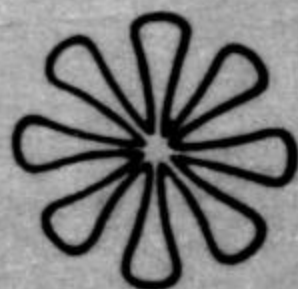
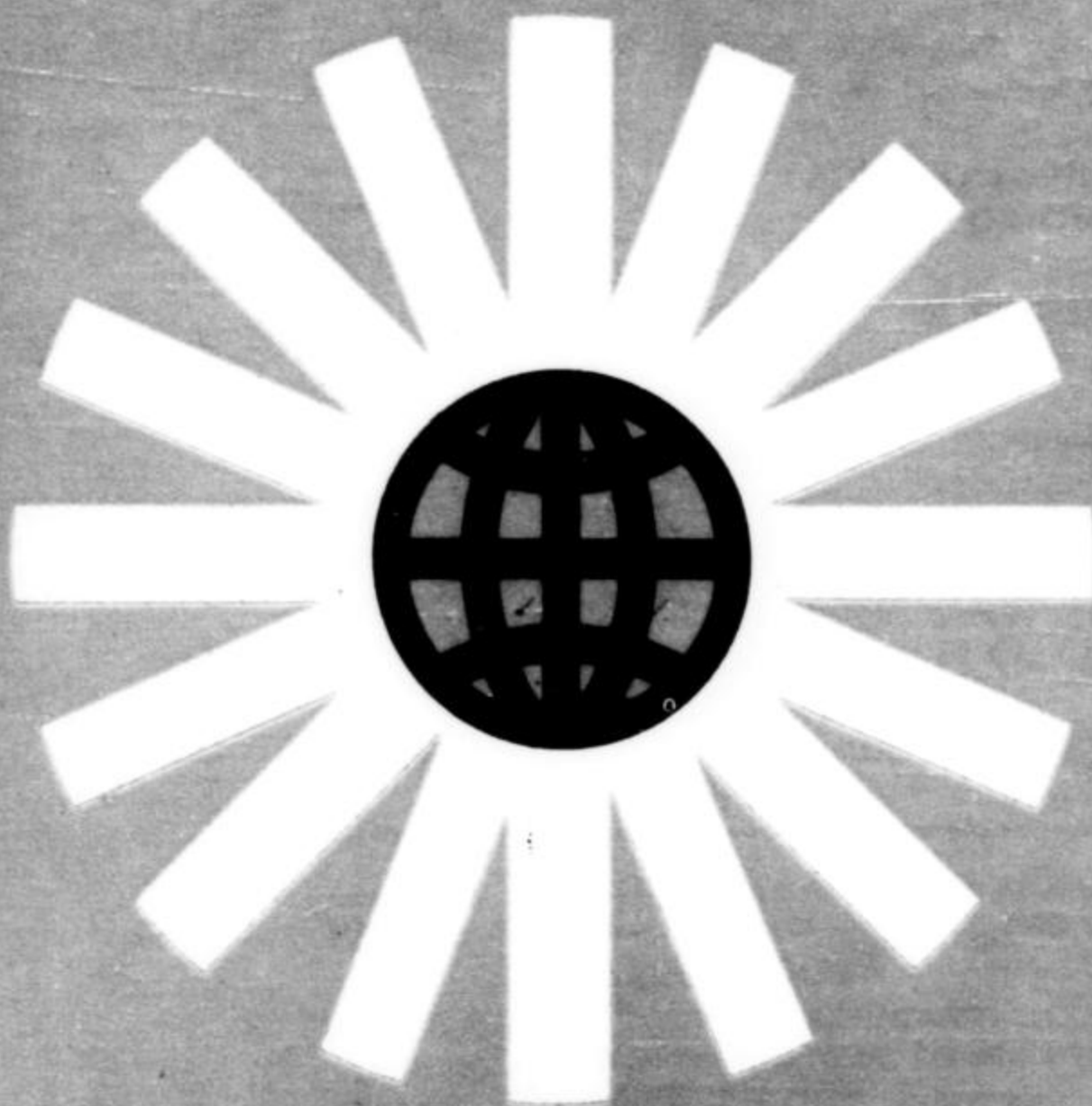


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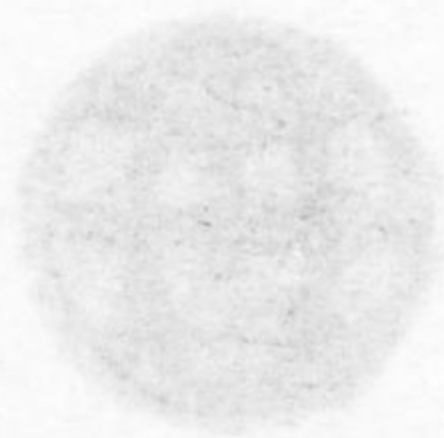
Issued by
**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

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PARTY CARDS
(CP of
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4 (164) • 1970



information bulletin—4 (164) Vol. 8

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

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Published as a Supplement to WORLD MARXIST REVIEW,
North American edition of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM by

PROGRESS BOOKS

487 ADELAIDE ST. WEST, TORONTO 2B, ONTARIO, CANADA

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Information Bulletin - Vol. 8

PRINTED IN CANADA
APRIL 17, 1970



XU

ON THE EXCHANGE OF PARTY CARDS

LETTER* OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Comrades,

We have entered the 25th year since the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army and the 100th year since the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Both these memorable anniversaries afford an occasion to look back on the road which the Communist Party, the working class and other working people of Czechoslovakia have travelled. These anniversaries commit us, now that we have been edified by experience, to do our best to proceed to the next decade in a proper manner, to strive for the further all-round progress of Socialist Czechoslovakia. This is all the more so because the socialist development of society, particularly in 1968 and the first half of 1969, was slowed down and in many cases reversed. The crisis phenomena of the last few years, which expressed themselves in stagnation, continued in the form of anarchic evolution during the past two years, the most important values of the theory and practice of building socialist society being called in question, the function of the socialist state being seriously impaired and public responsibility, discipline and order reaching a very low point. To make matters worse still, it came to an ideological, political and organizational disruption of our party, to a decline in the Party's leading role and prestige and to an unpardonable infringement of our relations of alliance with other socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union. The foundations of socialism in our country were undermined and a counter-revolutionary coup was in the making.

We have been striving to overcome the causes and effects of this abnormal development ever since last April and have made some partial progress in this brief span. We want to confirm these positive results and to follow them up so as to make the year 1970 a year of all-round consolidation.

You know only too well that complex developments and crisis situations, above all during the past two years, strongly affected the activity, attitude and views of many Communists and whole Party organizations. Despite all the measures adopted by the Party's Central Committee to date and the partial results achieved, the main task has yet to be fulfilled. It consists in *restoring Party unity on the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, raising the efficiency*

*Full title, "Letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to all the branches and members of the Party on the exchange of CPC membership cards in 1970." *Rudé Právo*, February 3, 1970.

and revolutionary militancy of the Party, reviving its inner life and exercising its leading role at every level of Party building, in all the echelons of the Party and in every sphere of public life.

This task is to be facilitated, among other things, by the exchange of Party membership cards which we want to carry out in the first half of this year and which we expect to help mobilize all the forces of the Party, strengthen its ideological and organizational unity, increase the active participation of every member in the life and work of the Party and its branches, tighten Party discipline, resume the work of Party organizations and rid the Party of all who have dissociated themselves from its Marxist-Leninist policies and betrayed its ideological and organizational principles.

The political importance we attach to the exchange of Party cards calls for the most careful, thoughtful and thorough preparation for and accomplishment of this task. We must positively rule out all administrative or formalist approach, for this would depreciate the very meaning and purpose of the task. After the exchange of membership cards the Party should emerge solidly united, both ideologically and organizationally, and should be able to continue putting the ideas of Marxism-Leninism into practice and to lead our socialist society along the path of comprehensive development. On this basis we shall then prepare for and hold the 14th Congress of our Party.

We are passing through the most complicated period of post-war development. Every Communist who is not indifferent to the goals and ideals of the Communist movement nor to the destiny of socialism in this country is pondering over the causes of the crisis in which we find ourselves and on how to overcome it.

The important thing today is for every Communist to contribute his share to the common cause and to work for the fulfilment of the tasks set by the Central Committee at its recent meetings. Nothing could be more foreign to Communists than pessimism, than sitting back and waiting for someone else to build a new house for them. Nothing warrants such an attitude—neither our goals, history, experience, the results we have achieved, nor the hurdles still in our way.

It would be an unpardonable mistake for us to lose sight of our objectives and chief mission because of the difficulties and problems of today. We are trying to make our socialist society a community of happy and contented people. We Communists are often accused of always talking about society as a whole and hardly seeing the individual man. This is an obvious calumny of our enemies. We proceed from the principle that the individual man's material and spiritual standard of living depends directly on the level of society as a whole. The wealthier society is, the greater the

opportunities for the individual to satisfy his private requirements. We do not deny that we regard the cult of individualism and petty-bourgeois stagnation as something alien to and incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist conception of socialism.

