions will be interpreted as tactical maneuvers. We believe that European peace and security require recognition of existing boundaries, notably the Oder-Neisse line and the GDR-FRG frontier, acceptance of the existence of two German states, Bonn's renunciation of its claims to exclusive representation of the German people and abandonment of its drive for nuclear weapons. This is in the interests of all European countries, which have more than once suffered from German militarist and imperialist aggression. It also accords with the desires of progressive and realistically-minded people in West Germany itself.

The Polish people are unanimous in supporting the Budapest Appeal because it is

fully in keeping with their longing for peace and opens up the prospect of European cooperation. If all European governments were to endorse the measures suggested at Budapest, the present state of tension in the heart of Europe could give way to peaceful stabilization based on a real guarantee of collective security, renunciation of the threat or use of force, and constructive cooperation.

The days when Poland was weak and isolated have gone forever. Now, with its new socialist system and inviolable boundaries, Poland is a strong and active factor of socialist unity. Part of the socialist vanguard of the peoples, bound by international solidarity with the world forces of progress, freedom and socialism, People's Poland is successfully building her radiant future.

Twentieth Convention of the Communist Party of Canada

WILLIAM KASHTAN

I.

The 20th Convention of the Communist Party of Canada which took place April 4 to 6 was an important event in the life of our Party. A number of differences had come to the fore within the Party in the recent period. These differences were related not only to an estimate of international events, more particularly the events in Czechoslovakia; they were related to the line of our Party on questions of the united front and electoral policy, the national question in Canada, the organization of a Communist Youth movement, pluralism and working class power, nationalism and internationalism, the role and character of the Party and, not least, what constitutes the main danger in the Party.

These and other questions became the subject of a very lively debate in the three months' pre-convention discussion which centered around a draft resolution unanimously adopted by the Central Committee but which some members of the Central Committee questioned in the course of the pre-convention discussion. It soon became clear to the Party that what had evolved were two lines of policy. These questions found reflection in the Convention. The intensity of the debate could be seen in the fact that of the 138 delegates, 110 asked to speak. Unfortunately, because the Convention was limited in time, only 57 were able to get the floor on the main resolution which was finally adopted after a two-day debate, with but two voting against and five abstaining.

Other documents on more immediate and topical questions such as a Labor Bill

of Rights, the struggle against poverty and for an adequate guaranteed annual income, national farm policy, democratic reform of education, the rights of the Indian and Metis peoples, a Canadian Constitution, were either adopted unanimously, or referred to the incoming Central Committee for action. Amendments to the Party Constitution were likewise unanimously adopted. An interim statement of the Program Committee which proposed that a draft of a Party Program be prepared in time for the next Convention and be subject to a year's discussion before then, was likewise concurred in.

The spirited and militant discussion made clear the Party's determination to base itself firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the organizational principles of democratic centralism. Guided by this and by the need to ensure a united leadership willing and able to uphold and implement the policies decided upon, the Convention elected a Central Committee of 51 by secret ballot, bringing into the Central Committee some new forces, particularly those with strong ties in the working class. In this connection it is well worth noting that over 60 per cent of the delegates were members of trade unions. It shows that our Party, despite all the efforts of Governments and monopoly to separate it from the working class, is not an isolated force, and that the policies adopted by the Convention will find reflection in the organized labor movement.

The capitalist mass media was compelled to take note of our Convention. Some played on the tune of a Party split but a

few of the more influential ones commented editorially that the Party and its policies should be taken seriously.

The strong note of internationalism which permeated the work of the Convention was further stimulated by the presence of fraternal delegates from the USA, Chile and Greece, and by the many greetings sent to the Convention by fraternal parties from different parts of the world. It was hoped that fraternal delegates from many of the socialist countries would be present. Unfortunately the Government refused them visas, an action which the Convention strongly condemned.

II.

The Convention met in conditions of a growing democratic upsurge reaching into the working class, the farmers, students and among sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie. These movements in one form or another, have begun to challenge the status quo and press for meaningful democratic change. Monopoly was compelled to take account of this rising sentiment and tried to deflect it into harmless channels during the Federal elections of last year by the election of the Trudeau Government. All the techniques of Madison Avenue were made use of to build up what became known as Trudeaumania.

Trudeaumania became equivalent with the idea of change. At the same time Trudeau's alleged left-leaning positions were used liberally to stop the process of independent labor political action and a genuine turn to the left. Clearly, monopoly was prepared to use the most refined and subtle techniques and imagery to appear to be for change. But this in itself reflected the growing crisis of capitalist politics in the effort to adjust to a somewhat new situation.

Almost a year has passed since the election. The Convention noted that a growing process of disillusionment with the Trudeau Government has begun to set in, arising from its inability to cope with the economic and social problems confronting the Canadian people and resulting from the inner contradictions of capitalism.

Its call for a Just Society and for a war on poverty remain on paper. Its policy of "One Canada, One Nation" which was the center piece of its election campaign and a prime factor in gaining the support of the English Establishment, has not resolved the crisis of relationships between

English and French Canada which have their source in the national oppression and economic inequality of the French Canadian people. Its pledge to review Canada's foreign and defense policy has not gone very far. Its veering to continentalism undermines the pretence that the Government is seeking to strengthen the Canadian identity and national consciousness.

In these conditions, alongside a growing disillusionment with the Government a process of radicalization is shaping up in the country. The root of this radicalization is the growing moral, political and social crisis in Canadian society, a crisis which reaches into the economy, the state structure, the tax system, the educational system. This crisis cannot be resolved by the limited and partial measures taken by the Government which are directed basically to make capitalism work in the interests of monopoly rule.

This can be seen by the growing concentration of power in the hands of monopoly. Mergers and take-overs by U.S. interests have become commonplace. More recently the conglomerates have appeared on the Canadian scene. These developments on the background of the scientific and technological revolution and, not least, chronic inflation, rising prices, taxes, rents and interest rates, have added to the difficulties of the working class and other sections of the population. Prices have been rising at the rate of four per cent per annum over the past few years. If to this is added taxation, direct and indirect, as well as high interest rates both of which effect a substantial body of the working class buying on credit, what one sees here are new forms of wage-cutting. Actually all workers who received less than a seven per cent wage increase last year suffered a wage cut.*

The sham of the "affluent" society is made worse by the evidence of Government agencies that over 20 per cent of the Canadian population suffer from poverty. It tears to shreds the myth that poverty only affects the unemployed, who presently number five per cent of the labor force, the pensioners, the Indian and Metis peoples. Poverty has reached into a substantial section of low-paid workers all over

*It should be added that the intensity of exploitation of workers in Canada is even higher than in the USA, as is evidenced by these figures: Productivity in Canada went up by 69.3 per cent in the 15-year period from 1953 to 1968 while in the USA it rose by 55 per cent. Productivity in manufacturing went up 72.3 per cent compared to 57 per cent in the USA.

the country. Moreover, the urban population explosion with close to 80 per cent of the population living in urban areas, has accentuated the acute housing crisis. Only those earning \$10,000 a year can afford to purchase a house today. High rents now take around 36 per cent of a person's income.

The many-sided offensive waged by monopoly directed to take away the hard fought gains of the working class, their trade union and democratic rights, is leading to a sharpening of the class struggle. The strike and fight-back movement is growing as over half a million workers enter negotiations. While these struggles largely gravitate around wage demands to meet the inflationary price spiral, a growing number focus on the demand for a larger share of the fruits of the technological revolution. This finds expression in the battle for job security and against displacement due to technological change. The campaign undertaken by the Communist Party over the years, that workers have a say over technological change through an enlargement of the scope of collective bargaining, is at the heart of many of the struggles this year.

A growing body of white-collar and professional workers are likewise involved in struggle to protect their interests and are increasingly adopting forms of organization and of struggle traditional to the working class. Despite the many difficulties which exist, the process of organization of these strata of working people has begun. Experience here disproves the argument advanced by bourgeois economists and in some right-wing trade union circles, that the organized labor movement would have to water down its program to reach and organize these sections. The contrary is in fact proving to be the case.

Amongst young people the process of radicalization is growing. Well over 50 per cent of the Canadian population is under 25 years of age. Large numbers of young people have entered industry, joined the unions and become active and militant participants in the class struggle. These young workers are not ready to wait for "tomorrow." They want their needs satisfied today and are prepared to undertake militant action to achieve it.

The technological revolution in turn has led to a rapid growth of education arising from the needs of state-monopoly capitalism for a skilled labor force. The numerical growth of the student body in universities

and high schools, the obsolete character of education, the uncertainty of a meaningful future arising from the technological revolution under capitalism, the ever-present threat of nuclear war, all these have led to the emergence of movements amongst the students directed to democratization of education, and with it a growing consciousness of the need for a democratic restructuring of society, although as yet only a minority see that such a restructuring of society requires an alliance with the working class.

Growing radicalization in the working class finds its counterpart amongst farmers who are particularly hard hit by the crisis in agriculture. The wheat farmers are confronted with a serious drop in income, aggravated further by the technological revolution in the countryside which is forcing large numbers of farmers into the cities and undermining the family farm. It is anticipated that before too long only about five per cent of the population will remain in the countryside. In any case the deteriorating situation facing farmers is resulting, after a period of relative calm and seeming stability in the countryside, in a growth of militancy. Tractor parades, demonstrations and other forms of struggle are developing in the efforts of farmers to maintain their incomes and standards. A process of differentiation is taking shape in the countryside as between the large-scale farmers and the owners of small and medium-sized farms who are giving increased support to the formation of a national union. The idea of a labor-farmer alliance directed to undertaking common struggle against monopoly and its policies is again becoming a subject of discussion in the countryside.

Alongside these movements the struggle for peace is developing, particularly in opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam. What is noticeable in the recent period is a marked growth of anti-imperialist sentiment, particularly amongst young people and largely directed against U.S. imperialism. This merges with a latent and growing sentiment of national consciousness directed to strengthening the independence and sovereignty of Canada against U.S. encroachments in the economic field and in matters of foreign policy. It merges too, with a rising national and democratic movement in French Canada for the right to national self-determination, the right to a national state, and for full economic equality.

These movements are still at an elementary level and not yet coordinated into a powerful force directed against monopoly rule. Radicalization in the working class has not yet reached the level of class and revolutionary consciousness. The growing rebellion amongst students and the rising struggles of farmers have yet to find expression in alliance with the working class. **The Convention** saw this as a process and that underneath these movements one common denominator stands out—the demand for democratic change and the challenge to monopoly expressed in the demand that the people have a say and a voice in determining policy. The struggle to extend democracy thus constitutes an important link between radicalization and the struggle for revolutionary change of society. It is in this spirit that the Convention emphasized the responsibility of the Communist Party both on the political and ideological plane, to integrate the struggle for democratic freedom and the extension of democracy with the socialist perspective.

Noting these diverse movements the main resolution declared:

"The working class struggle against monopoly has been joined by the growing national struggle of the French Canadian people, the increasing resistance of Canadians to U.S. domination—economic, political, military and in the cultural field; the movements for peace, the struggle to end the war in Vietnam; the growing struggles of farmers, housewives, tenants, the Native peoples, and the rising movement of students throughout the country. These movements are of a class, democratic, national and anti-imperialist character. They mirror a growing process of radicalization within which a more coherent left will emerge, and constitute in their totality the ingredients of a democratic coalition of alliance led by the working class which can begin to challenge monopoly and its governments."

III.

The pre-convention discussion and the Convention debate both emphasized that to bring about such a democratic alliance headed by the working class will require great effort, protracted mass struggle combined with parliamentary action, and that the conditions for it will emerge out of these struggles. Considerable attention was given to the role of the working class

as the principal driving and mobilizing force in bringing such a democratic alliance into being, and to the issues around which it would take shape.

The Convention stressed that without the working class or against it there will be no democratic alliance and no effective or conclusive struggle for fundamental change, and that those who argue that the working class has become a conservative and declining force, are selling it short. In actual fact, everything which is shaping up in the working class disproves the false argument that the working class has become satisfied with its way of life in today's society, that it has become bourgeoisified and middle class in its outlook, or that technology has replaced the doctrine of the class struggle. This can be seen by the rising tide of working class struggle throughout the country coupled with growing understanding of the necessity for radical change in an economic and political system based on exploitation.

The fact that the working class is not yet seized with the need to bring about a revolutionary change of society is not to deny its revolutionary potential. Any tendency to downgrade the historical role of the working class and its revolutionary potential, to by-pass it and seek some other force, some "easier and faster" road, is doomed to failure. There is no other force and there is no other road in conditions of an advanced capitalist country. In line with this the Convention appealed to all those who want fundamental social change and are seeking to bring it about, to ally themselves with the working class, and above all, with the revolutionary party of the working class, the Communist Party. The Convention called upon Communists to undertake a strong ideological thrust against all dangerous and erroneous views which denigrate the role of the working class "for it is the working class and the class struggle which is the axis around which all the forces of social progress revolve and will eventually unite."

Flowing from this the Convention stressed the need for the Party to strengthen its ties with the working class and in the first place with the industrial working class without which the Party will be suspended in mid-air unable to change the situation in any meaningful way.

The Convention noted the growing efforts of governments to restrict the rights of the trade union movement through anti-labor legislation including efforts at impos-

ing wage guidelines and a so-called incomes policy on the working class. As against these policies of interference in and regulation of the trade union movement in the interests of state-monopoly capitalism, the Convention called upon the trade union movement to strengthen and unite its ranks against monopoly and imperialism and to establish a fully independent and sovereign trade union movement in Canada, free of U.S. control. It adopted a Labor Bill of Rights around which to campaign in and outside the labor movement, directed to enlarge the rights of the trade union movement both with respect to collective bargaining in conditions of the technological revolution, and in all matters affecting the interests of the working class. Taking into consideration the changing mood amongst workers which has brought about the elimination of anti-communist clauses in the main trade union center and in a number of labor councils, the Convention called for strengthening the left around left policies inside the organized labor movement. As the main resolution declared: "what needs to be emphasized is that to change the relationship of forces in the country requires a change of relationships in the trade union movement, the defeat of right-wing policies of class collaboration." And it added: "the key to advance all along the line is the building and strengthening of the Party in industry as the core of a coherent Left in the trade union movement."

IV.

The Convention noted the relationship between the struggle for a trade union united front, working class and democratic unity, and more particularly cooperation between the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party.

Again to quote the main resolution: "The Communist Party works for the closest cooperation with the New Democratic Party around immediate aims and objectives. The Communist Party sees the NDP as a reformist party which fulfills a positive role in challenging the monopoly of the two old-line parties, detaching people from their influence and furthering the process of independent labor political action. The Communist Party *cooperates and competes* with the NDP in the labor and democratic movement. The Communist Party at all times works towards bringing Marxism-Leninism into the working class movement and win-

ning workers for our policies of class struggle and working class power for the revolutionary transformation of society. The Communist Party works to win NDP members for socialist policies. At the same time it works for fullest cooperation with the NDP to achieve meaningful reforms within the confines of the capitalist system."

The placing of the question of "cooperation and competition" was of considerable importance for the Party. This is so because over a period of time the Party tended to slur over and blur the basic difference between the reformist and revolutionary party. Failure to clearly demarcate the distinct revolutionary character of the Party led in practice to a tailing behind social reformism, to tendencies towards liquidationism. This found its reflection as well in the electoral arena where tendencies arose to step aside in the interests of a united front which in fact did not exist. This one-sided approach to the united front has its roots in an over-simplified understanding of where the main blow is to be directed. While the main blow is aimed at monopoly one cannot ignore the fact that monopoly has its helpers in the labor and democratic movement, those who pursue policies of class collaboration and oppose unity of the left, all with the objective of maintaining monopoly rule. To ignore this as if it did not exist in effect ties the hands of the working class, hinders the crystallization of a genuine left and seriously weakens the leading role of the Communist Party.

The struggle for unity of the democratic and socialist left cannot succeed without a systematic and principled struggle against all policies of class collaborationism pursued by the right wing.

It goes without saying that in correcting an oversimplified approach to the united front which holds true not only with respect to the NDP but includes the trade union movement and other movements, it would be harmful were the Party to veer off in a sectarian direction and either revert to sterile name calling or a "go it alone" policy.

The Convention warned against any such tendency. The struggle for unity of action of the democratic left, for cooperation with other socialist currents which are beginning to emerge, and for cooperation on single issues which advance the interests of the working class and of democracy, remains the consistent long-term policy of our Party.

Indeed the Convention correctly emphasized that the struggle for unity of action and for strengthening the Party go hand in hand. The struggle for unity of action and the strengthening of the independent role and work of the Party are not contradictory aims. They facilitate and complement each other. The stronger the Party the more likely will unity of action be achieved. The more it makes its presence felt the sooner will unity of action come about. To build the Party is to build the motive force of united action.

The truth of this is seen in the experience of the Party over the past period. Without hard and consistent work directed to establish an independent mass base for the Party, the call for cooperation and unity fell on deaf ears. The strengthening of the Party and its independent work is therefore a decisive factor in bringing about such unity and cooperation. At the same time it must be said that the establishment of an independent mass base for the Party is not a simple or easy task under certain conditions. Among other things it depends on how the Party works out its mass policy, how it works for unity of action of the working class and its allies around specific issues, how it works for unity and cooperation of the democratic left. While seeing the interrelationship of these two questions, that is, the struggle for unity of action and the struggle to build the Party, the Convention correctly stressed that if there was one main question before the Party it was that of building and strengthening it politically, organizationally and ideologically on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and that unless this were done the Party would not be able to play a genuine vanguard role in the growing mass movements.

V.

The Convention devoted particular attention to the struggle for peace and to questions of international solidarity. It stressed that imperialism, while weakened, is not a paper tiger. It still has powerful claws and the more defeats it suffers the more desperate and dangerous it becomes. Recent events taken together (Vietnam, the Middle East, West Germany) show that imperialism is intent on sharpening international tensions and in preventing an international detente. It has no intention of laying down its arms or of giving up its aggressive aims. This is why the greatest vigilance is demanded. This is why the Convention

stated that the fight to head off the threat of world nuclear war and for peace must remain a central part of the work of the Party.

On this basis the Convention called for a firm and systematic attack against those views which base themselves on the inevitability of war and oppose the policy of peaceful coexistence and international detente. It likewise called for energetic struggle against views which tend to underestimate or ignore imperialism's offensive and its continued resistance to international detente. Both lead to passivity at a time when wider, stronger and more united public action is required, above all working class action, to check and reverse the course of imperialist strategy.

On the eve of the Convention the Trudeau Government, which had promised a review of Canada's foreign and defense policies, including its relationship to the NATO military alliance, China and Latin America, came forward with an interim report which proposed continued membership in that alliance alongside a "phased and controlled" withdrawal of troops. This statement of intent, not of action (when the troops are to be withdrawn and how many will be the subject of consultation with Canada's NATO allies) provoked a strong negative reaction from the West German, British and U.S. governments, as well as from powerful monopoly groupings in Canada itself.

The Communist Party saw in this timid step by the Trudeau Government a bowing to public pressure and to the countrywide campaign undertaken by the Communist Party these last few months around the slogan "Quit NATO." Whether Government action represents part of an effort to establish a larger place for Canadian monopoly in the world as part of its drive for markets in the Pacific, Latin America and Africa or is directed to establish a better bargaining position in negotiations with the U.S. Government on economic questions, particularly with respect to wheat sales and oil, remains to be seen.

In any case, irrespective of its motivations, it creates an opening around which to advance the struggle for a truly independent Canadian foreign policy. With this in mind the Convention adopted the following platform:

- The withdrawal of Canada from NATO and NORAD; Canada should work for the creation of conditions leading towards the elimination of all military blocs; for a halt

to the arms race and for disarmament, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and for measures leading to the destruction of all nuclear weapons and their means of delivery. Canada should declare itself a nuclear-free zone and actively call for the scrapping of the ABM system.

- Canada should step up efforts to compel the U.S. to conduct meaningful peace negotiations in Paris to end the war in Vietnam and unconditionally withdraw its armed forces and those of its allies, and enable the people of Vietnam to determine their own affairs without outside interference.

- Canada should help settle the Middle East crisis on the basis of the U.N. Security Council resolution, that is, Israeli withdrawal from Arab occupied lands, ending the state of belligerency and acknowledging the territorial integrity of all states in the Middle East.

- Canada should actively work for an international detente and as an important step in this direction actively support a collective security system in Europe based on the acceptance of the Oder-Neisse line and recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

- Canada should recognize one China, the People's Republic of China of which Taiwan is a part, and work for its rightful place in the United Nations.

- Canada should stay out of the Organization of American States and strengthen economic and cultural relations with the Latin American countries.

- The strengthening of trade, cultural and scientific relations with the socialist countries.

- Support to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and the newly liberated countries in and outside the United Nations.

The Convention saw a direct and decisive connection between the struggle for peace and the unity of the socialist system and the world Communist movement.

It endorsed the position taken by the October Central Committee meeting, of support to the action taken by the Warsaw Treaty countries and the steps taken by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to normalize the situation. The real friends and defenders of socialism, it stated, are those who give every support to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in implementing these measures of normalization and strengthening socialism in that country.

The Convention condemned the provo-

cative actions of the Maoists on the Chinese-Soviet border. It noted the fact that Maoism had moved over from ideological struggle to provocative and adventurist actions, to a basic shift in policy, one geared to virulent anti-Sovietism and the splitting of the world Communist movement. It warned that the strategists of imperialism hope to take advantage of the present situation to bring about a change in the balance of power in their favor. At the same time it expressed confidence that the Chinese Communists who adhere to Marxism-Leninism, and the Chinese people, will eventually assert themselves, that Marxism-Leninism will sooner or later win out in its contest with petty bourgeois nationalism.

The Convention drew the conclusion that both "left" and right opportunism have their roots in nationalism, in a negation of proletarian internationalism, in anti-Sovietism. Both roads finally lead to a weakening of the leading role of the working class and of the Communist Party and strike at the very foundations of socialism. It further declared that those who are concerned with the struggle for peace and socialism must never forget that the Soviet Union is the decisive factor in the world struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

Every Communist Party is independent and sovereign. But the assertion of that independence and sovereignty does not and cannot lie through the road of anti-Sovietism. It lies in asserting the sovereignty and independence of the Party *from* the capitalist class and its policies and in standing firm on the platform of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party sees no contradiction between patriotism and internationalism. Our patriotism lies in defense of the true interests of our people and country. Our internationalism lies in the fight against imperialism, oppression and war, and in solidarity with the socialist states. This too is in the interests of the working people of our country.

Imperialist strategy focuses on stimulating nationalism with which to undermine international solidarity. We focus on international solidarity which is a decisive component of the strategy of advance in the struggle against the enemy of mankind—imperialism.

It was in this spirit that the Convention welcomed the decision to hold the international conference of Communist and

Workers' parties this June in Moscow, which it saw as "opening the door to the consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," and instructed the incoming Central Committee to work for its successful outcome.

VI.

The Convention devoted considerable attention to the role and work of the Party, and set as a major task the necessity of revitalizing it so that it could play an ever increasing role in the various mass movements of the people and in the political life of the country. As a decisive component of the task of revitalization the Convention placed in the forefront the struggle to strengthen the Marxism-Leninist character of the Party, as the vanguard, revolutionary party of the working class. Emphasis on this arose because of tendencies which had arisen in the recent past to erode the principles of Marxism-Leninism, weaken the leading role of the Party as the organized expression of socialism, give way to the pressures of nationalism and bourgeois ideology.

The necessity for revitalization of the Party arose too because of an erosion of the organizational principles of democratic centralism. In overcoming past tendencies which stressed centralism, tendencies arose to mainly stress democracy and separate it from democratic centralism. This found expression in tendencies towards permissiveness, organizational looseness, lack of discipline, a weakening of the concept of the Party as the Party of unity of will and unity of action, and to ideas that unity of action was what was important, that ideological differences could be maintained and perpetuated. In practice this could lead, and in part did lead, to turning the Party into a debating society where all views could be maintained. Liberalist tendencies flowed over to questions of majority decision. As pointed out at the beginning of this article, it found expression in the fact that the main resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Central Committee, was then argued against, in whole or in part, by members of the Central Committee who had voted for that resolution.