We see the meaning of our work in guaranteeing the growth of our national wealth, in steadily raising the educational standard of our people, in ensuring that culture makes our life ever fuller. We do not forget that in our mutual relations there persists much that poisons our life. These relations still show many signs of selfishness, numerous people think of none but their own interests and many an individual regards work for the community as a burden. We want and will try to bring about requisite changes in this respect. We are not dreamers, however, and do not delude ourselves into believing that such changes for the better can be achieved in a short time.

We know that the attitude to labor and human relations does not depend solely on people's good will or ill will. A great deal depends on the standards of organization, on how social and economic activity is guided, how the various government and economic agencies function, how thoroughly everyone is made aware of his responsibility and called to account for the job entrusted to him, how competently everyone works within the bounds of his powers, to what extent and how fruitfully people take part in managing their affairs, and how socialist legality is enforced.

It is true that as matters stand today these words may sound untimely. We should never forget, however, that our Communist Party has humanist goals inscribed on its banner. Nor are they merely inscribed, for during the past 25 years we have done much to attain them. In class struggles and in effecting revolutionary social changes, our Party has always been prompted by the interests of the working man, of his emancipation from capitalist exploitation.

No one can deny that the Communist Party has always been by rights the only and real spokesman of the working class and the bulk of other working people of Czechoslovakia.

History has demonstrated that the Communist Party was the only force that came forward with a positive program for building a new, socially more just social system—socialism. It was we, the Communists, who searched for and found ways and means of carrying out this program in the conditions of our country and were undaunted by criticism.

However difficult and challenging the test we are now faced with, we must not forget that in the 50 years of our Party's history, the most glorious chapters were written in those periods when we had to overcome great difficulties, when the strength and solidity of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism had

to be tested again as had the Party's ability to translate socialist ideas into reality and in this way fulfil its historic mission, which was to break the power of capital and build a new, socially just system, a classless society.

The Communist Party has always realized that socialism is the only possible solution for our people, a solution assuring their future. The Party was never disloyal to its mission, either at the time of the bourgeois republic or under fascist slavery. To the Communists, the fight against fascism was a great class and national struggle in which the ideas of national liberation and of restored political independence merged with the desire to take the road of socialism after liberation. The Party made great sacrifices for the triumph of these ideas. As much as one-third of its members fell in that battle. Those sacrifices, the growing influence of the Party and, most important of all, our country's liberation by the Soviet Army made it possible to accomplish a democratic and national revolution and gradually to set about effecting socialist changes. The working class, backed by the small and middle peasants and progressive intellectuals and led by our Party, foiled all the attempts of the bourgeoisie to reverse that development. In February 1948 it was definitively decided that our peoples would under the leadership of the CPC embark on building socialism.

No one can deny the important results which our people have achieved under the leadership of the Party during the past 25 years. They are due essentially to the socialization of the means of production, the development of socialist forms of public life, and important class and social changes which had their effect on every sphere of our life. We owe them to the devotion, activity, initiative, ability and skill of our working people. We may well be proud of these results. Let no one doubt—we will not allow the honest effort of millions to be defamed and smeared.

No new social system asserts itself easily or painlessly. Our socialist development, for its part, was spared neither mistakes, shortcomings, nor tragic errors. This is no reason, however, to condemn 25 years of work and struggle by our people. After all, it was we, the Communists, our Party, who found the strength to disclose them and set out to remedy them.

A critical look at past development reveals that at the turn of the fifties we had to solve a number of important problems in order to make headway in building socialist society.

First of all, the Party had to perform its leading role in complete harmony with Leninist principles, eliminating formalism in its work as it did so and furthering inner-Party democracy. It became an urgent task to raise the efficiency of leading work based on the principles of democratic centralism. We had to ensure a

judicious and smooth changeover from extensive to intensive economic development. It was a fatal error that no conclusions were drawn in time from the mistakes and tragic errors pointed out by the 20th Congress of the CPSU. It was particularly essential to develop such forms and methods of leading work as would enable us to concentrate all creative forces on overcoming adverse influences and help to develop socialist democracy and encourage people's activity and initiative in every public sphere.

It would be wrong to say that the Party leadership of the time was unaware of the vast problems and tasks to be dealt with. However, it underrated their importance and proved unable to find proper solutions to them. As a result, those problems began to develop into open contradictions and conflicts.

At the very beginning of the sixties it was announced that socialism had triumphed in our country but no clear and specific long-range program for economic development was put forward nor was any deep objective analysis made. Goals were advanced that were unrealistic at the time, and instead of following a sober and reasonable policy, promises were made and shortcomings concealed.

Instead of fundamental solutions, the leadership of the time proposed partial, often ill-advised rectifications. Slogans breeding the illusion that our generation would live under communism, that the housing problem would soon be solved, and so on, clashed with reality before long. The result was a gradual decline in confidence in that leadership and, in the end, in the Party. This trend was also fostered by the contradiction between the effort to encourage the initiative of the working people and growing material losses due to outdated methods of management.

The fact that various problems were not solved told on the entire political and social life of society, especially on the economy. Low-efficiency management gradually led to a drop in labor productivity and effective production. As requirements grew it became more difficult to meet them, the housing problem became more and more complicated and the service industry lagged further and further behind needs. There were indications that the need to develop agricultural production on an intensive basis was underestimated.

At a time when it was necessary boldly to tackle the new problems while taking a principled stand against all individual or group views disputing the role of the Party and the values of socialism, the leadership could not mobilize its Marxist-Leninist theoretical and ideological front. Furthermore, the importance of political and ideological work in the Party and among the masses was strongly underrated.

Proceeding from the wrong idea that our society was already

solidly united both politically and morally, the Party leadership of the time underrated the class point of view, the fact that for a long time after the working class has taken power and the capitalists have been expropriated there persist conditions for the eventual resumption of activity by forces not reconciled to the victory of the revolution. Given the fundamental contradiction between capitalism and socialism, it was necessary above all to stem far more effectively the dissemination of subversive bourgeois ideas and a petty-bourgeois mentality. But the Marxist-Leninist dictum that the most difficult, exacting and time-consuming task of the socialist revolution is to remould the social consciousness and thinking of the masses was forgotten.

Education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism became less and less effective and the growing problems of relations between our peoples were not solved. Right-wing opportunities, revisionists and liberalist-minded intellectuals, as well as anti-socialist forces began gradually to exploit all these unsettled problems.

Instead of working to solve pressing problems and of fighting unrelentingly against the developing front of revisionism and right-wing opportunism, the leadership of the time in a number of cases resorted to grand gestures which deepened people's distrust and doubts as to the leadership's ability to remove the causes of crisis phenomena.

Yet neither society nor the Party can allow itself to stagnate, to mark time. The Central Committee could not be indifferent to the mounting discontent. It had greatly to raise the standard of leadership in carrying out the decisions of the 13th Party Congress. This was, indeed, the Central Committee's approach to the decisions it adopted in January 1968.

Comrades, the purpose of the January 1968 meeting of the CC CPC was to eliminate obstacles to the further progress of society, to remove mistakes and deformations affecting the prestige of the Party and undermining its leading role, and effectively to fulfill urgent tasks in building socialism.

The outcome of the January meeting induced the majority of the Party and the general public to engage in activity which also expressed itself in a number of views, both correct and incorrect, on how the various political problems should be solved. It was expected that the new leadership of the Party would carry out, gradually but energetically, measures to execute the decisions of the 13th Congress and the January 1968 plenum of the Central Committee, that it would elaborate and improve working methods and provide without delay optimal conditions for fully using the working people's initiative to promote socialist development in our republic.

However, almost three months after the January meeting the new leadership of the Party had not yet given answers to those vitally important problems. It kept the Party, the working class and the public in a state of uncertainty till as late as April 1968. The decision of the January meeting to give the Party and the public a document—the Action Program—that would help Communists to see clearly in burning problems of Party work and the further socialist development of our country was carried out in an atmosphere marked by strong pressure from Right-wing opportunists. Ota Sik, Josef Spacek, Josef Smrkovsky, Frantisek Kriegel, Vaclav Slavik, Eduard Goldstucker and others like them had many passages of a Right-opportunist and revisionist character included in the Action Program.

Interpretation of the decisions of the January 1968 plenum was monopolized by certain members of the Central Committee, such as Joseph Smrkovsky, Frantisek Kriegel, Frantisek Vodslon, Josef Boruvka, Vaclav Slavik, Joseph Spacek or Vaclav Prchlik, who posed as “men of January.” In reality, they obscured those decisions and distorted them in a Rightist sense. That was how a revisionist line came into being, with its well-known shibboleths of “democracy and freedom,” of “progress and humanism,” conceived from a petty-bourgeois standpoint. Everything was wrapped in the cloak of a new model of “democratic socialism,” of “socialism with a human face.” Gradually there developed in the Central Committee itself and in its Presidium—and afterwards in other Party committees—active Right opportunist nuclei seeking control of the Party and of government agencies. The Party Presidium could therefore not check the mustering of Right-wing forces effectively. It did nothing to expose them, nor could it restore the unity of thought and action of the Party ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Its carelessness and its political naivete and helplessness had a harmful effect on the entire Party and on public opinion.