The Convention called for strengthening the organizational principles of democratic centralism, without which the Party

cannot fulfill its responsibility to its class and the nation and related it to the strengthening of the unity of the Party and its leadership. As the main resolution pointed out:

"The main requirement for the Party's advance and effective role is its political, ideological and organizational unity based on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism and democratic centralism and agreed upon Party policies. The leadership of the Party must be the embodiment of these principles of Party unity. While there are bound to be differences over tactical questions and over theoretical questions insofar as they reflect the necessity of generalizing new experiences and the study of new phenomena, there can be no effective leadership unless it is based on political unity, agreement on the fundamental positions of Marxism-Leninism, the upholding of the principles of democratic centralism and preparedness to fight for and carry out the policies of the Party. We must have a leadership which is operative, acts as a collective and is able to quickly and effectively implement decisions."

The necessity of revitalization was especially related to the Party undertaking an effective policy of concentration on the working class, the industrial working class in the first place, and orientating all its work on that basis. The Convention called for "consistent political, organizational and ideological leadership and a proper distribution of forces and use of the press" to implement this all-important task. At the same time the Convention warned against any sectarian tendencies towards work amongst students and intellectuals. Our struggle, the Convention stated, is not against these and other strata of society who must be won in the struggle against monopoly and for fundamental change, but against the harmful and erroneous views which ignore, bypass or downgrade the working class as that force which is at the heart of the struggle for a radical reconstruction of capitalist society.

In this connection the Convention decided upon the organization of a Communist Youth organization. The pre-convention debate showed that unclarity existed on this question, some of it arising from the specific difficulties of the situation, some of it arising from a tendency to argue that the Party must recruit young people directly into its ranks as part of its re-invigoration rather than working to

build such an organization. Underneath it however was a failure to understand the need for a Marxist-Leninist youth organization, organizationally independent while fraternally related to the Party, which would be able to work among and with those young people who are in motion, and win them for the socialist perspective. The Convention in making the decision to work for the formation of such a youth organization emphasized the need to base it on working class youth while opening the doors to other young people also. It stressed too, that this was not in contradiction to the need of the Party to win, train and promote working youth and others in its own ranks and help develop an ever widening personnel of such young people for responsible party positions.

The Convention called for a decisive strengthening of the ideological work of the Party. It warned that when the Party does not effectively counter bourgeois ideology with socialist ideology, bourgeois ideology moves in, and when the Party does not fight opportunism in all its manifestations, opportunism takes over. The Party is therefore called upon to struggle against both "left" and right opportunism and revisionism, seeing in this an important part of the political battle to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party, and its influence among the people.

Events outside re-inforce the need for such struggle. In the past period of time the Party has been under heavy ideological attack from two quarters, from those who claim it has ceased to be a revolutionary party, and from those who declare the Party is not relevant in contemporary society because it is a revolutionary party.

These attacks from the pseudo left, from petty bourgeois radicalism and from the right, have similar roots, a wrong estimation of the processes shaping up in conditions of state-monopoly rule.

Petty bourgeois radicalism denies the leading role of the working class in the struggle for fundamental change, the importance of the struggle for reforms and for alliances. In practice and in theory it accepts the position that the working class has lost its revolutionary potential

and is fully integrated into the capitalist structure. It substitutes impatience and the revolutionary phrase for the hard work necessary to unite all those forces which can challenge monopoly rule. Its attack on the Communist Party for not being revolutionary is in effect an attack on Marxism-Leninism and on the working class. At bottom petty bourgeois radicalism underestimates the strength of state-monopoly capitalism, its capacity to maneuver and make concessions, and the need for an effective strategy to defeat it.

On the other hand, those who claim the Party is not relevant to contemporary society because it is a revolutionary party suggest that state-monopoly capitalism has found the secret of eternal youth, that all its inner contradictions have been resolved and that socialism will never be on the Canadian agenda. These shortsighted people assume too readily that capitalism on an international and on a national scale, has stabilized itself and is now insurance proof to revolutionary change. At bottom, therefore, the reformists, opportunists and revisionists over-estimate the strength of state-monopoly capitalism and the contradictions which are eroding and undermining it and creating the conditions for revolutionary change.

The Convention stressed the need for energetic struggle against pseudo radicalism and against the apologists of capitalism. It linked this up with the challenge before the Party to earn its vanguard role by effective mass work amongst the working people, students, women, farmers and intellectuals.

It called upon the Party to prepare now for the Lenin Centenary in 1970 and for the 50th Anniversary of the Communist Party in 1971.

The Convention called upon the Party to unite behind the policies of the Convention and to work for their implementation. Our Party faces many difficulties but on the firm ground of Marxism-Leninism and in conditions of a changing situation, there is every reason to believe that the Party will make serious advances in the coming period of time.

Monetary convulsions continue

The monetary crisis gripping the capitalist world has attracted the attention of all sections of the public. Below, Marxist economists from the Federal Republic of Germany and from Britain give their view of some of the underlying processes behind the acute sharpening of contradictions among the main capitalist countries.

HEINZ JUNG (FRG):

"The aim of West German imperialism is to turn economic power into political and military power"

In present-day capitalist Europe it is West German imperialism that wields the greatest economic power. Yet so far it has succeeded only very modestly in converting that power into influence on the international political scene. Though its aggressive ambitions are aimed primarily against the socialist countries, to bring them into effect it seeks dominance in Western Europe. And its efforts in that direction are sharpening the inter-imperialist contradictions.

Throughout the postwar, FRG monopoly capital has been buttressing its positions and extending its sphere of influence—first as junior partner in close cooperation with U.S. imperialism and later chiefly through the European Economic Community.

At present, influential finance capital groups are evidently concentrating on "turning economic power into political and military power."

In the postwar, state-monopoly capitalism has made much headway. But the installation of the CDU-SDP coalition government, coupled with the economic crisis of 1966-1967, opened a new stage in centralization and state-monopoly regulation.

After the first postwar crisis of overproduction in 1966-1967, which sent production figures down, the West German economy entered an upward phase in the second quarter of 1968. Industrial growth in 1968 was 11 per cent, mostly by virtue of increased exports and considerable investment, with the rise in incomes and in the home market trailing well behind. What came to light in the process was that state-

monopoly regulation has its limits. The government's investment program adopted in 1967, designed to encourage investments by an assortment of tax measures, got off to a poor start and did not begin to pay off effectively until after the economy became buoyant again.

Economic growth and the appropriate policy conducted in the interest of monopoly capital, brought about the following:

1. Under the socio-economic pressures of the crisis on the working class (unemployment, part-time employment, declining incomes) productivity of labor went up (by 16 per cent in 1966-1968).

2. Real wages in industry dropped for the first time in 1967. The wage increases in 1968 were modest. In the first six months of 1968 wages increased a mere 2.7 per cent after taxes and, considering the higher cost of living, real wages increased even less. Meanwhile, corporation profits showed a record growth: the 1968 increase in net profit exceeded 20 per cent. By and large, a marked change occurred in the distribution of incomes, with capital winning ground.

3. Deliberate restraints on the home market carried on into the phase of recovery and then upswing, kept down the price growth rate, particularly in the exporting industries. The price index for July 1967-July 1968 increased a mere one per cent (while 5.8 per cent in Japan, 4.5 France and 4.2 the USA), with a stimulating effect on exports.

By virtue of the expansion of foreign trade, West Germany was DM18,400 mil-

lion (an equivalent of three per cent of the gross national product) to the good in 1968, surpassing 1967 by DM1,500 million. With exports accounting for 18.1 per cent of total industrial production, the figure is 28 per cent for chemicals, 38.6 for engineering and 40.9 for automobiles. Volkswagen-Werke, for one, registered a monthly record, exporting up to 85 per cent of its output. It was the consumer in the home market who paid the cost of this invigoration of West German imperialism, and primarily the working class consumer, who accounts for the bulk of the market.

In the first six months of this year the FRG economy was still in the buoyant phase, with price increases again to the fore. No signs are at hand of export expansion diminishing. However, despite the higher inflationary rate than the year before, prices are going up more slowly than in other capitalist countries.

In some areas of industry, like metalworking, for example, wages are frozen until the middle of this year due to the 1968 union wage agreements. Wage agreements and union demands are still much below the mark required to remedy the incomes situation that arose last year, and to secure real wages conforming with the rising productivity of labor and with the predicted price increases.

The contradictions of the foreign-economic policy of our state-monopoly capitalism reached culminating point with the 1968 and 1969 monetary crises. Export advantages have augmented currency reserves. The Federal Republic has gained control over a considerable portion of the international currency resources. The monetary system has become more unstable as a result, with the pressures falling chiefly on France. French finance capital expected the mark rate to go up and withdrew capital from the market. Bonn, for its part, tried from positions of economic strength to counter the demand for up-valuing the mark by demanding devaluation of the franc.

The compromise struck in the autumn of 1968 reveals the limits of the political power wielded by the West German imperialists, whose designs were frustrated by the united front of their rivals and allies. Although the resultant measures were in effect equivalent to raising the exchange rate, they put new levers of regulation into Bonn's hands. Like similar measures by other capitalist countries, this was in line with the general trend to restrict "liberali-

zation" of foreign economic relations and to stress protectionist state-monopoly regulation. As in the case of the pound sterling and the U.S. dollar, Bonn undertook to pay a big share of the cost of propping up the French franc—\$600 million out of \$2,000 million. Tribute paid to its imperialist allies in terms of stabilizing currencies and footing the bill for troops stationed in the FRG is now quite considerable. Yet the West German imperialists lay it out in pursuance of their foreign policy aims. Concurrently, their policy is designed to gain economic advantages over rivals by augmenting the currency hoard.

The latest monetary crisis in May 1969, coupled with the repeated refusal of the Federal Government to up-value the mark, merely accentuated these tendencies.

Measures taken in November, including the four per cent export tax and the four per cent reduction of the import tax, effective until 1970, had but a limited impact. The West German export industries are carrying on merrily, while the effects of incompatible exchange rates on the export prices of other capitalist countries are still the same. According to a prominent bourgeois economist, "the currency fever of last November is first-class advertising for the West German supermarket."

True, early this year the monthly accretion of export by virtue of tax manipulations by the concerns dipped somewhat, but in March it climbed again to last year's level. Export of West German capital comes out of available or newly-acquired currency surpluses. Long-term net export of capital, surpassing DM11,000 million in 1968, attained a record 5,900 million in the first three months of this year (against DM1,700 million in the first three months of 1968).

The leading monopoly groups are determined to make the most of the favorable monetary and economic situation to press on with their expansionist ambitions; the refusal to up-value the mark is a clear indication that they intend to take advantage of the present exchange rate and resultant price relationship from country to country as a stepping stone, which makes their policy the main spanner in the wheel of the capitalist monetary system.

The inflow of "hot" money (to the tune of DM16,000 million) in early May was provoked by the political spokesmen of West German monopoly capital and various demarches in the credit sphere. But unlike last November, conflicting opinions

surfaced in the government and among the various monopoly factions.

These concerned less the substance of the West German imperialist aims and much more the tactical means to these aims. The monopoly group represented by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which Social-Democrat Schiller, the Minister of Economy, supports, considers ultimate revaluation inescapable. It holds that in the long run West German expansion will succeed best if it does not provoke its rivals into taking too many economic sanctions. It holds, too, that revaluation will "invite" buoyancy and yield results more favorable than the various regulatory state-monopoly measures now in force.

Herr Strauss, Bonn Finance Minister, on the other hand, is the mouthpiece of economic and political nationalism and expansionism. He represents a league of reactionaries of all shades, including the neo-Nazi NDP, with the most powerful West German monopoly groups. In the May monetary crisis this league stepped forward as the policy-making force behind the Federal Government. It is firmly convinced that the situation in France after de Gaulle's forced resignation under popular pressure should be used to elbow out French monopoly capital, securing the optimum freedom of action for West German imperialism.

Despite the sharpening of contradictions between the West German and French monopolists over EEC integration, the interlacing of EEC economies continues: Common Market trade grows more rapidly than trade between EEC and third countries.

The basic controversies, sharpest in the past over agriculture, over harmonized social spending, EEC expansion, etc., again surfaced in July last year, when the customs union was to have been completed in accordance with the Rome Treaty.