The Right wing of the Party leadership cleared the way for anti-socialist forces. These forces seized the opportunity to make preparations for revenge for February 1948, and for a reversion to the bourgeois system. They took advantage of past mistakes to create a hysterical atmosphere of fear and uncertainty and clear the decks for a counter-revolutionary coup. Their effort, disguised by demagogical catchwords about “democratizing” and “regenerating” socialism, did not meet with effective resistance. The Party was smeared, nationalist passions were fanned and the unity of Czechs and Slovaks was loosened. Our closest allies—the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, were made an object of distrust. The Rightists were drawing ever closer to the anti-socialist forces outside the Party. By late June 1968 this process had gone so far that spokesmen of the Right and the anti-socialist forces

came to terms on the counter-revolutionary platform of the lampoon "2,000 Words."

The Rightists in the Party leadership were also in touch with the political underworld, with KAN and K231, which grouped the most diverse anti-socialist and criminal elements in addition to unjustly convicted citizens. Preparations were under way as well to restore the Social-Democratic Party organizationally. The sponsors had already formed a Central Committee, 30 district committees and over 300 organizations, as they themselves admitted. Contacts were also established with anti-socialist minded dignitaries of the Church, who were busy promoting the "Cause of Ecumenical Rebirth," with Ludak elements and doubtful elements of the so-called "Revolutionary Committee of the Democratic Party." In Slovakia the Rightists had similar aims but they chose a different, less overt tactic in view of the difference in conditions.

The Right-wing opportunists in the Party leadership contributed to the anti-socialist and anti-Soviet forces seizing control of the mass media, through which they deliberately conducted a vast campaign against the Party, smearing, vilifying and denying the positive results of 20 years of socialist development in our country. The press, radio and television interfered in Party life, forced the publication of inner-Party documents and held polls to decide who should or should not be elected to the CC CPC. They launched mud-slinging campaigns against those Party members who expressed firm Marxist-Leninist, internationalist views. In this way thousands of experienced and tested leading Party, government and economic functionaries who had worked devotedly for socialism were eliminated from Party committees and public life.

In the mass media, the anti-socialist forces were backed most actively by Jiri Pelikan, Kamil Winter, Jiri Kanturek, Bedrich Rohan, Vladimir Tosek, Milan Weiner, Igor Kratochvil, Zdenek Hejzlar, Slava Volny, Karel Jezdinsky, Alois Polednak, Jan Prochazka, Ludvik Pacovsky, Jan Stern, Ladislav Velensky, Milan Huebl, Karel Kyncl, Jiri Lederer, Dusan Havlicek, Ludek Pachman, Jiri Ruml, Jiri Hochman, A. J. Liehm, Pavel Kohout, Ludvik Vaculik, Ivan Klima, Karel Kosik, Dusan Hamsik, Milan Jungman, Ivan Svitak, Vladimir Skutina, Jaroslav Sabata, Vojtech Mencl, Mioslav Jelinek, Zdenek Fort, Zdislav Sulc, Michal Lakatos, Miroslav Jodl, Jaromir Horec, Evzen Loeb, Emil Stefan, Rudolf Olsinsky, Ladislav Mnacko, Roman Kalisky, Edo Fris, Pavol Stevcek, Zora Jesenska and others.

The massed attacks of the Right and the counter-revolutionary forces at public meetings, in the press, radio and television, effectively backed by Western anti-Communist centers, were designed to disrupt the ideological and organizational unity of the Party, assume control of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, of

youth and women's organizations, and disrupt our socialist system. The Rightists were preparing amendments to the electoral system that would provide them with key positions in the highest representative bodies. They wanted to satisfy their ambitions to the detriment of the good name of the Party, against which they organized a discrediting campaign. They clearly wanted to impose on the people deputies like Frantisek Kriegel, Eduard Goldstuecker, Ota Sik, Jiri Pelikan, Zdenek Hejzlar, A. J. Liehm, Slava Volny, Kamil Winter and others.

The sound forces in the Party, which welcomed the results of January 1968 and on which the Party leadership could have safely relied for support, were left to their own devices. The progressing disruptive process was resisted longest of all, relatively speaking, by the Party organizations in the factories, the working class as a whole and the cooperative peasantry. Voices were raised among them warning earnestly against the subversive activity of the mass media and expressing apprehensions and concern about socialism in the CSSR. But the Party leadership did not heed these voices. On the contrary, it exasperated fair-minded Party members by giving in continuously to revisionist influences and the pressure of anti-socialist forces. By refusing under various pretexts to meet with representatives of the CPSU and the four other fraternal Communist parties in Warsaw, it revealed to the whole world its discord with its closest friends. That step was the signal for a nationalist and anti-Soviet campaign that culminated in the demand for neutrality, for withdrawal of the CSSR from the Warsaw pact and abolition of the People's Militias.

The revisionist wing of the Party leadership interlocked with the so-called "second center" which virtually decided on key political and organizational matters relating to the Party and the state. Its base was made up of the majority of the Prague City Committee of the CPC, the Prague Students' Committee, leading staff members of certain scientific institutions—Party functionaries included—the Coordinating Committee of Unions of Creative Workers, the leadership of the Journalists' Union, the editorial board of *Literarni Listy* and others. The effort of the second center was aimed at ending the activity of the legally elected Central Committee of the CPC, at taking over its functions, establishing control over the entire Party and the state, reversing the socialist system in our republic and disengaging the country from the community of socialist countries, above all from the Soviet Union. In terms of its implications it was a counter-revolutionary objective whose achievement would have meant the end of socialism in our country and confronted the whole Czechoslovak people with deadly danger. How far the revisionists and right-wing opportunists were prepared to go is also evident from the deliberations and decisions of

the illegal 14th Congress of the CPC and from the maneuvers of the CC elected by it. That was how their positions were to have been consolidated and the way paved for abolishing the Marxist-Leninist and international character of the Party.

Naturally, the designs of the anti-socialist forces and the unprincipled stand of the Party leadership caused serious concern and apprehensions in the sound nucleus of the Party and among other socialist-minded citizens and in the fraternal Communist parties of the socialist countries allied with ours. And so thousands of Communists in various spheres insisted that our allies, the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, should step in and help.

Our closest allies rightly asked themselves whether they should wait until it came to complete political dislocation in our country and bloody fighting broke out or offer internationalist assistance and avert a tragedy, even assuming that at first this would be misunderstood on our part and on the part of a section of the international Communist movement. To stave off the worst, they sent their troops to defend socialism in our republic and the socialist community as a whole before the counter-revolutionary elements could go on the rampage in our country. The entry of allied troops into our territory, which was an act of internationalist assistance and was in line with the Bratislava talks, spared our country bloodshed and safeguarded it against overt action by counter-revolutionary forces.

Comrades, between late August 1968 and the April 1969 meeting of the CC CPC it was a question of our Party assuming direction of the solution of problems of decisive importance for tranquility and order and for the prevention of eventual conflicts also after the Party and society headed for gradual consolidation.

An unprincipled approach to the execution of the Moscow Protocol and the November 1968 resolution of the CC CPC, and the effort to preserve the results of the so-called Vysocany congress made it impossible to promote consolidation in the Party and in society. All the negative trends of the pre-August period became accentuated, society was shaken by fresh crises and A. Dubcek, who was the main obstacle to the consolidation process, had finally to be recalled.

Only April 1969 marked a resolute effort by the sound forces to re-establish the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party, its unity, militancy and strength. The early successes achieved in the consolidation process are proof of the vitality and indestructibility of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This process shows very clearly that its purpose is to overcome crises and confusion and to make it possible to begin working in a planned way on the solution of urgent problems of society in which our people are interested. In

other words, we are gradually creating conditions that will enable us to discard the burden of the earlier and the recent past, to proceed with greater energy and to release all the creative forces of the Party and the working people for further progress, for new achievements in the economy, science and culture, in meeting the growing needs of the population.

Comrades, the heritage left by the Rightists' policy of the past two years is a very shackling one.

We must concentrate on restoring the fundamental values inherent in socialist society and destroyed by Rightist activity. This is why we call the attention of all Communists and other working people to the need to fulfil the consolidation program we approved last May. To use a figure of speech, we are only midway in carrying it out.

How shall we go about strengthening the Party, restoring its unity on Marxist-Leninist principles and raising its capacity for action?

The Central Committee is of the opinion that much of this objective can be achieved in the near future, in the course of the exchange of Party cards, which should be attended by interviews and individual work with every Party member. This is not the first time that the Party has used this method in exchanging membership cards. Compared with the past, however, there are some new factors which add importance and urgency to the task. The last two years constituted a real and strict test of the way of thinking, the attitude and activity of every member of the Party. That period must be closed with each member individually.