Due to differing standpoints and interests, the French concerns insisted on a temporary import restriction. In the EEC context this would have been tantamount to an increase in customs tariffs for the Federal Republic, which went against the interests of the West German concerns, bent on world expansion. Yet West German monopoly capital accepted the French import restriction proposal.

Concerns in the exporting industries that have a bearing on economic growth, as well as finance capital, are working assiduously to break out of the EEC frame-

work, which has become too narrow for them. With the "technological gap" out of the way, they are seeking closer cooperation with U.S. concerns and encourage U.S. capital in West Germany, motivated, among other things, by political considerations—to hitch the United States to the political and military chariot of their own strategy. And, as before, they are working for a wider composition of the EEC in the teeth of French monopoly-capital resistance.

One need be no prophet to predict that the Common Market contradictions, especially those between West German and French monopoly capital, will lead to more conflicts in all areas. Yet, doubtlessly, the economic integration will continue. Necessary compromises will be reached based on common imperialist interests with regard to the working class, the socialist countries and the Third World.

West German expansionist policy is a burden on the working people, primarily the working class, which has, indeed, borne the brunt of the consequences of the 1966-1967 crisis. Workers' action at factory level to protect hard-won gains did not at the time grow into a nationwide social drive due, above all, to the impotence of the trade unions in face of the critical monetary, structural and currency developments and the pertinent policy of the monopolies. That they are passive is in part explained by the integration mood of the Right-wing union leaders.

Due to aberrations in their views about the role of the state and its institutions, including the so-called council of experts, and about the class essence of capitalist economy, the union leaders influenced by the Social-Democrats have to date scorned the many opportunities of elaborating an alternative that could justify the union position in the eyes of the public.

Doubly topical after the May monetary crisis are the proposals of the FRG Communists, who see their prime task in working out alternative positions for the workers to follow a political line oriented on their own class interests against monopoly capital. In its statements the German Communist Party has outlined the solution of the crisis in the interests of the people, urging firm measures against speculation, measures to buttress the purchasing capacity of the public, delivering the monetary system from one-sided dependence on the dollar, and unfettered growth of trade with all countries.

EMILE BURNS (BRITAIN):

"The main factor in the sterling crisis is the disproportion between the economic potential and the imperialist aims of British capital."

The monetary crisis of autumn 1968 and spring 1969 developed from the weakness of the French franc and the strength of the German mark. This, and the ailing sterling should be seen as components of the crisis of the whole international payments system. The temporary settlement of the crisis, with France refusing to devalue the franc and Germany refusing to up-value the mark, intensified the problems raised by the conflict of national monopoly capitalist interests within the Common Market, and left contradictions between the monopoly capitalist interests of the other imperialist countries unsolved.

The instability of the international monetary system has again come to the surface in the recent crisis of April and May 1969, when de Gaulle announced his resignation. This opened up possible changes in the exchange rate of the franc, coupled with hopes that the West German mark would be up-valued.

So the "speculators" rushed to sell francs and other currencies and to buy marks. Pounds also were being sold; and the position of sterling was all the weaker because the amount borrowed in 1965 by Britain from the IMF fell due for repayment this year.

Britain could not repay her debt out of her own reserves, and the government again applied to the International Monetary Fund. In return for a new credit of \$1,000 million (of which \$800 million is to be used to repay the existing debt), the British government undertook to consult international bankers on all measures that might in any way affect her balance-of-payments position. This will mean continued deterioration of the people's standard of living.

Meanwhile, the West German government repeated its refusal to up-value the mark because it would increase the price of their exports and cheapen imports, and weaken the political influence of the mark.

As on previous occasions, the crisis has been smoothed over for the present without any basic change in the situation, and it is clear that new crises will develop in the coming months, not only in the international monetary field, but within Britain

and other countries as a result of the policy imposed by the IMF.

Britain's balance of payments difficulties and repeated sterling crises have occurred ever since 1945.

The basic cause of the continued deficit in the balance of payments has been the effort of British monopoly capitalism to recover and maintain its old imperialist positions, in spite of Britain's economic and financial weakness in relation to the U.S. and other imperialist rivals, and of the national-liberation movements which have undermined the grip of its colonial empire.

This effort to maintain its imperialist positions took two main forms. The first was a vast expansion of military expenditure overseas, with costly "small" wars as long as it was possible to resist the liberation movement by force. The direct military expenditure abroad has varied between £200 million and £300 million on official figures which are far from complete. In addition, this policy has led to increasing dependence on the United States, and association with a number of groupings led by the U.S. including NATO, SEATO and CENTO.

The forced withdrawal of Britain from Aden has reduced military expenditure, and other steps have been taken or are promised to reduce it, especially in "East of Suez" areas. But in 1968 the official figure of military expenditure overseas was still £271 million, and further reductions are to take place only in the following years, so that they do not affect present balance-of-payments problems. Commitments for the purchase of military aircraft from the U.S. are still to be met, although covered for the present by loans from the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

The second main form of monopoly capital's effort to maintain its imperialist positions is the export of capital—that is, of profits made mainly in Britain—for investment abroad, not only in ex-colonial countries but in other foreign countries. These exports have been officially estimated at over £400 million a year (in 1968, after the devaluation of the pound, £457 million in the first nine months).

Thus overseas military expenditure and the export of capital have been responsible for the continued deficits in the balance of payments, which were £769 million in 1964 and were close to this in 1968. Britain's financial position is aggravated largely by her liabilities to sterling area countries, to the tune of some £2,000 million.

The official argument for allowing the export of capital is that in subsequent years the earnings from this capital will ease the deficit in the balance of payments; but it increases the deficit now, and leaves British industry itself in its relatively backward situation. This not only hinders the expansion of British exports, but encourages the import of capital and modern technology from the United States to Britain; British exports of goods are increasingly dependent on American-owned factories in Britain.

Although some forms of control over export of capital have been introduced, the figures show that it is still rising. The measures taken by the government to reduce the deficit have not removed the main causes of the crisis of the pound. They have mainly been directed to encouraging exports by cutting down purchasing power in Britain. After earlier efforts proved ineffective, devaluation of the pound was resorted to. But so far this has not had the expected results. As a result of the massive loans raised by Britain to overcome the successive crises of the pound, Britain's external liabilities have risen by £2,000 million between 1964 and 1968, involving interest charges as well as repayment of the loans.

The result is that the pound is still vulnerable to attacks by speculators. It may be thought that the term "speculators" refers to foreign individuals. But it is clear from *Times* reports that large British companies were involved last autumn in selling francs and buying marks to "cover" themselves. There is no doubt that they "cover" themselves also when the pound is in crisis.

Britain's balance of payments difficulties reflect the general weakness of the British economy. Growth of the industrial production index has been minimal in recent years, and although in 1968 there has been a slight improvement, it is doubtful if this will continue, owing to restrictions on trade imposed by the U.S. and other rivals.

British industrial production has been held back by measures taken allegedly to

slow down inflation and improve the international position of sterling. These measures are basically attacks on the working class standard of living. The government has taken some steps to raise productive capacity through technological advances, but to date these have had little effect, and the advances lag far behind those in the U.S. and the FRG.

British monopoly capitalism has made attempts to improve its economic prospects by joining the Common Market, and is bitterly hostile to France because of its veto. De Gaulle's departure changes very little in this respect. The outlook for West European integration, because of the contradictions, is not improving. State-monopoly capitalism has made little progress in developing integration with other monopolies, in particular within the Common Market. It is concentrating on building up its own national monopolies — a process which goes faster everywhere, expressing the rival interests of the national groups. Because of doubts about the economic prospects the contradictions are now more difficult to solve, and West Germany's growing strength arouses rising fears among its "partners."

At the same time, state-monopoly capitalism is striving to reduce the costs of production for export (and for higher profit) by the continuation and strengthening of its "incomes policy" of preventing higher wages and salaries, with increased restrictions on strikes and independent trade union action which are bringing it more and more into conflict with the working-class movement. It is also rapidly developing the concentration of capital, with mergers and take-overs involving in the decade to 1968 some £4,000 million. Concentration on the more efficient factories is contributing to the rise in the level of unemployment, which in the U.K. and Northern Ireland is now close on 650,000.

All these steps are fully supported by the Labor government, which has established a fund to assist the merging of companies. Apart from the restrictions on wages and salaries, it has imposed heavy indirect taxation on the people, cut down social service funds, and handed over the exploitation of the recently discovered reserves of natural gas in the North Sea to private monopolies, while it is closing down the production of the nationalized coal industry.

The economic situation in Britain and the prospects of improvement are not only

affected by balance-of-payments problems. State-monopoly capitalism in Britain—as elsewhere—involves growing conflicts between monopoly capitalism and the people, on political as well as economic and social issues. The struggles for higher wages, resistance to legislation restricting the trade unions, for housing and education, conflicts

between police and students, are symptoms of a deeper conflict between the classes. So is the growth of the Left in the labor movement and among other sections of the people. Unity is therefore an urgent task for those who want to curb the power and policy of the monopolists, as the Communist Party has urged.

Argentine people against the dictatorship

May 1969 confronted General Onganía's dictatorship with a powerful upsurge of the people. Braving police terror, workers and students held strikes and demonstrations against the repressions. They took militant action in all cities, demanding an end to fascist interference in university affairs, insisting on civil liberties and on better conditions, protesting against the transfer of the national resources to imperialist monopolies and demanding a new type of government.

The regime, brought into power through a coup in June 1966, retaliated with machine-gun fire and gases. Patriots were killed and wounded and many more were arrested. Proclaiming a state of emergency, the government introduced the death penalty and put students and workers before military tribunals. A Communist Party statement on the events said that "the *de facto* government, discarding its 'paternalist' mask, had revealed its ugly face. Under the present regime things have gone from bad to worse; the cost of living is rising, real wages are steadily declining and unemployment and inflation are on the rise. The government is betraying the national interests by denationalizing enterprises, taking orders from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development and meekly ranging itself behind the foreign policies of the United States."

The working people and the students responded with powerful actions such as the student action in Corrientes against

the transfer of educational institutions to private individuals and the placing of education on a fascist footing. The students want the universities to be centers of genuine science serving the national interests. The city of Rosario was paralyzed by demonstrations and strikes involving workers and students. Córdoba, a big industrial and university center, was for days the scene of action against the armed forces of the dictatorship, which pitted airborne troops against workers and students fighting for their rights, killing and wounding many of them. Strikes, demonstrations and other actions took place in Buenos Aires, Mendoza, Tucumán, La Plata, Salta and elsewhere.

The trade unions, political parties, democratic institutions and associations of scientists and cultural workers unanimously condemned the dictatorship measures. The working class protested against the crimes of the regime by going on strike and bringing life in the cities to a standstill. Faced with the need to stay the hand of the dictatorship, two trade union centers reached agreement on united action. The 24-hour national strike called by them on May 30 was fully backed by the students, and small traders, and virtually paralyzed life throughout the country.

The regime's drastic measures are a sign of weakness rather than of strength. The discontent is universal and expresses itself in various forms, specifically in the patriotic-minded servicemen's opposition to the

pro-imperialist policies of the government. The Communist Party statement notes that "as a result of the people's struggle, the cracks in the dictatorship of foreign, primarily American, monopolies, the big landed proprietors and the capitalists, are deepening. It has dawned on the people that the policy of Onganía-Krieger Vasena is impelling our country towards the precipice, to backwardness and dependence and a revival of fascism. This is why the people have begun to fight against the dictatorship."

Undaunted by the repressions, the Communists have been active among the workers, peasants and other groups, striving to organize their struggle more effectively and to deepen their political consciousness. Under the new anti-communist law, activity of this kind is punishable by a prison term of up to eight years. The Communist Party's ideological campaign, spearheaded against imperialist and bourgeois-nationalist trends, has borne fruit, enabling it to play, in common with other democratic and patriotic forces, an important part in nationwide actions.

When the May actions began the Central Committee urged all democratic and progressive forces to unite against the dictatorship. It called on them to insist on revoking the state of emergency, punishing the killers of students and workers, repealing repressive legislation and forming a broad democratic coalition government.

The dictatorship is opposed by practically the entire people, including groups of military and clergy who have made emphatic statements against the regime. Yet the dictatorship still clings to power. This is because there is still no coordinating center of the anti-dictatorship forces, even though headway has been made towards setting it up. The day the main opposition forces unite the government will fall because these forces represent the interests of the overwhelming majority of the na-

tion. The Communist Party is doing its utmost to rally these forces in support of a minimum program providing for the establishment of a coordinating center that would head the struggle and eventually lead to the establishment of a broad democratic coalition government. This government would, in turn, convene a constituent assembly through elections based on proportional representation, on a broad democracy allowing all political forces freedom of activity.

The idea of unity is gaining ground among the working people. During the strikes and the street fighting unity was achieved of Communists, Peronists, Radicals, Socialists, Christian-Democrats and other forces; people acted together despite ideological and religious differences. It follows that the Argentine people can be united in a common front against the dictatorship, for an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy government. This is feasible also because the people are against a return to the past.

Our Party considers that "there are no insurmountable barriers nor transitional phases between the minimum program, that is, the struggle for immediate demands, which is necessary if the people's rights are to be vindicated and the military dictatorship abolished, and the maximum program, which calls for a democratic agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. Consequently, the time limits for accomplishing our revolutionary maximum program will be shortened as the people move into action to bring down the dictatorship."

Upon coming to power the dictatorship tried hard to isolate and destroy the Communist Party. Yet in the three years since the formation of the present *de facto* government our Party has extended its contacts with the masses, whereas the dictatorship finds itself in isolation.

Julio LABORDE

Towards anti-imperialist unity

PIERRE GENSOUS

Uniting the workers to fight imperialism and neo-colonialism for freedom, progress and peace, is a priority task of the trade union movement in Europe and Africa.

But if united action is to be translated from an objective necessity to a practical reality there must be a concrete program of struggle against imperialism and exploitation. An important step towards working out such a program was made by the Consultative Trade Union Conference of Africa and Europe which met in Konakry on March 18-21. It was the first forum in the history of the world trade union movement at which organizations from socialist countries, European capitalist countries and from the developing countries of Africa were represented by delegates from unions of differing trends. For scope of representation—44 European and African countries and 12 international trade union associations—the nature of the problems discussed, and the results achieved, it was unique in the trade union movement. Its convocation was made possible by the cooperation of the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

CHANGED WORLD BALANCE OF FORCES

What are the results of its deliberations? First, the conference was able clearly to single out the factors that favor and hamper joint trade union action on the two continents. It established that new conditions had emerged in Africa, now that nearly the whole of the continent has broken out of British, French and Belgian colonial rule. The courageous struggle of the African peoples, the changed align-

ment of world forces created by the steadily increasing strength of the socialist countries, the considerable assistance extended to the national-liberation movement by these countries and by the West-European workers' movement, have put an end to the era of colonial empires, so that today a large part of Africa is free of direct colonial dependence.

This has been a cardinal factor in extending the anti-imperialist movement and altering the balance of forces in the world. Africa has thus contributed to strengthening the forces of progress, to foiling the designs of the imperialists, who over the past twenty years have sought to check the people's advance to freedom and socialism by unleashing a third world war.

Such is the reality of our times. But it would be wrong to conclude that imperialism will quit the scene without struggle. On the contrary, the imperialists are desperately resisting the workers' offensive, using every available method to turn the clock back and open new spheres of exploitation. Singly or in concert, they are seeking to re-impose their control and tutelage, to retain existing sources of monopoly profit and acquire new ones. In all these designs Africa holds a special place.

IMPERIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

Most African countries are still part of the capitalist world system. This means that the emergent states are under constant imperialist pressure and the object of neo-colonialist exploitation.

Knowing that the day would come when they would be ejected from Africa, the

colonialists prepared to retain some, if not all, of their commanding positions. Their methods varied: artificial delineation of boundaries between African territories, support of tribal strife and preservation of backwardness and ignorance. But their special targets were the armed forces, which they sought to honeycomb with secret agents. In combination, these methods enabled the imperialists to plant their placemen in most independent countries. Working hand in glove with the feudals who have a material interest in foreign capitalist concerns, and using their agents in the army and the police, the imperialists have been able to secure guarantees for their investments and huge profits from ruthless exploitation. And the men they put in power have used all manner of repression, down to outright murder, against progressive leaders anxious to see their countries rescued from exploitation and backwardness.

In some countries the progressive forces have been able to break through the imperialist encirclement and form governments devoted to the people. But each of these countries is subjected to imperialist pressure, economic blockade and subversion in the effort to overthrow its progressive regime.

The world's most underdeveloped continent, Africa is immensely rich in natural resources and therefore a coveted target of the international monopolies. They are still in economic control in many parts of the continent, extract high profits and keep some countries in a state of underdevelopment and dependence. West Germany, the USA and Japan are using the old colonial methods in draining Africa's wealth.

The various international economic associations—EFTA, the Common Market—also economic "aid," trade agreements, etc., are instruments for keeping Africa economically and politically tied to the monopolies and assure them still bigger profits. What is presented in hazy agreements as measures to promote economic progress is merely camouflage of the exploitive substance of imperialism.

Long years of neo-colonialism have left Africa with one-sided economic structures. Thirty-one countries obtain 80 per cent of their revenue from the export of one to two primary products.

Furthermore, African exports are, as a rule, at the mercy of monopoly-dictated fluctuating prices. Numerous facts were

cited at Conakry to show how the former colonial powers continue to exploit the developing countries. The unequal price pattern has meant colossal losses for Africa. In 1951, 92 kilograms of cocoa or 72 kilograms of coffee could buy a ton of steel; in 1961 the figures were 259 and 172 kilograms respectively.

Industrialization in many African countries is proceeding at a snail's pace: in 1963 industry accounted for seven per cent of the continent's gross product, and in 1968 the figure had risen to only 13 per cent, a growth rate much lower than that of any developed capitalist country.

Western investors are out solely for quick profits. U.S. investors, for instance, netted a profit of about 20 per cent in 1966—\$415 million on investments of slightly more than \$2,000 million.

Government aid from the imperialist powers is no more beneficial, since its prime purpose is to keep the ex-colonies permanently dependent or, at best, develop their infra-structures. Though this does not promise quick returns, it helps to promote private capital investments and to increase monopoly profits. This so-called aid, actually defrayed by the taxpayer, is seldom given as a gift. The usual practice is to charge high interest which, of course, goes back to the monopolies and places an additional burden on the people of the developing countries.

The terms on which the aid is granted are becoming more onerous from year to year. The total debt of the developing countries increased from \$3,000 million in 1955 to \$45,000 million this year. In fact, some countries have to use most of the aid to service their debt. A Bank of England survey shows that aggregate British aid to developing countries amounted to £208 million in 1967, but interest paid out by these countries on previously received aid amounted to £290 million. French monopolies in 1963 earned 4,500 million francs from operations in the franc area.

Wherever the imperialists cannot act openly they do so through agents, and their main agent in Africa is the Israeli government. Average per capita income in Israel is \$1,204, or double the figure for Spain and Greece, yet Israel is receiving lavish aid from capitalist countries: the aid program includes such projects as airfields, ports and dams.

Israel acts as middle-man between West-European and American financial concerns and Africa. In 1966 it granted African

countries loans to a total of \$20.7 million, of which Nigeria received \$8.4 million, Ghana \$4 m., Liberia \$3 m., Kenya \$2.8 m., Ivory Coast \$1.05 m. and Madagascar \$1.5 million.

In 1967 Israel invested 4,000 million old French francs in 42 newly-established Israeli-African firms. This means huge profits for the imperialist monopolies and their Israeli accomplices. The Israeli bourgeoisie is not only penetrating African countries, but is trying to poison the minds of their peoples by disseminating theories of class collaboration, the idea that the fight against imperialism is hopeless, and so on. No small part in this played by the Afro-Asian Institute in Tel Aviv, set up, financed and controlled by the Histadruth trade unions, the Mapai Party and the AFL-CIO for the express purpose of training pro-West trade union officials for Africa.

Imperialist policy and activity are having an adverse effect on Africa's socio-economic and cultural life, and especially on the conditions of the working people.

IMPERIALIST MONOPOLY: THE BIGGEST EXPLOITER

By dint of long and hard struggle, the European workers have won substantially better conditions. But even so, the lot of the European worker is anything but satisfactory. In some countries there is an obvious trend towards increasing the capitalists' and reducing the workers' share of the national income.

A few examples. West Germany's gross national product increased 7.4 per cent in the first half of 1968 and monopoly profits 20 per cent, but nominal wages rose by only four per cent. The situation is much the same in other capitalist countries. In France, the purchasing power of wages (with the exception of a few industries) remained unchanged between 1957 and the spring of 1968 when the big strikes took place, though prices had risen considerably. Some 4,500,000 French workers earned less than 600 francs a month, or far below the cost-of-living minimum established by the trade unions. A survey by a group of British economists published a few years ago revealed that one-fifth of British families do not enjoy a "decent" standard of living. Average wages in Italy are 65,000 lire a month, whereas the minimum "frugal budget" for a family of four, according to a study conducted by the *Vie Nuove*

magazine last year, is 120,000 lire. Things are worse still in Spain, Portugal and Greece, countries notorious for their low wages.

This process of impoverishment should be contrasted to the soaring profits of the big capitalist concerns. Figures published in the *London Financial Times* show that monopoly profits were up 11 per cent last year, with leading concerns registering a 12-25 per cent increase. The *Paris Monde* reports substantially higher profits for French monopolies.

In Conakry, union delegates from Europe cited numerous examples of intensified exploitation. And not only by the European monopolies, for the big U.S. corporate interests are directly exploiting labor not only in former British colonies, but in Britain itself.

These facts fully justify the opinion expressed by the conference that "with the continuing process of concentration and growth of power, the West-European monopolies, which shape the policy of the capitalist countries, are pursuing more and more reactionary and anti-democratic policies. Under state-monopoly capitalism, the conditions of the working class are constantly jeopardized by deliberate policies of low wages and under-employment, curtailment of trade-union rights and stepped up exploitation. The working class is retaliating by vigorous action, and in some cases has won victories that are undermining the economic and political power of the monopolies."

THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS

Class conflict is the rule throughout capitalist Europe. Blue-collar and white-collar workers, farmers, other sections of the working population—in short, the men and women who create all the material values—have benefited only marginally from the technological advance and higher productivity. In fact, monopoly competition leads to greater exploitation and aggravates the irreconcilable contradiction between social production and private appropriation of its results. Monopoly concentration plus international integration and neo-colonialist expansion have added a new dimension to the labor-capital conflict. This is at the root of the workers' struggles flaring up now in one, now in another part of Europe.

The imperialists and their monopolies are using every method to stifle opposition to their policy of intensified exploita-

tion as the source of super-profits. In Europe one of their tactics is to harden the split in the trade-union movement. But the workers are coming to see more clearly that only unity makes them strong. Strike actions extending to several countries, contacts between national union organizations of diverse trends, are symptoms of this growing unity.

Many examples could be cited of cooperation between French, Belgian, Italian, British and West German unions. The French and Italian General Confederations of Labor are playing an important part in forging unity of the Common Market trade unions. The 18th session of the WFTU General Council, held in Berlin last December, renewed its appeal for unity, emphasizing that closer coordination of union efforts would further the fight against imperialism and monopoly exploitation.

However, it is now fairly clear that united action on a national, or even continental, scale is not enough effectively to combat such worldwide monopolies as Mifarma, Unilever, Krupp, Rothschild, Firestone, Goodrich and Bermann Polena (with its Hamburg subsidiaries). Neo-colonialism in Africa and harsher exploitation in Europe have one and the same source, imperialism, which operates on a global scale, and—as many speakers at the Conakry conference emphasized—all unions have a common aim in combating imperialism. The delegate from Chad said: "Without our European comrades we would not be able to extirpate the poisonous roots of imperialist exploitation in Africa." The conference welcomed the Belgian representative's appeal for concerted action by the workers of the two continents towards a common goal.

The conference unanimously adopted a Joint WFTU-AATUF Statement, which reads in part: "The fight against the monopolies, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism provides a common platform for the workers and trade unions of Europe and Africa. This implies a community of interests, common aims and tasks of trade-union organizations in both continents."

What should the unions do to make the anti-imperialist unity a practical reality?