For a long time now a situation has persisted in our Party in which many members do not, as we all know, fulfil their basic Party duties. Their passivity has an adverse effect on the Party's inner life and external activity. We must investigate, reveal and remove the actual causes of this passivity. Branch organizations should, for their part, begin to live a full life. It is essential to eliminate from their work formalism, inconsistency, lack of principle and the low standard of work by Party committees among the individual members. The passivity of many members, including those of long standing, was due to the mistakes made by the Party leadership in the past decade. It would be wrong mechanically to expel these people, without giving all the fair-minded a chance to become active members. This is not to say, however, that we should keep in the Party the indolent, those who are indifferent to the Party and try to retain their membership solely as a means of furthering their narrow personal interests. We therefore think it will be correct during the interviews to judge the views and deeds of Communists not during the past two years only but over a longer period. Above all we must establish in the most concrete terms

how each Communist is going to fulfil his duties, to help strengthen the ideological unity of the Party, raise its efficiency, increase its influence on other working people, its leading role, and improve the work of branch organizations.

The status of Party member requires a high degree of devotion to and enthusiasm for the cause of the Party and the working class. All the less is it permissible to retain in the Party people who would like to secure personal benefits by means of their membership cards. There is no room in the Party for careerists and self-seekers. Their behavior discredits the good name of Party member and repels honest non-Communists—workers, peasants and intellectuals. In this connection we should recall the experience of the recent period. A substantial proportion of the organizers and zealots of Right opportunist and revisionist trends was made up of people who disguised their careerism and unhealthy ambitions with fine slogans, trying for demagogic purposes to ingratiate themselves with the working people.

It is worthy of note that in seeking power in Party and state they never put forward a positive program offering realistic solutions. They built their bid for a career on nothing but criticism of the past. This is why parting with them will help to strengthen the Party and enhance its prestige among the working people.

We are trying to ensure that only those who will have no difficulty in adhering consistently to the Party Rules nor in fulfilling the duties flowing from them stay and work on in the Party. *The Party Rules establish that a Party member is in duty bound consistently to implement Party policy, explain it to the masses and win them for its fulfilment; strengthen and carry forward the Party's links with the people, participate in political work among the masses, keep in constant touch with non-Communists at the places of work and residence, take careful account of the opinions and requirements of the working people and react to them in time; fight against all that infringes the principles of Party policy and tends to disrupt Party unity; take an active part in all the activities of his branch organization and in Party and public activity in his neighborhood; see to it that the principles of democratic centralism are fully respected;*

— work for the growth of production and the productive forces, set an example of Communist attitude to labor, be a pioneer of all that is new and progressive, strive for the utilization in practice of the best methods tried and tested by experience; educate himself and master the latest achievements in technology, improve his skills, practise economy, increase and protect socialist public property, the mainstay of the strength and prosperity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic;

— take an active part in political life, in the management of gov-

ernment and other public affairs, in economic and cultural development; set an example of fulfilling his duties towards society, promote socialist social relations;

- strengthen and maintain the ideological and organizational unity of the Party as the principal condition for its strength and might; see to it that words are matched by deeds, protect the Party against penetration by enemies and careerists, by those whose activity reflects on the Party's prestige; be politically vigilant, keep and safeguard Party and state secrets;

- master Marxism-Leninism, improve his ideological knowledge and contribute actively to the education of members of communist society; fight with might and main against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, against the remnants of private-ownership mentality, religious prejudice and other survivals of the past;

- assimilate and respect communist moral principles; be devoted to communism, develop new relations in society on the lines of collectivism, mutual comradely assistance and cooperation; set an example in his private life, his attitude to his family and his care of the education of his children; be modest, truthful and honest towards the Party and the people;

- promote the ideas of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, strengthen the unity of the Czechs, Slovaks and other peoples of our country, combat nationalism and chauvinism; strengthen the fraternal relations between our people and the people of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the proletarians and other working people of all countries; be uncompromising towards the enemies of socialism and communism, of peace and the freedom of peoples.

- exercise and develop Party criticism and self-criticism and resist attempts to suppress criticism; expose shortcomings injuring the interests of Party and state, strive to eliminate them and call the attention of Party bodies, including the Central Committee, to them; allow no manifestations of indifference; combat immodesty, ostentatiousness, megalomania and conceit, attempts to put local, group or personal interests above the interests of society as a whole;

- respect the Leninist principles of selecting and placing personnel according to political maturity, professional knowledge, organizing ability, actual experience, moral qualities and proficiency; be uncompromising towards infringements of these principles; resist tendencies to select and place people on the strength of personal and friendly relations; prevent the assignment of responsible functions to incompetent people who have not proved their worth in work and have discredited themselves politically;

- keep Party and state discipline, which is binding on every Party member, and expose those who violate it; the Party has one dis-

cipline valid for all Communists without distinction, irrespective of their past services and the functions they hold; fulfil the functions entrusted to him with a full sense of responsibility to the Party and the working people, in accordance with the Party Rules and the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic;

— contribute in every way to the building up of the defense capacity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and fight for peace and friendly cooperation among nations.

Comrades, we wish, however, to stress that in the coming interviews we must not content ourselves with mere declarations, for this would nullify this important political action by allowing those who in their minds disagree with the Party ideologically to remain in its ranks. Everyone should therefore be judged fairly and exactly.

The most important thing during the interviews will be to estimate the views and deeds of every Party member in the recent period.

The Central Committee repeats that in exchanging Party cards we must dissociate organizationally as well from those who have dissociated themselves ideologically from the Party. What kind of people do we mean? Before and after January 1968 there came out in the Party individuals who invariably went against the Party. These people spread in their environment views directed against Party policy, defamed the Party's past and its historic services in building socialism in the CSSR, and strove to undermine its leading role. They opposed the class approach, tried to revise Marxism-Leninism and brought bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology into the Party. They clearly revealed their nationalism in relation to our allies, particularly to the Soviet Union, disputed the foreign policy orientation of our country, smeared and tried to disrupt our political, economic, military and other relations and cooperation with it. Although they continually referred to the people, many of them lacked national pride in regard to the capitalist West. Getting rid of such people will therefore help to strengthen the Party's unity of thought and action.

Of course, it is not question of occasional utterances, mistakes or errors but of recurrent views and deeds that are or were contrary to Party policy. Hence retraction of a specific utterance or attitude on the basis of exact knowledge should not be regarded as a lack of principle but as an honest approach and a prerequisite of correcting mistakes. The Party has always regarded sincere self-criticism and constructive criticism as a method of raising activity, eliminating mistakes and shortcomings in the work of individuals and collective bodies. Needless to say, it will be necessary to determine the measure and degree of responsibility flowing from the position and education of each individual, to discern how sincerely

and self-critically he judges his past conduct. We must not allow anyone to retain his Party card by shamming. It is still a valid rule, especially now, that as the Party is responsible for its members, so each member is responsible for the Party. It is two-way responsibility which should express itself in one's actual effort for the Party and for socialism.

The exchange of membership cards is an opportunity for Party members and branch organizations to ponder carefully over what their contribution to the strength of the Party and its leading role in society has been, is and, above all, should be.

Every Communist should again be reminded of what the Party expects of its members, of what anyone who holds or wants to hold the Party card commits himself to.

We have joined the Party of our own free will, out of conviction. We have assumed of our own free will the obligations flowing from Party membership. The Leninist principles of Party membership establish that *only those who recognize the Program of the Party, submit to its Rules, carry out Party decisions, work in a Party organization and pay membership dues can be members of the Party.*

To be a member of the Party means being firmly and deeply convinced of the correctness of the objectives which the Party sets in its Program: building a socialist society in which the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" will be fully applied. If this immediate task of the Party has to be accomplished, it is essential that every Party member actively promote its fulfilment out of conviction of the correctness of the Party Program, which proceeds from Marxist-Leninist theory. In practice this implies a common and conscious discipline as a fundamental prerequisite of the Party's ideological unity and efficiency.

Closely linked with this is the requirement fully to recognize the principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of building socialist society. Throughout the historical stage of the advance of society to socialism and communism the working class, the only class which can promote the interests of all working people due to its position in society, has played the leading role. The class approach on the national and, above all, the international scale is the fundamental criterion in solving cardinal problems of socialist development. The working class can accomplish this task only if led by its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party, which in socialist society is the highest form of political organization. Under its leadership voluntary mass organizations associate in the National Front, the political expression of the union of all working people in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Voluntary recognition and implementation of the Leninist principles of Party building and Party activity, especially democratic

centralism, collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism, and the fullest development of inner-Party democracy by all Communists are an earnest of our Party's developing its Marxist-Leninist character and fulfilling its social mission.

Furthermore, the Marxist-Leninist character of our Communist Party determines its being part of the international Communist movement and its close links with other socialist countries, particularly with the world's first socialist country, the Soviet Union.