TO STRENGTHEN UNITY

This is not the first time an attempt is being made to bring European and African unions together for united action. There

have been many instances of cooperation in joint struggle. Nor have the Africans forgotten the support European workers gave them in the fight for independence. And we know also that the peoples of Africa helped their European comrades fight imperialism.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has consistently and vigorously encouraged and supported such cooperation. It constantly reminds the European workers that they have a special task: to combat colonialism and neo-colonialism, in particular the use of some trade union organizations to strengthen imperialist influence in former colonies. The same can be said of the All-African Trade Union Federation. The AATUF Charter, adopted at the 1961 constituent congress in Casablanca, says: "The African trade union center will maintain fraternal ties with all the workers of the world on a strictly equal footing. Any trend towards isolation of our struggle in Africa would be reactionary and harmful. For our fight is the fight of all democrats, and just as the forces of oppression and exploitation recognize neither nations nor national boundaries, so our aims are those of the workers of the world, irrespective of race and sex."

There are many opportunities today for joint action by European and African unions on many issues. The time is ripe for coordinated action in defense of trade-union rights, which have been virtually cancelled out in many African countries, especially in those with colonial or racist regimes (South Africa, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Rhodesia, etc.), also in Portugal, Spain and Greece. The restrictions imposed in many African countries under the old colonial regimes are still in force.

On the other hand, the right to trade-union work is restricted and in some cases non-existent in some European capitalist countries. The purpose in all cases, both in Europe and Africa, is to hold back the workers' struggle because it might cut monopoly profits.

Another pressing issue requiring joint effort is wages. Higher wages is now a key demand in view of the stepped up exploitation. On this issue, as on many others, we should counter monopoly attempts to mislead the workers and incite one section against the other, especially during wage struggles. The trade unions in Europe should give maximum help to the African working people.

It is incontestable that in many Europ-

ean countries, notably the socialist part of the continent, work-time and social insurance schemes conform with the standards set by international conventions and trade unions. But this is not the case in many parts of Western Europe, and even more so in Africa. A shorter work week without wage reductions and progressive social insurance are central demands everywhere. The WFTU and the AATUF are concentrating on forcing managements to reckon with the workers' legitimate demands.

The European and African delegations attending the Conakry conference discussed and adopted resolutions on many other questions: ideological struggle against reactionary imperialist propaganda in the mass information media; publication of periodicals and pamphlets exposing the monopolies' colonialist and neo-colonialist techniques as a means of countering hostile propaganda and giving the workers and their unions correct information; joint struggle of trade unions in European and African Common Market countries.

The conference also discussed WFTU and AATUF cooperation in United Nations international organizations—International Labor Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization and UNESCO—whose work, in the view of many delegates, is still far from satisfactory. Trade-union cooperation in these organizations, the conference declared, would "make possible coordinated action, fairer representation for trade unions of all continents, more effective utilization of the opportunities these organizations offer in the fight for trade-union and democratic rights, better conditions, better social insurance arrangements, labor legislation, occupational training and general education."

A highlight of the conference was its statement that the WFTU and AATUF would cooperate in supporting peoples fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism; for an unconditional end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam; dismantling of all U.S. military bases and withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops so that the people of Vietnam could shape their future in conditions of unimpeded sovereignty and independence and without outside interference; an end to Israel's aggressive policy and withdrawal from all occupied territories, recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their return to their homeland.

The WFTU and AATUF declared that they would work together against Bonn's war provocations, its drive for nuclear weapons, its claims to represent the whole of Germany, its refusal to recognize the German Democratic Republic, and its territorial claims on neighboring countries. The AATUF and WFTU will cooperate also in the campaign for a European collective security system that would serve the cause of peace and the interests of all nations.

The Conakry conference and its decisions represent a new and qualitatively higher stage in the guidance of the European and African workers' movement. It laid the beginning of equal cooperation of trade unions of differing trends on some of the major problems involved in the fight against imperialism and monopoly. And we feel sure that already now—and still more in the months and years to come—the Conakry decisions will determine cooperation between the WFTU and the AATUF and will exert a growing influence on the world trade-union movement.

Communist unity in Haiti

Recent events in Haiti, where the mass revolutionary struggle against the reactionary regime is gaining momentum, have attracted wide attention. The Communists, the vanguard of the people, have a prominent part in organizing armed resistance to Duvalier's pro-imperialist dictatorship.

There have been requests from readers for information about the United Party of Haitian Communists and its courageous fight in the difficult conditions of Duvalier terror. This article by **Robert Cherelus**, a member of the Party's Central Committee, is in reply to these requests.

Haiti's Communists were united in a single party early this year by a merger of the country's two labor parties, the Popular Unity Party and the Haitian Democratic Alliance (formerly known as the Popular National Liberation Party). Both considered themselves Marxist-Leninist organizations but differed on strategy and tactics. Their emergence was not the result of a split in the Communist Party. To understand how the merger came about it is important to know their stand on the dominant issues of Haitian politics.

MASS MOVEMENT AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP

Duvalier was installed as President in 1957 after a rigged election conducted by the military junta and directed by the U.S. State Department. In the course of the election campaign Duvalier built up a terrorist machine, the notorious Tontons Macoutes, who engineered attacks on opposition leaders and, when Duvalier took over the presidency, helped him keep the country in a state of terror. Political figures who might in one or another way present a danger to the new dictator were physically destroyed.

When the new government felt itself sufficiently strong it launched repressions against all mass organizations. Its first targets were the Trade Union Federation and the National Union of Teachers, soon followed by the National Students' Union.

Members of the Popular National Liberation Party, just as the leaders of the Popular Unity Party, played an important

part in founding and directing these mass organizations.

Trade union officials, Marxist intellectuals and students responded by founding the Popular Unity Party in November 1959. Its manifesto was the first Marxist programmatic document to outline the prospects of Haiti's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. It indicated the sections of the population that were objectively interested in a popular-democratic revolution, stressed the need for a worker-peasant alliance as the social base of the revolution, and pointed to the leading role of the working class. The party based its policy on the assumption that the masses could be mobilized for a general strike as the non-violent way to power.

The Popular National Liberation Party followed a similar line, but differed on such issues as the democratic stage of the transition to socialism, alliance with the national bourgeoisie, and attitude towards the Duvalier government. Duvalier at that time was soliciting more U.S. aid and defending himself against attacks by another dictator, Trujillo of the Dominican Republic.

While engaging in polemic on these issues, the two parties continued semi-legal activity in the trade unions, among the peasants, whom they were organizing into cooperatives, and among students and professionals.

Meanwhile, with the assistance of the U.S. military mission Duvalier formed a Tonton Macoute battalion, the presidential body-guard. This was soon followed, on Duvalier's orders, by organizing Tonton Macoute units throughout the country for

operations against the Communists and the mass organizations. When the Teachers' Union took strike action—after Duvalier had turned down their wage demands—the Tontons Macoutes were sent out to round up rebellious teachers. Classes in all secondary schools were suspended and all arrested teachers were dismissed.

A year later Duvalier turned his attention to the Students' Union, which had called a strike to back its demand for the release of 12 Communist students. This ignited a wider movement against the government, and bank clerks and the Trade Union Federation joined in the strike. The students were released, but only after classes were suspended in November 1960. This was followed by other decrees banning all youth organizations, dissolving the Bank Clerks' Union and forbidding civil servants to join trade unions. The National Students' Union was dissolved and the police and Tontons Macoutes wreaked vengeance on students and lecturers. Several students were killed, others were clapped in jail without trial or even the semblance of an investigation. They are still in jail.

Duvalier followed the same line against the trade unions when, in 1963, they called a general strike in support of women tobacco workers, on strike against arbitrary dismissals and police interference.

Having made short shrift of the mass organizations, Duvalier began to install Tontons Macoutes in the universities and in the trade unions.

In 1960, peasants in Artibonites were shot when they protested against expropriation of their land by the local Tonton Macoute chief. Peasant cooperatives and associations not controlled by the Tontons Macoutes were closed and their leaders persecuted.

Ceaseless harassment forced the two parties to reconsider their tactics in the mass movement. Moreover, the continuing repressions deprived both parties of much of their mass following and brought their political concepts into harmony.

In 1963, when the mass movement began to subside, the government dissolved all major mass organizations. But both parties were able to retreat in good order and to maintain their organizations in clandestinity. In fact, they were the only political force in the country that had not been swept away by succeeding waves of terror.

On July 4, 1963 they agreed to set up the United Democratic National Liberation

Front (UDNLF) and adopted an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal program of struggle against the dictatorship. They also agreed on joint activity among workers with a view to building up an illegal Trade Union Front that would operate parallel with the legal trade unions. United Democratic Front committees were organized in the towns, villages and factories. The youth organizations of both parties were active among the students and supported the clandestine National Students' Union.

Up to 1967 both conducted socialist propaganda, but there were still differences, ideological and political, which tended to paralyze the work of the UDNLF. One party advocated direct action against the dictatorship as the immediate aim of the class struggle, while the other called for unity of the three composite elements of the struggle—against dictatorship, feudalism and imperialism. Both argued that their tactic was best suited to mobilize the masses, but one of the parties stressed the class character of the anti-dictatorship struggle. Differences on this important aspect of the revolution strongly influenced their organizational structure and policy on a number of issues and hampered joint action in the UDNLF and among workers, students and intellectuals.

WHAT ROAD FOR THE REVOLUTION?

The UDNLF was in a state of decline and much the same was true of the Trade Union Front as a result of the sectarian attitude of the Popular Unity Party, which was largely responsible for its organization. The National Students' Union was driven underground, and in the end fell apart. Both parties and the population generally were subjected to continued repression. Many townspeople, professionals and peasants were leaving the country. Duvalier dissolved parliament, staged another election swindle, which produced a parliament composed mostly of Tontons Macoutes, and appointed himself President for a six-year term. This puppet parliament proclaimed him President for life.

Having lost all hope of seizing power peacefully in the near future, the Army, tightly controlled by the Tontons Macoutes, and the reactionary emigres enmeshed by the CIA, stepped up their campaign against Duvalier. However, this pro-American opposition had no political organization in Haiti and relied mainly on armed groups led by former officers and made up of

sugar-plantation workers recruited in the Dominican Republic. The U.S. State Department was pressuring Duvalier to dissolve the Tontons Macoutes—it was worried because all the institutions through which the U.S. Embassy directed Haitian policy were now fully discredited, and because the illegal Marxist-oriented parties were intensifying their activity. Duvalier's answer was to expel the U.S. military mission and declare that, as a supporter of autocracy, he would never give up his personal power.

During this period of decline in the mass movement there was a series of abortive invasions from the Dominican Republic, the United States and the Bahamas, organized by exiled reactionary politicians with the blessing and support of the CIA and led by former Haitian officers. Eight such invasions ended in failure because the reactionaries ignored the masses and had no political organization capable of mobilizing the support of even part of the population.

But each abortive invasion meant more and more terror, and not only against political protesters, but also against workers demanding better conditions. Legality, such as it was, had given way to terror.

In this situation the two parties, each acting independently, decided to prepare themselves and the masses for revolutionary violence.

But again their underlying concepts differed. Both believed that armed struggle was the only path open to the Haitian revolution. That conclusion was drawn by the Popular Unity Party in its policy statement "Tactics of the Haitian Revolution" published in 1967, and by the other party in a 1968 policy statement. Both regarded guerrilla warfare as the shortest path to victory. One party wanted to begin by organizing guerrilla detachments and to follow up with other forms of armed struggle in support of the guerrillas. The other party wanted first to strengthen its political position, win over public opinion through active propaganda on all issues vitally affecting the working people, the middle strata and soldiers, organize armed peasant resistance to the Tontons Macoutes, demoralize the latter, create an atmosphere of revolt, secure the support of the masses, and only after that form guerrilla detachments. Otherwise, it argued, the guerrillas would be doomed to certain defeat.

The situation was complicated by the general atmosphere of frustration resulting

from incessant terror over a period of ten years. Nor were matters helped by the unsuccessful invasions: each one raised new hopes in the people, only to be shattered when the invaders retreated to the Dominican Republic. More, its President, Balaguer, deported all Duvalier opponents and handed over Haitian workers who had taken part in the invasions—they were shot the moment they crossed the frontier. In these circumstances, the population lost all hope of ever toppling the regime. Most people were not affected by the propaganda of the two parties—85 per cent of the people are illiterate.