Reasons for membership in the Party other than deep conviction of the correctness of these fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles of building the Party and socialist society are unacceptable. Those who reject these principles and refuse to submit to Party discipline cannot be members of our Communist Party.

The situation in the Party being what it is, consistent and principled adherence to these standards is the basis for restoring the Party's unity of thought and action and for re-establishing its leading role in socialist society. Some people did not respect these principles before January 1968, nor do they respect them today. Now as in the past, their views and activity impair the ideological unity of Party organizations and their capacity for action.

Other members of the Party became, shortly after January 1968, the initiators of attacks on the Party and on socialism and made defamatory statements about our alliance with the Soviet Union.

In assessing the activity of Communists, branch organizations can take guidance from important milestones in development over the past two years. It will certainly be right to have every Party member recall his attitude to the decisions of the May 1968 plenum of the CC, which defined the danger from the right as the main danger, to the counter-revolutionary platform of "2,000 Words," to the events in August 1968 and the Moscow Protocol. There can be no doubt that we must dissociate ourselves from those to whom August 21 and the events linked with it were essentially the culmination of their entire divisive, anti-Party and anti-Soviet activity. These people generally had a share, both before and after August, in all that was linked with attacks on the Party and on socialism.

It will also be right to assess the attitude of Communists to the resolution of the November 1968 plenum of the CC, the campaign for Smrkovsky's election to the Presidency of the Federal Assembly, the January demonstrations and the anti-Soviet events in March, the April, May and, in a number of cases, September plenums of the Central Committee. The attitude and activity of Communists in connection with these major events of 1968 and 1969 are an important criterion of the evolution of Party members.

We point out, however, that a different approach should be taken in judging the views, attitude and activity of those who were deceived and misled. We are far from assessing anyone according only

to his behavior over a few days. We must judge people from every angle, according to their life-long attitude to socialism, according to how they helped the Party achieve its goals, how they committed themselves and what sacrifices they made for the cause of the Party, and thus establish the measure of their responsibility. We have to know their present attitude, to know how they are going to get rid of their shortcomings and errors. We must also bear in mind that many Party members, many workers and cooperative peasants may still be at a loss emotionally. We must fight for them and win them for the policy of the Party. We would be making a big mistake if we allowed this kind of approach to be ignored during the interviews. A still bigger mistake would be to disregard the gradual change of attitude and opinion in the case of a considerable number of Party members, a change which came with better information after the May and September 1969 meetings of the Central Committee.

We wish to make it perfectly clear once again that the main responsibility for the situation which developed at that time falls on the revisionist wing of the former Party leadership, which allowed the Party to lose one position after another in the country and failed to fulfil the commitments and promises it had made to fraternal parties and socialist countries, especially to the Soviet Union.

Anyone who accepts the policy of the new Party leadership should be consistent in this respect. He should express his acceptance again, not so much by a declaration as by deeds, by committing himself. Political principles cannot be an object of doubt. One must stand up for them even at the price of experiencing personal difficulties, and must show a high degree of devotion in applying them.

One of the spheres in which Communists should furnish evidence of their individual activity and devotion is the economy. Their effort and organizing ability must help to encourage the initiative of the working people aimed at carrying out the assignments of the economic plan, particularly by raising labor productivity. Special attention should be given to meeting the demands of the home market for basic commodities and to ensuring deliveries of export items. Communists should be in the lead as regards thrift and highly efficient production, rationalization and effective management of the enterprises, an exacting attitude to one's responsibilities and labor discipline.

Right-wing opportunism in the economic field, whose principal spokesman was O. Sik, went over after January 1968 to an open attack against the Party's leading role in the economy and disrupted the system of planned economic management. Under its pressure the role of the state in the economy was considerably

weakened and so-called tentative economic guidelines were approved for 1969 instead of a plan. The slogan of "democratizing" the economy was intended to exclude branch ministries and managements as well as production units from the management system.

The draft law on the enterprises, forced through by means of a pressure campaign of the Right-wing forces in the trade union movement and the mass media, had a clear political object: by resorting to demagoguery about "production democracy" and the formation of so-called enterprise councils of working people fully to strip the Party of its leading role in the economy and transform public property owned by the whole people into group property.

Demagogically abused increases in wages and other benefits not based on growing labor productivity were an instrument which was to have helped the Rightists to achieve their political ends. On the other hand, prices were allowed to drift.

We have been remedying the damages caused in this field for months now. The Party must devote far greater attention to economic activity than before, although this cannot, of course, be a substitute for economic executives as regards their powers and responsibilities. This increased attention is needed because good economic results are the key to the solution of present-day political problems and create the prerequisites for early political and economic consolidation.

Comrades, five decades of existence of our Party, including 25 years of building socialism, show our Party to have always been a militant organization of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the intelligentsia. The Party has distinguished itself by an explicit program, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, struggle against the influences and remnants of Social-Democratic concepts and of opportunism, by creativity and devotion. Its uncompromising stand in class battles and the consistency with which it has always upheld and promoted the interests of the working people have by rights put the Party at the head of our peoples.

In pondering over the present state of affairs and present tasks, we cannot disregard these historical experiences. From them we learn what we must strive for, what we must maintain and carry forward so as to continue fulfilling our role as the Party of the working class.

The Communists of Czechoslovakia have gone through a trying period in which the viability of ideas and ideals, the firmness and purity of Communist convictions and moral fortitude were put to an inexorable test.

We have suffered losses — not only economic but, above all, political and moral ones. After what we have gone through we should be more immune to opportunism and anti-socialist infection

and should weigh more soberly our every step, our concrete deeds, in building our socialist state.

We neither want to go back nor are we willing to stand still. We will work steadfastly to improve Party leadership, the government, social and economic institutions of our republic. We will resume their fruitful operation. We will continue to search for ways of bringing the greatest possible number of working people into the management of public affairs. Our goal is neither unquestioning obedience nor anarchy. We will try to strengthen civic and labor discipline, promote unity of action, remove all obstacles to people's initiative and effort, and foster socialist democracy.

We will normalize the situation in the Party as regards both organizing and ideological work. We will re-establish the prestige of Marxism-Leninism as a modern world outlook, the most progressive of all. We will strive to win people for communism, to inspire them with faith in the strength of the Party and the socialist system.

What makes us strong is our ideas, our work, our devoted effort. Nothing can defeat us except our own mistakes.

We have entered the year of the glorious Lenin centenary. We are assimilating Lenin's heritage. Let us not forget it was the Soviet Union, whose rise is linked with Lenin's name, that at the cost of millions of lives safeguarded our national existence and political independence and continues to safeguard them. We belong to ourselves. We belong to the great family of socialist countries. Only as a component of the socialist community can we guarantee that the interests and aspirations of our people are fulfilled. Let the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army be a stimulus for us to demonstrate again by deeds that we are at one with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and to provide conditions, particularly in our national economy, for the further all-round progress of our socialist society.

The Central Committee of the Party is convinced that this year will be a watershed in consolidating the Party and our society. It calls on all of you to contribute to this for your part by doing your utmost.

*Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*

FOR HIGHER ECONOMIC STANDARDS

REPORT* TO THE CC, MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY BY Y. TSEDENBAL,
FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC

January 1970

We are now fulfilling the assignments of the last year of the fourth five-year plan. Our working people have, with fraternal aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and under the leadership of their Party, made considerable economic and cultural progress in the past four years. They have built new factories, state farms, schools, hospitals, clubhouses and housing. The growth of industrial output in this period has averaged 8.9 per cent. The fuel, power and building materials industries show the highest rate of growth. The average increase in power has been 12.2 per cent, coal 13.6, reinforced concrete 26, sawn timber 15.8 and bricks 8.1 per cent.

In the four years under survey investment in the economy has gone up 40 per cent, with the result that fixed assets have grown by 36.6 per cent, industry showing an 81 per cent growth and agriculture, 22 per cent.

Y. Tsedenbal said most industrial enterprises and building organizations had fulfilled their production plans for 1969. Industrial output increased by 10.4 per cent over 1968 and building and assembly, by 26.9 per cent.

Last year the working people of the countryside did much to increase the livestock population, to remove the effects of shortage of fodder and to reinforce the material base of animal husbandry. The 1969 plan for increasing the livestock population was exceeded by 1.4 per cent. The Ubsunur, Zavkhan, Gobi Altai, Ubur Khangai, Bayan Ongor, Arkhangai, Central and Central Gobi regions exceeded their quotas.

Fulfilling a task set by the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee, agricultural cooperatives, state farms and building organizations last year built 7,278 units of housing for livestock, or six per cent more than planned. The plan for supplying animal products was likewise topped—by 23.7 per cent for meat and 1.5 per cent for wool.

Transport, communications, education, public health, science and the arts have made notable headway in the period under review.

*Montsame release, January 26, 1970.

New housing with a usable floor space totalling 328,000 square metres has been provided and retail trade has expanded by 15.9 per cent.

In spite of indisputable economic and cultural progress, we still fall well behind requirements in economic efficiency and quality indices. We must make a critical reappraisal of our work and reveal shortcomings and their causes, which we must remove as we go on to our next tasks.