THEORY TESTED BY PRACTICE

Exploitation became harsher in 1966 due to the sharp rise in taxes and the imposition by the Tontons Macoutes of their own taxes. The cost of living soared and incomes declined. High-ranking officials dug deep into the public exchequer. The Ministry of Finance periodically announced suspension of payments to civil servants and the army. All this combined to generate more resentment and there were spontaneous demonstrations in Gonaives, Cap Haitien and Saint-Marc in protest against the poverty, high prices and high taxes.

Following publication of its policy statement, the Popular Unity Party began to prepare the masses for a revolutionary war. The Communists helped set up secret Peasant Agrarian Reform Leagues; their members, known as "new independence fighters," were given combat training so as to be able to fight the Tontons Macoutes and protect party propagandists and League activists addressing "lightning rallies" in the villages. These are local groups for periodic combat activity in a given district, but there is always one group or more operating in different areas. The organization of these groups should be seen as a transitional stage in building up a guerrilla force and extending the armed revolutionary struggle to every part of the country.

The Popular Unity Party intensified its work also among soldiers and started local resistance groups to fight the Tontons Macoutes and to protect party activists and propagandists. Their very first operation in the capital caused consternation in the government camp.

Since early last year the "new independence fighters" and resistance groups have been operating on a more or less permanent basis in the towns. The Popular Unity

Party advanced realistic slogans on such issues as taxes, the high cost of living, the black market, the arbitrary decrees, etc., and the slogans are meeting with response. That is evident from the movement against high taxes, the requisitions of food and the demonstrations against unlawful local taxes in Las Cahobas and Belladere.

The party's newspaper, *Voice of the People*, built up the country's second largest circulation. And that is understandable, for it is the only source of information about the insurgent movement. The legally published press has not ventured to report events which interest the people.

Armed resistance to arrests and the courageous conduct of Communists in prison, often under torture, won the Popular Unity Party increasing authority and prestige.

The events of 1967-68 prompted the Party to invite the Haitian Democratic Alliance to discuss the idea of a single, united Communist Party, its structure, organizational principles and activity. The discussion would also cover the political, social and economic prospects of the Haitian revolution, the path it should follow, and the social forces to be won over for a democratic revolution as a preliminary stage in the advance to socialism. The two parties would discuss also the vanguard role of the working class in the revolutionary process, the international obligations of the future party and of the Haitian proletariat at the present stage of the world revolutionary struggle.

The negotiations, which lasted from July to December, 1968, were successfully concluded, and all ideological and political differences were resolved, though neither party made any fundamental concessions. Organizational merger became possible in January 1969 after the adoption of the Organizational Unity Charter of the Popular Unity Party and the Haitian Democratic Alliance.

The problem of strategy and tactics in the fight against the dictatorship, feudalism and imperialism was solved after an analysis of the class content of the revolutionary struggle. We are combating the dictatorship as the instrument of the reactionary forces. But in order to win genuine

democracy it is not enough to overthrow Duvalier: we must also demolish the bureaucratic machinery of government which serves the ruling classes, and place effective political power in a Popular Front led by the working class and the peasantry.

The question of armed struggle as the way to the Haitian revolution was resolved in the sense that combat actions should be regarded as the preparation of the people for revolutionary violence against the most detested dictatorship in our country's history.

And last but not least, the new United Party of Haitian Communists expects all members to step up propaganda and the dissemination of socialist ideas, intensify work in the legal trade unions and organize armed Revolutionary Workers' Committees to combat the police and Tontons Macoutes.

The emergence of the United Party of Haitian Communists marks a big step forward. It is the result of a long ideological struggle and mutual criticism based on the "extended hand" policy and joint action. The terrorist dictatorship leaves room only for illegal activity and ours is the only party engaging in such activity, the only party that has preserved its local organizations. And we have proved that, in this "Caribbean hell," as Duvalier's Haiti has come to be called, the Communists are in the van of the struggle for democracy and progress. There need be no doubt that the UPHC will energize the revolutionary movement. Our Party is destined to play a decisive role in the people's struggle for national and social emancipation.

Wholesale arrests of Communists and democrats took place during the latest wave of repression. Many of them were brutally murdered. This evoked a strong protest from the International Conference of Communist and Workers' parties, which calls on all democrats to raise their voices in defense of the victims of Duvalier's terror.

The struggle of the Haitian Communists will, beyond all doubt, end in victory, for they can rely on the support of all the forces of democracy and progress, and on the solidarity of the socialist countries.

Freedom for Horacio Fernandez Inguanzo!

Comrade Horacio Fernandez Inguanzo, member of the Executive of the Communist Party of Spain, has been arrested by the Franco police.

Fernandez Inguanzo, a veteran of the revolutionary struggle, fought in the ranks of the Republican Army throughout the Franco rebellion. He was arrested and sentenced to death when northern Spain was overrun by Franco's fascists. The sentence was commuted to 30 years' imprisonment, and Fernandez Inguanzo spent 17 years in jail.

Released, he immediately resumed his activity in the fight against the Franco regime. He has won the confidence and respect of the heroic miners and of all the

working people of the Asturias, who consider him one of their foremost leaders.

At the Moscow session this May of the Preparatory Committee of the International Meeting, the representatives of 70 Communist Parties issued an appeal calling for the immediate release of Fernandez Inguanzo. They called on all Communists, on democrats throughout the world, to rally to the defense of one of the most popular Asturian workers' leaders, and to rescue this revolutionary hero from the clutches of the Franco police.

We, the appeal says, are in solidarity with all those in Spain fighting against the fascist dictatorship.

Freedom for Comrade Horacio Fernandez Inguanzo!

What Lenin really said

The commercial publishing house Molden, in Vienna, has put out a book entitled: "What Lenin Really Said".* Its authors, Franz Marek and Ernst Fischer, say they were faced with this dilemma: either critically examine Lenin's doctrine, measuring his strategic and tactical propositions against those of other Marxists, or allow Lenin to speak and comment only where necessary to bring out the meaning. The authors say they opted for the latter method, adding: "Max Weber's dictum that choice implies assessment holds good for this book too."

Consequently, in reviewing the book (178 pages, of which about two-thirds are direct, and the rest indirect, quotations from Lenin, plus interpretation and comment), one must ask: 1) How do the authors assess the different elements of Lenin's teaching? 2) What do they single out? 3) What do they leave out? 4) On what do they comment, and how do they go about it? 5) Who is the target of their polemics?

For polemics is implied in the very name of the book, "What Lenin Really Said". Actually, the polemics are against what they ascribe to Lenin. And the times being what they are that method is sure to attract attention, considering the widespread interest in the fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism in capitalist countries, notably among the youth, and the many attempts to minimize, obscure or discount the significance of Marxism-Leninism, reduce it to a kind of liberalism or rob it of some of its vital elements. There are other techniques, too: proclaim Marxism-Leninism merely a "theory of the state," oppose Leninism to Marxism and dismiss the latter as relating only to partial issues (alienation, for example), deny the international applicability of Leninism on the pretext that it has become outdated, and especially the specific Russian form of Marxism. The

Marek-Fischer polemics, however, is *not* directed against any of these methods.

In fact, even before quoting Lenin they make the polemical remark: "This complex historical philosophy has become the credo of millions of workers . . . In the onward march of the masses, Marxism was mechanically simplified and the philosophy of practice emasculated and reduced to a fatalism which—with the help of 'history's iron necessity'—has paralyzed will and responsibility. The result—an institutionalized ideology which, invoking scientific validity, preached a mystifying vulgar materialism."

The whom are they alluding? The reader is left to guess. Here, as in most other comments, the polemics is general, hazy, and totally lacking concreteness. It might be recalled that when Lenin began his political activity, the Second International was dominated—factually if not officially—by opportunism, that is, by a conscious policy of subconscious adaptation to capitalism. Often enough this found expression in a vulgar evolutionism or "automatism." In other words, the opportunists hoped that "development" would produce what could only be achieved by revolutionary action. And to the extent that they veered away from action they relied all the more on "evolution." That variety of opportunism is still very much alive today. But, as pointed out above, Marek and Fischer begin their polemics before Lenin is allowed to utter a word. Furthermore, they provide no clue to the *object* of their polemics.

The relation between theory and practice, party and organization, thought and action are favorite themes with the authors. Recently Fischer capsuled his views in the terse formulas—"every power structure is contaminated," or "here man is creating the pattern of the future, there man is distorting this pattern by his action." In other words, Fischer divorces theory from practice, counterposes idea to power and depicts—at least obliquely—political helplessness

*E. Fischer and F. Marek. "Was Lenin wirklich sagte." Verlag Fritz Molden, Wien, 1969.

as the noblest human state and the sole guarantee against distortion and degeneration. The Marxist formula that ideas become a force when they grip the minds of the masses is transformed into the formula: theory becomes false consciousness when it grips the mind of the masses, or, as Fischer has it, when it becomes a "credo."

His co-author, Franz Marek, set out his views in the article "The Stalin Myth," which aroused much discussion in the Austrian Communist Party since, in effect, it reduces Marxism-Leninism to two books, Stalin's "Problems of Leninism" and the "Short History of the CPSU." Marek's article purports to show how this "credo" of the millions should be understood. He complains that a "complex historical philosophy" is now regarded as a "credo," but in the article he speaks of the spread of Marxism-Leninism as of a "complex scientific theory often reduced to a catechism composed of truths, partial truths and untruths." And he sarcastically remarks: "This has imbued thousands of idealistic fighters with the elated feeling of having mastered all the problems, having grasped the essence of the world as set out in a few propositions." Here, clearly, is the real purpose of his polemics.

Regrettably, one has to resort to this method of criticism inasmuch as the authors rely chiefly on indirect polemics against Lenin without adducing any cogent arguments. To be sure, the problem of the relation of theory to practice, of ideas to mass revolutionary movement, is not readily grasped. And it is equally true to say that no philosophy can lay claim to absolute completion and full rationality of all its elements. Nor can any philosophy be effective if it is not accepted by hundreds of thousands as their approach to reality. Lastly, it should be clear that methods which in one period of history help to deepen socialist consciousness, in another period might lead to the very opposite results. But none of these points is made in the book. Instead, there is a definite tendency to depict the relation of theory to practice in a way that suggests they are well-nigh incompatible.

Behind this is an obvious attempt to belittle Lenin's role as theorist. Indeed, the very second sentence in the book tells us that "despite his leading role in the International Workingmen's Association, Marx was above all a theorist, whereas Lenin, for all his theoretical work, was above all the strategist and tactician of the revolu-

tion." And somewhat later this is restated more bluntly: "For Marx, the prime consideration was revolutionary cognition, for Lenin it was revolutionary action" (p. 16). Also this, in another part of the book: "Lenin often found himself in tense situations in which the balance of theory and practice was extremely unstable." Lastly, the assertion, in the concluding pages, that "his (Lenin's) views on matters that were patently not his *forte*, were presented as being obligatory, for instance on problems of philosophy" (p. 167).

The formula: theorist Marx vs. tactician and strategist Lenin is inherently wrong. For no Marxist can abstract himself from the vital difference in historical epochs. Nor can he overlook the fact that an important part of Lenin's theoretical works was written in the process of combating opportunism, which, in the opening years of the century — after the more blatant anti-Marxist trends had been overcome — dominated the Second International. Of course, one can understand why the authors bypass this crucial aspect of Lenin's theoretical works (and of Lenin as theorist). The fight against Right opportunism is mentioned only in passing, and the objective factors that necessitated this prolonged fight are disregarded.

This approach to Leninism is a counterposing of revolutionary action to revolutionary theory, as if one could exist without the other, especially after the rise of scientific socialism. Intrinsic in this approach is disregard of the fact that many of Lenin's outstanding theoretical propositions are contained not only in his major works, but also in speeches and articles relating to concrete events of the time.

After Marx and Engels, who, it might be asked, contributed more to Marxist philosophy than Lenin? And in general, are we justified in separating his contribution to theory—even when not directly related to philosophy—from his role as philosopher? In his "Problems of Historical Materialism" Gramsci remarks in this context: "Lenin advanced philosophy as such by advancing political theory and practice. Inasmuch as construction of the apparatus of hegemony implies the emergence of new ideological forms and determines the reform of consciousness and methods of cognition, it is an act of cognition, a philosophical act."