The Political Bureau of the CC considers that we must now concentrate the attention of Party, government, economic and mass organizations on improving economic standards.

The main shortcoming in our work today is the low growth rate of the efficiency of social production and the inadequate use of available reserves. The most general index of economic progress is the national income, on which depend public wealth, extended production and popular consumption. Growing productivity of social labor, the Political Bureau stressed in its memorandum, is the main index of growing efficiency in production and increase in the national income. The task is to increase output per worker and time unit in every sphere of material production. Ever more productivity of social labor is an economic law of socialism. Government control of high productivity is in the masses cooperating, should help to if the new social system, to bring out untapped production reserves,

Although our economy is steadily improving, government regard it as one of still relatively low and out of keeping with requirements. It is particularly slow in agriculture. Substantial sums are invested in agriculture every year. The state builds up the material basis of agriculture by extending the network of machine-operated wells and heated housing for livestock, supplying more tractors, combine harvesters, motor vehicles and other facilities, increasingly satisfying the demand of agricultural cooperatives and state farms for competent personnel, and so on.

In line with the measures for the advancement of agriculture adopted by the Party and the government, it is essential fully to use available reserves, steadily to raise labor productivity in agriculture, make investment more effective and increase output.

Speaking of tasks in industry, building, transport, communications and other economic branches, Y. Tsedenbal concerned himself in detail with the need to increase labor productivity, make judicious use of fixed assets, save labor and materials, organize labor and production on scientific lines, and improve the proficiency of workers in social production. He said the Political Bureau had asked all ministries and departments to plan specific measures for the utilization of internal reserves and for economy in the enterprises and institutions under their control. The following minimum savings

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Although our economy is steadily growing, labor productivity is still relatively low and out of keeping with requirements. Its growth is particularly slow in agriculture. Substantial sums are invested in agriculture every year. The state builds up the material basis of agriculture by extending the network of machine-operated wells and heated housing for livestock, supplying more tractors, combine harvesters, motor vehicles and other facilities, increasingly satisfying the demand of agricultural cooperatives and state farms for competent personnel, and so on.

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have to be achieved over and above the 1970 plan and estimates:

(a) 1.3 mungus per tugrik of planned spending on production and sale (3 mungus per tugrik spent on management);

(b) 3 mungus per tugrik allocated under the general estimates of management expenditures of ministries, departments and other government agencies and public organizations;

(c) 2 mungus per tugrik spent on the general management of institutions financed by the state;

(d) a 10 per cent cut in the subsidies budgeted for some organizations and institutions.

We must combat inefficient management and wasteful spending, embezzlement and theft of socialist property, greatly improve accounting in every economic and cultural field and tighten bank control over economic agencies.

Industrial enterprises, building projects and other economic units must at the end of every month sum up their savings and losses and take steps to cut losses and increase accumulation. Every worker, cooperative peasant, engineer, technician or office employee should have his own plan for contributing to the common effort to save funds and materials and increase socialist accumulation.

In practising economy and raising the efficiency of social production, every industrial worker, cooperative member, expert and office employee should be made more keenly aware of his responsibility for the fulfilment of the state plan, which is an inviolable law.

Y. Tsedenbal said it was particularly important to be more exacting towards leading personnel in Party, government, economic and other public organizations, to tighten state and labor discipline, ensure respect for the law, and strengthen law and order.

To raise the efficiency of social production, Party organizations must raise their militancy, improve their organizing, ideological and political work, increase their influence in every sphere of socialist development and ensure that Party members actually perform their vanguard role.

While putting higher demands to leading personnel on all levels, we must encourage their initiative, efficiency and industry and induce them to be modest and to strive for steady improvement. We must enhance their sense of responsibility to the Party and the state for the job entrusted to them and help them more in learning to work among the masses, in raising their ideological and organizational standards and acquiring economic, scientific and technological knowledge.

It is also essential to remove shortcomings in the matter of selecting, placing and training leading personnel in various fields. Our Party, which trusts, values and takes thoughtful care of leading personnel, expects it steadily to improve its knowledge of Marxism-

Leninism and of economic, scientific and technological matters. This is a requisite of competent guidance of economic and cultural development. To be more exacting does not mean reducing all effort to the issuing of orders. It means above all offering people competent assistance.

Lenin stressed the need to put the management of public affairs on a scientific footing. "All administrative work," he said, "requires special qualifications . . . management necessarily implies competency . . . a knowledge of all the conditions of production down to the last detail and of the latest technology of your branch of production is required; you must have had a certain scientific training. These are the conditions we must satisfy at any cost" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 428).

It is primarily we leading workers, members of the Party's Central Committee, who must take guidance from this important advice of Lenin's. In building socialism, we must draw on new achievements in science and technology and on the experience of the foremost workers, and use scientific methods of economic management.

To improve economic management, it is highly important to verify everywhere the actual execution of Party and government decisions and to intensify the activity of Party and government control bodies. Proper control, with the masses cooperating, should help to save materials and funds, to bring out untapped production reserves, to exercise strict economy.

The Central Committee and the government regard it as one of their cardinal tasks to be more exacting towards leading personnel who must ensure that ministries and departments, regional and town Party committees and government bodies improve their working methods and achieve greater efficiency in decision-making.

In implementing the Party's foreign policy and fulfilling its internationalist tasks, the Political Bureau of the CC specifies the Party's stand on current problems of the international Communist movement and world development and guides all the foreign policy activities of the country.

The year 1969 saw a further strengthening of Mongolia's international standing, a heightening of our country's prestige, and increased participation by it in the solution of world problems.

We note with satisfaction the growing fraternal relations between our Party and the Communist and Workers' parties that abide by Marxism-Leninism, and the growing friendship and co-operation between Mongolia and other socialist countries.

Our Party took an active part in preparing and holding the Moscow Meeting of the Parties last June. The Meeting marked an important stage in uniting the Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and contributed to revolutionary theory. It again showed the vitality and

creative character of Marxist theory and reaffirmed the resolve of the Communists of the world to maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to combat Right- and "Left"-wing opportunism. The results of the Meeting are having, and will no doubt continue to have, a tremendous stimulating impact on the ideological and theoretical activity of Marxist-Leninist parties, the class struggle of the working class and world development.

Our relations with socialist countries, particularly with the Soviet Union and other members of the CMEA, became more solid and varied last year. Bilateral and multilateral cooperation, and ample economic aid from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries continued to bear fruit for the Mongolian people, benefiting their economy, culture and standard of living.

Last April's special session of CMEA, attended by Party leaders and statesmen, was a milestone in the economic and technological cooperation of brother countries. The session resolved to draw up a long-term program coordinating economic plans and extending socialist integration. Its decisions are aimed at intensifying multilateral economic links between socialist countries and at making fuller use of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor for the good of each socialist country and the community as a whole.

The tremendous progress made in building socialism and communism, collective discussion and solution of economic and foreign policy problems, and joint action to maintain the cause of socialism and resist the forces of imperialism, colonialism and war, are of the first importance to the historic offensive of socialism.

It is gratifying to note that the foreign policy for peace being pursued by our Party and our People's Government is widely appreciated in the world. A forceful indication of this was last year's invitation to the MPR to take part in the deliberations of the Disarmament Committee, an important working body charged with coordinating measures for the solution of the key problem of today—universal and complete disarmament that will deliver mankind from the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe. Add to this that our country is actively engaged in the UN and other inter-governmental and social organizations, and cooperates with brother countries and the progressive forces of the world to improve the international climate and curb the forces of war and reaction.

The world situation is unstable today. Tensions persist in Vietnam, the Middle East and some other areas. Imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism, continues its acts of aggression, stubbornly resisting a détente and trying to revive its colonialist policy in new forms. Its fight is spearheaded against the socialist countries—witness the barbarous U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the counter-revolutionary sorties in Czechoslovakia. The imperialists are laying

counter-revolutionary plans in regard to those African and Asian countries whose progressive regimes have a socialist orientation.

In the light of this intensification of the class struggle and ideological contest in the world, it is more important than ever to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, the Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces.

We have entered the Lenin centenary year. We must make it a year of growing militant solidarity with the world Communist and revolutionary movement, of growing fraternity, friendship and internationalist alliance with the great Party and country of Lenin and with other fraternal parties and countries.

This year the peace forces of our planet will commemorate the 25th anniversary of the defeat of Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War. It will be celebrated by the progressive forces of the world as an anniversary of a historic victory due mainly to the unexampled feat of the Soviet people and their gallant armed forces. To celebrate this event on an extensive scale is also important to the fight against the aggressive schemes of imperialism, for peace and international security.

The year 1970, which closes our fourth five-year plan, should see notable improvements in all our work. This year we must prepare for the 50th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution by still better fulfilling all our economic plans.

To observe the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin in a fitting manner, by making specific progress in labor, is the duty of every Communist and the motto that should guide our working people this year.