In our day we can say that, because of its creative application in differing conditions, Marxism-Leninism has resulted in such deep-going changes in the world that this alone makes it the subject of any

philosophy worthy of the name.

Marek and Fischer admit that Lenin's Marxism was skilfully applied to the specific conditions of Russia. But here, too, they try to oppose Marx the theorist to Lenin the strategist and tactician. This is meant to suggest, apparently, that the application of Marxism to so herculean a feat as leadership of the first socialist revolution in the world was possible without the further development of Marxist theory. The implications of the October Revolution, of course, go far beyond specific Russian conditions and contain elements likely to be repeated everywhere, though in different forms.

Similarly indicative are other attempts at tendentious treatment. We are asked to believe, for instance, that "obsessed by his aim, and at the same time mindful of the situation . . . Lenin in the decisive days and hours often refused to reckon with the majority. Such was the case on April 16 (3.—E.W.), 1917 after he arrived in Petrograd and called for transition from bourgeois to proletarian revolution, and on the eve of the armed uprising in October 1917" (p. 15).

Does that conform to fact? The *April Theses* were published in *Pravda* with the following remarks by Lenin: "I did not arrive in Petrograd until the night of April 3, and therefore at the meeting on April 4 I could, of course, deliver the report on the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat only on my own behalf, and with reservations as to insufficient preparation" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 21). Kamenev, who opposed the *April Theses*, argued that before Lenin's arrival the Central Committee Bureau had held a different view. Lenin comments on this in the preface to his "Letters on Tactics": "After a number of consultations, we unanimously concluded that it would be advisable *openly* to discuss our differences, and thus provide material for the All-Russia Conference of our Party (the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, united under the Central Committee) which is to meet in Petrograd on April 20, 1917" (*Ibid*, pp. 42-43).

The Petrograd City Party Conference, which met on April 27 (14), unanimously approved the Theses, and the All-Russia Conference, which opened on May 7 (April 24), adopted a resolution in the spirit of Lenin's Theses.

Now the second example. The decisive meeting of the Party Central Committee before the October rising took place on October 23 (10). Whom did the majority

support? Lenin's draft resolution calling for the armed uprising was adopted by 10 votes to two (Zinoviev and Kamenev) and approved at an extended Central Committee meeting on October 29 (16), at which the majority supported Lenin. There can be no question of a "supernatural miracle" that made possible the victory of the revolution in defiance of the Party "majority."

Why do Marek and Fischer misrepresent Lenin's position? Why do they indulge in the fantasy of Lenin being "obsessed by his aim" and ignoring the opinion of the majority? On the same page, practically side by side with the charge that Lenin paid scant attention to the majority, we find this: "Even after the fatal decision of the 10th Bolshevik Congress (March 8-16, 1921) about the 'monolithic' character of the Party and the ban on factions, Lenin did not prevent open discussion in the party . . ." And elsewhere: "The problem of applying in other countries and other conditions the forms and formulas originating in Russian conditions" was clarified "when the 10th Bolshevik Congress prohibited the organization in the party of factions and groups with their own platforms, and the Communist International, being a 'world party', made this principle obligatory for all its affiliates. Lenin was convinced that this principle could be combined with maximum information and discussion within the party" (p. 34).

One can only infer that Marek and Fischer favor the existence of factions. Otherwise they would hardly describe the decision to ban them as "fatal." Of course, they are fully entitled to their views—just as a party is fully entitled to decide whether or not to tolerate factions. But they are distorting reality in depicting Lenin as not really believing in democratic centralism—and do so presumably because they do not believe in it themselves. They have conjured up a Lenin who has nothing in common with what Lenin really said or did.

In misrepresenting historical truth, Marek and Fischer make much play on the word "monolithic" in connection with the 10th Party Congress. That word does not occur in Lenin's speeches at the congress or in its resolutions. It gained currency later, after Lenin's death and after the inner-Party struggle had been resolved. The word "fatal" could more validly be applied to this artificial equation of the term "monolithic" and "prohibition of factions." For surely there is a difference between prohibiting factions and this abuse of the term "monolithic." But perhaps the

prohibition of factions is supposed to be a symptom of degeneration? Perhaps the purpose is to give the impression that maximum freedom of information and discussion is possible only if factions are allowed?

At its 20th Congress, the Austrian Communist Party reaffirmed its ban on factions, emphasizing, in the new Party Rules, the need for maximum information to enable Party members to form a comprehensive judgment on issues under discussion. What prompted this decision? Dictation by a "world party"? Or the abundant proof of past experience that factions impair inner-Party democracy, tend to turn principled debate into an unprincipled power struggle, and paralyze the Party's combat ability?

Marek and Fischer lay special stress on the role of the subjective factor in history. In the revolutionary reconstruction of society the key subjective factor is the Party. That is why Lenin—as distinct from the fatalists, mechanistic determinists, opportunist evolutionists and romantic utopians—attached such importance to this subjective factor and, while promoting free discussion within the Party, took care to protect it against the opportunist contagion, which would prevent effective realization of its objective opportunities.

Lenin wrote of revisionism: "Wherein lies its inevitability in capitalist society? Why is it more profound than the differences of national peculiarities and of degrees of capitalist development? Because in every capitalist country, side by side with the proletariat, there are always broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors . . . It is quite natural that the petty-bourgeois world-outlook should again and again crop up in the ranks of the broad workers' parties" (Vol. 15, p. 39). It is therefore only natural for a revolutionary Communist party politically and organizationally to safeguard itself, by open, principled discussion, against the emergence of opportunist trends and factions, either or both of which would paralyze its activity.

What especially strikes one in this book is that it all but ignores Lenin's fight against Right-wing opportunism. The fact that Leninism and the world Communist movement arose and developed in irreconcilable struggle against diverse forms of opportunism is glossed over. And, naturally, there is no explanation of the qualitative distinction between Leninism and

ideological opponents of opportunism in the Second International, no clue to the socio-economic roots of opportunism and the factors that make the fight against it imperative. One can legitimately ask: have the roots of opportunism changed, and if so, in what way? Do they operate in our day, and if so, how? One can understand why the authors do not pose these questions, let alone answer them. But how are we to understand the fact that a book entitled "What Lenin Really Said" deliberately omits what he really did say on this question?

The omission leads to some very curious results. For instance, the authors ascribe to Lenin what they call a "great delusion"—for two years after October he banked on the possibility of revolution in some capitalist countries. That revolution was possible in some countries, but was prevented largely by the betrayal of the Social-Democrat leaders who did not want a revolution, is not brought out, nor is the reader told what Lenin wrote and said about this betrayal. The reader is left to infer that Lenin misjudged the objective situation and succumbed to subjectivist delusions. Since the authors attach such importance to the subjective factor, one would have expected them to use this example of how a great opportunity was allowed to slip primarily because of the subjective factor.

Marek and Fischer have liberally laced their book with numerous quotations against "Left radicalism." This is understandable, considering the revival of anarchist views in many countries. True, Lenin remarked in his "Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," that "anarchism was not infrequently a kind of penalty for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement" (Vol. 31, p. 32). And contrary to what the authors say, it was no "accident" that Lenin regarded Left radicalism and *Right-wing opportunism* as kindred phenomena.

A chapter in "Left-Wing' Communism" is headed: "The Struggle Against Which Enemies in the Working-Class Movement Helped Bolshevism Develop, Gain Strength, and Become Steeled." And this is Lenin's answer: "First and foremost, the struggle against opportunism . . . Naturally, this was Bolshevism's principal enemy in the working-class movement. It still remains the principal enemy on an international scale" (Vol. 31, p. 31). And the importance he attached to the struggle against

this enemy warning against any underestimation of it, can be judged from the following passage in his programmatic article "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism": "But the social-chauvinist or (what is the same thing) opportunist *trend* can neither disappear nor 'return' to the revolutionary proletariat. Wherever Marxism is popular among the workers, this political trend, this 'bourgeois labor party', will swear by the name of Marx. It cannot be prohibited from doing this, just as a trading firm cannot be prohibited from using any particular label . . . The fact is that 'bourgeois labor parties', as a political phenomenon, have already been formed in *all* the foremost capitalist countries, and that unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these parties—or groups, trends, etc., it is all the same—there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a socialist labor movement" (Vol. 23, p. 118).

Marek and Fischer regard Right-wing opportunism as a minor phenomenon, something not worthy of their attention, and this, presumably, corresponds to their political attitude. But it does not correspond to what Lenin said. One would ask the authors: if we are not to draw a sharp division in ideological struggle, as Lenin did, then where should the dividing line be drawn? Here, too, the reader is left in the dark.

Lastly, one more example of how the authors use Lenin quotations on so important an issue as peaceful paths to socialism. They write: "Like Marx and Engels, Lenin was convinced that, generally speaking, capitalism could be overthrown only by force. But in 1920, in a polemic with the Austro-Marxist Otto Bauer at the Second Comintern Congress, he said that peaceful replacement of capitalism was theoretically possible if, for instance, the workers won power in nine decisive capitalist countries, the capitalists in a tenth, small country would realize that further resistance was hopeless" (p. 69).

Lenin did not speak of nine decisive countries. Ridiculing a theory advanced by Bauer, he remarked: "For example, let us assume that in nine countries, including all the Great Powers . . ." (Vol. 30, p. 360). And so, a simple hypothesis abstracted from real conditions and, moreover, treated sarcastically, is in this book twisted into an example of possible "peaceful

replacement" of capitalism.

Neither Marx nor Engels ever regarded peaceful or violent transition to socialism as a matter of principle, but rather as a matter of feasibility and advisability. But neither Marx nor Lenin ever made any secret of their principled distinction between revolutionaries and non-revolutionaries: the former speak of peaceful paths only when they are sure that the objective conditions for this exist, whereas the latter call for peaceful transition in all circumstances.

In this context, it is significant that in his later writings Fischer proclaims that the very idea of proletarian dictatorship is fallacious, and not only in present-day conditions, but even in the past, in the days of Lenin, or earlier still. Marek, in his "Stalin Myth," reduces the problem of revolutionary social reconstruction to the achievement of a high material level by expanding the productive forces, and to the perfection of "revolutionary democracy."

At one point the authors even reproach Lenin for pursuing a "one-sided policy aimed directly at proletarian revolution" (p. 67). And they try to substantiate it by citing Lenin's comments on Engels' remarks about the democratic republic being a specific form of proletarian dictatorship. But Lenin pointed out that in Engels' view the democratic republic would provide the ground for such a sharpening of the class struggle that would make proletarian dictatorship possible.

This book will leave anyone unacquainted with Lenin's writings with a wrong picture of Leninism. First, because it wholly ignores the crucial importance of the fight against diverse forms of opportunism, and Lenin's fight on two fronts. This is meant to instil the idea that, in our day, the fight should be shifted to other fronts. Second, because the authors' treatment of the problem of achieving and maintaining power does not correspond to what Lenin wrote on the subject. Third, because Lenin's views on the decisive role of the Party are not explained. Without bothering to argue their case, the authors simply negate Lenin's standards of Party life, which have acquired such importance internationally, for example, on the question of factions.

Fourth, and last, because the international significance of Leninism is deliberately and persistently belittled, on the spurious pretext that it has only specific

Russian relevance. That is squarely at odds with what Lenin wrote: "... taking international significance to mean the international validity or the historical inevitability of a repetition, on an international scale, of what has taken place in our country, it must be admitted that certain fundamental features of our revolution do possess that significance" (Vol. 31, p. 21). The question of how, in what forms, the basic features of this revolution will be repeated should, of course, be further studied. And this will not be helped by

questioning, albeit indirectly, the international significance of Leninism, even on the pretext that "peaceful replacement" of capitalism is possible, though in our day this is just as dubious as it was half a century ago.

To conclude: the book's indirect polemics are spearheaded not against the class enemy and his accomplices in the workers' movement but against vital theoretical propositions of scientific communism.

E. WIMMER

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So'ò xuất nhập khẩu sách báo 32.
Hai Ba trung, Hà-nội