ALGERIA: UNITED FRONT OR ONE PARTY?*

In recent weeks the speech made by the Head of State at the Atlas Cinema and some editorials (*El Moudjahid*, November 19) about the students' organization have brought a problem of fundamental importance to the fore: do we really need one party or can we allow several parties at this stage of the Algerian revolution?

Given certain conditions, we may consider this as the starting point of a real debate. Such a fact, if borne out, would be an encouraging success for all anti-imperialists wherever they may be, whether in the seats of power or among the innumerable progressives and members of mass organizations (working people, students, youth, women, *mujahideen***, etc.) who by their manifold struggles for democratic methods have helped to create the prerequisites of such a debate.

By joining in this debate, we want to make a constructive contribution to these struggles with which we fully identify ourselves, for, contrary to groundless assertions, these struggles are not aimed at creating chaos. It would be wrong to regard them as mere manifestations of discontent or failure by certain groups to adapt themselves, or as an anarchic or sectarian opposition to authority. These struggles express a genuine thirst for democracy which is a serious socio-political requirement of our people in fulfilling their historic tasks. They are therefore in keeping with the interests of the country and the revolution and fit into the framework of our people's anti-imperialist options and desire for social progress that have been officially proclaimed. Far from dividing anti-imperialists, they could develop into a far more solid alliance provided proper conclusions were drawn from them. To this end it is important to open up prospects that could induce progressives to act together and to reject methods threatening a deadlock and demobilization and hence likely to benefit primarily reaction and imperialism.

We regret in this connection the campaign of calumnies and untruths launched against members of our Party and, in general, the ideological subversion that marked the beginning of this debate. We will return to these various points on another occasion, for at the moment we are anxious not to bring in unduly controversial elements.

We must therefore begin by welcoming the importance attached to the work of persuasion at this time. We have always said that

*Document published by the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria.

**Veterans of the liberation war.

it is better really to confront views than to maintain prisons, apply tortures and use arbitrary practices against progressives and revolutionaries, that is, methods which settle nothing and aggravate problems.

Prompted by a constructive spirit, we would like the press and radio—if they really want to enliven the debate in the interest of the forces of progress—to comment widely on our point of view without distorting it, so that the debate may not be deprived of one of its main components.

MAIN REQUIREMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT

At the outset of this discussion there is a preoccupation common to all sincere anti-imperialists and progressives. We say *sincere* because we distinguish between progressives who sincerely advocate one party and false supporters of such a party. To the latter, one party is, first of all, a convenient rampart against progressive forces, a disguise for their pro-capitalist and anti-democratic orientation. To the former, however, one party seems to be the best way of achieving homogeneity and cohesion indispensable to successful revolutionary change.

The preoccupation common to all progressives—whether they are for or against one party—is to join together all revolutionaries and progressives. It may also be noted, as recent statements have shown, that non-Marxists or anti-Marxists often refer to the theory and practice of countries in the world socialist system. It follows that differences between progressives bear on the interpretation of these historical examples and on the manner of transplanting them into the reality and present stage of the Algerian revolution.

To those who are for it, one party is a fundamental requirement of building socialism. As regards the multi-party system, which in some socialist countries characterized a successful socialist revolution and still characterizes socialist development, it is supposed to meet only “organizational considerations” and to be aimed at “structuring the various social strata more effectively.”

Now it is known that there are no purely organizational considerations. It is deep-reaching political exigencies that determine the necessity for a particular type of organization. In this case it is a question, as, incidentally, *El Moudjahid* points out, of mobilizing the masses more effectively, so as to isolate, neutralize and defeat forces hostile to the revolution. This is the fundamental need. The number of parties (one or several) leading this mobilization or contributing to it depends on historical realities, the national peculiarities of the stage concerned and the nature of the political and social forces to be harnessed to the same task. In

numerous socialist countries, including the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the GDR, Bulgaria and Poland, the real powers of the diverse parties within the National Fronts uniting them show that the existence of these parties is not nominal.

What is common to all socialist countries, however, regardless of the number of existing parties which meets the fundamental need mentioned above, is that only parties representing reaction, the capitalist exploiters and imperialist agents are ruthlessly eliminated. This is done, *El Moudjahid* notes, thanks to a common revolutionary orientation. This orientation is stimulated by the leading revolutionary party grouping in a United Front all the parties and organizations and all the political and social forces favoring revolution and socialist development, and even some patriotic forces of the bourgeoisie which do not at first favor socialism but find it in their interest not to oppose this evolution.

If inside this United Front there is only one political party due to historical conditions, it does not owe its success to the fact that it is alone but to its ability to inspire and lead all the forces making up the United Front it has brought into being. In his article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism" (March 1922), Lenin stressed that "without an alliance with non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful communist construction" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33., p. 227).

To express this fundamental law with all its exigencies and thus to remain faithful to historical truth and experience, we may add that this leading role is assumed by the party of the working class, built on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. There has never been any exception to this law, and certainly there never will be. The positive example of Cuba shows, as do the negative examples of other countries, that this law is in the end understood and consciously accepted by all who want to carry the revolution through to the end. This also stands—a fact to be welcomed—in the new historical context of the world, where certain revolutionary changes contributing to progress towards socialism are at first effected by anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces most of which have yet to shed their petty-bourgeois ideology.

This examination of the political systems prevailing in the socialist countries leads us to the following conclusions:

First, one party is not *a priori* a rule and condition of the revolution and socialist development.

Second, the United Front implementing a common revolutionary orientation is, on the other hand, a fundamental need for all the subsequent stages of the revolution.

Third, within this United Front, revolutionary leadership is ex-

exercised by the leading party, on the basis of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism.

The latter conclusion by no means implies that with regard to our country we demand that the leadership of revolutionary changes at this stage be exercised by a Marxist-Leninist party. The main reason for this is that our country has not yet reached the stage of the socialist revolution, let alone that of building socialism, in the scientific and strict sense of these terms.

Does this mean, then, that our country is at a stage of its history comparable to that of numerous capitalist countries of Europe or even the "Third World," which are characterized by the domination of capitalist relations of production and the political hegemony of the big bourgeoisie? We do not think so.

Let it be said in passing that even if this were so we would not share the false view that a multi-party system is the essence of bourgeois regimes. Numerous bourgeois regimes are based on one obligatory party and more often than not they are the most ferocious watchdogs of capitalism. In reality, with one or more parties, the main distinguishing feature of bourgeois regimes is, on the one hand, the leading role ensured to the bourgeois class (or one of its factions) owing to its control and operation of the levers of the economy and the state and, on the other hand, the repressive measures taken by the bourgeoisie against the parties and organizations of the working class and other exploited and oppressed classes. Democracy under a bourgeois regime serves primarily capitalist interests. Despite this limitation, working-class organizations and progressive forces succeed in wresting, through hard struggle, democratic rights and freedoms, occasionally important ones, which they use as a weapon against the regime of exploitation and oppression.

WHAT ALGERIA NEEDS AT THIS STAGE IN ITS HISTORY

What is, then, the historical stage reached by our country?

Newly-independent Algeria is still integrated into the sphere of international capitalism to which neo-colonialism wants to keep it shackled. Nevertheless, it is in a phase of transition which may develop, depending on evolution, into a capitalist regime or a socialist one. At this stage and with the present state of the productive forces, there is no social force in our country developed, powerful and organized enough (bourgeois or working-class) to establish this or that regime in the near future, although a growing bourgeoisie is making serious efforts to impose its hegemony on the state apparatus.

Ever since independence there has been more and more marked differentiation and class struggle over the choice of the main line

of development, over whether it should be capitalist or non-capitalist. This struggle is influenced by a greater conflict of which it is a component: the gigantic battle going on in the world between capitalism and socialism, between imperialism and the anti-imperialist world camp.

This struggle is going on within the framework of the effort of our people to develop and complete the national and democratic revolution, whose first decisive gain was independence and national sovereignty. We have yet to carry out important measures, such as the agrarian reform and the recovery through nationalization of the natural resources and economic spheres still in foreign hands (this applies to a large part of the oil industry). These measures are "national-democratic"* and not socialist in character. At this stage it is a question of building up a state apparatus that can accomplish, with support from and conscious participation by the masses, such progressive tasks as setting up an independent and planned economy involving a deep-going agrarian reform, a modernized agriculture, industrialization, cultural renovation and scientific progress. The aggressiveness of imperialism, the increasing sharpness of social contradictions and the urgency of tasks due to the demographic factor make democratic mobilization, that is, mobilization by democratic methods, of all the progressive forces of our people a decisive condition for success.

This success will be achieved, as was national independence, by fighting stubbornly against the chief enemy, which is still imperialism, especially in its neo-colonialist form. The latter today is backed by certain social strata which were neutralized during the struggle for national independence or took part in it alongside patriots. These reactionary and counter-revolutionary strata are made up in the main of big landowners, the compradore bourgeoisie (directly linked with foreign capital by virtue of its economic function) and the reactionary wing of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (generally linked with the two former strata). All other social classes and strata in our country are interested in varying degree in progressive and anti-imperialist changes. They range from workers in town and country, all wage workers in agriculture, industry, trade and administration, landless peasants and unemployed, to some national capitalists who invest in the industries designed to produce items now imported, to the small and middle peasants, to small traders and handicraftsmen, to technologists and intellectuals.

Only a regime capable of securing massive and conscious sup-

*In this instance, the term **democratic** is used in its more general sense, which Marxist literature gives it to denote the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal content of the historical stage. At this stage this term does not therefore predetermine methods of government or mobilization, the significance or nature of democratic rights and freedoms in a country having reached this stage (existence or lack of these rights and freedoms, and in favor of what social classes and strata).

port from all these social and political forces and at the same time of eliminating from its midst spokesmen or advocates of the reactionary forces and fighting vigorously against them can lead progressive changes necessitated by the immense needs of development of our country. This is the fundamental need at the present stage that should express itself in establishing and strengthening a common united front of all these living forces, as an instrument of revolutionary changes which have become imperative during this period of transition.

In objectives and in composition, this front cannot be like either the front which made it possible to win national independence, or the front which will ensure the success of the socialist revolution and then of socialist development. Indeed, this front excludes from its ranks social strata and political forces that took part in the fight for the political independence and sovereignty of Algeria. But it still includes those forces which do not necessarily declare for socialism, that is, for socialization of all the means of production and for the economic and political leadership of the country by the working people and their organizations.

Hence there exist in this front varying degrees of revolutionary consciousness and diverse attitudes to the problems of democracy or to the working class. This anti-imperialist front, spearheaded against imperialism, is by definition and necessarily a progressive front: every step against imperialism constitutes an advance compared with the situation inherited from the past and calls for further progress, specifically in the social sphere, so that the anti-imperialist struggle may be carried on and extended.

Not all progressives, however, take the same view of changes to be imposed on imperialism. Some of them conceive them from a reformist standpoint, nor do they rule out deals with imperialism. Others conceive them in revolutionary terms, striving to destroy the very foundation of imperialist rule, that is, of capitalism, of the exploitation of man by man. Many progressives, whether revolutionaries or reformists, declare for democratic methods but for differing reasons. Others use authoritarian and even anti-democratic methods in respect of their progressive allies. It is natural that the most consistent progressives should be active socialists, that is, revolutionary anti-imperialists who opt for democratic methods of mobilization and trust the masses all the more readily because they see it as the ultimate goal to make the working class and other working people masters of the means of production in a socialist Algeria. These revolutionaries are, needless to say, among the working class and the poor peasants but also among those who come from the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie.

The important thing is that, to accomplish the main tasks of this

stage, this united front must form a progressive coalition of non-proletarian, semi-proletarian and proletarian social classes and strata. Within this coalition no trend and no political force expressing the interests of each of these strata can claim monopoly representation inside the regime and deprive itself of alliance with other strata, or it will risk defeat at the hands of imperialism.

In such a front, for historical reasons typical of our country (and of most of the newly-free countries), the leading role in accomplishing the tasks of this stage still belongs in the main, whatever the conflicts between clans or individuals, to various strata of the anti-imperialist petty bourgeoisie interested in changes of this nature. This applies, in particular, to those in the armed forces or active in the economic, administrative and cultural spheres.

Do the foremost political and social forces have any opportunities within such a united front to play a more dynamic role at this stage, with the prospect of Algeria advancing to socialism?

Such opportunities do exist. They will be all the greater if the working class and working peasantry and their organizations, especially those adhering to scientific socialism, fight their way to greater leverage in the nation's economy and politics.

These opportunities will also be greater if radicalization of the anti-imperialist struggle transfers concrete guidance of the affairs of the country to the leading segment of the petty bourgeoisie nearest the social aspirations of the masses.

These opportunities may, indeed, increase to such an extent as to become a decisive factor for success if the revolutionary sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the organized forces of the working class unite consciously and closely and direct the effort of the masses, the revolutionary armed forces and all the foremost political forces towards the same goals.

Conversely, if these opportunities diminish it may well happen that, due to considerable pressure from imperialism and reaction, all progressive gains, including the establishment of a powerful economic sector by the state, will be jeopardized and that the regime will swing towards reactionary bureaucratic dictatorship with its inevitable outcome, an open road for capitalist development.

In the final analysis everything will depend on the degree of cohesion, militancy and consciousness that the anti-imperialist forces will have attained or, in other words, on their ability to form a united front. The latter may be merely an "objective" front launching more or less extensive united action from time to time. Or it may become—and this is what the more conscious elements should strive for—a structured front whose cohesion and action will be systematic and organized and will rest on a permanent basis.

SEARCHING FOR A WORKABLE SOLUTION TO WIN ALL ANTI-IMPERIALISTS

For reasons detrimental to the unity of anti-imperialist forces, we believe the united front has an advantage over one party because it makes it acceptable to a wider range of anti-imperialist forces than the narrow fringe made up of those among them that hold the reins of power. This is all the more so because this front, if established, should also satisfy the legitimate expectations of sincere supporters of one party regarding the necessary cohesion of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces.

To stop political degradation due to the division of the anti-imperialist forces, we think it is essential not to make the same big mistake again. On the contrary, it is necessary to readjust the orientation to be given to the common and united front of all progressive forces and realize this front in forms more suitable for the political realities and the tasks assigned it.

One must have the courage to stop rushing developments, which consists in assigning the front tasks of the socialist revolution whereas the objective conditions are far from having been created and the social forces that must create them are not prepared for this at all. It is not a question of retreating but of consolidating revolutionary gains, which will pave the way for the socialist revolution all the more surely. This, far from making it impossible, should, in fact, encourage all the foremost activists—irrespective of whether they belong to the leading anti-imperialist core in power or are organized in a Marxist-Leninist association—to play a dynamic role in favor of the socialist perspective, in keeping with the discipline of the united front.

As regards the forms in which this front could be brought into existence, we think the following two forms could be envisaged considering the realities of today:

1. Transforming the present "party" of the National Liberation Front into a genuine front open to the members of every progressive trend, regardless of whether or not they belong to other progressive organizations and without exceptions of an ideological character. The only condition to be put to these members is that they must effectively resist reactionary and imperialist intrigues and work, in accordance with a common discipline, for the united action and reinforcement of this front in the name of the objectives listed in its minimum program.

2. Establishing a front of progressive political and social organizations, including the official NLF "party." Relations within the front would be so organized as to ensure, without infringing the autonomy of any organization, the unity necessary to the anti-imperialist struggle and to progressive social changes, a unity

based, in this instance as well, on the common minimum program of the front.

Other formulas could likewise be envisaged and confronted.

It will be seen that both the first and the second formula regard the existence of the NLF as an official political apparatus linked with power as an objective fact which does not have to be either denied or questioned. As for the more or less important role which this apparatus could play, this would depend primarily on its ability to assume this role, on its actual links with the masses and with the organizations and social forces that must constitute the united front.

It is a far cry from the concept we have just set out to the malicious accusations to the effect that our disagreement with the concept of one party conceals what is purely and simply sustained hostility to the official NLF because Marxist-Leninists are not in power.

We say again that if the official party wants to play a progressive role and whenever it does play this role it will not be we who will stand in its way. What does and will stand in its way is both the reactionary forces and its own weaknesses and internal shortcomings. Of course, we regard as dangerous certain falsely optimistic statements of official propaganda about the NLF that are disproved by the sad reality. But we deplore the failure of the official party as indeed all progressives should do even if they do not accept all the acts and all the postures of the NLF. We suggest that this be ended in a way as favorable as possible to the common struggle of all anti-imperialists and to the consolidation of their common front.

WHY A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY? ITS ROLE AND PLACE AT THIS STAGE

We may be asked, and actually are often asked by progressives not directly linked with the working class: Why should there be a Marxist-Leninist party? Why are you so keen on continuing your activity within the Socialist Vanguard Party?

First of all, we wish to make an important point, namely, that the existence of a Marxist-Leninist party does not depend on only the conscious activity of those who have founded it and inspire it. It is also, and primarily, a result of a historical process as inevitable in our country as in any other country of the world: a meeting of the universal ideas of scientific socialism with the trade union and political activity of the working people and revolutionary intellectuals of each country. This process began in our country in forms typical of it decades ago. It gradually assumed forms corresponding to the historical evolution of the country and to the

increasingly difficult tasks that confronted the Algerian liberation movement.

Thus, the ideas of socialism were first brought to Algeria before the October Revolution by groups of Frenchmen associated with the Second International and later, after 1920, by Communist sections linked organizationally with the French Communist Party (Third International) in which Algerians and Frenchmen were active side by side. The rise of national awareness and the growth of the working-class movement ushered in a new stage associated with the birth of the Algerian Communist Party on the basis of a national and social liberation program (1936). In the new conditions of today the Socialist Vanguard Party (SVP) is being forged, a party corresponding in our country to the higher stage of the Marxist-Leninist movement enriched by the experiences and finest traditions of the working-class and national liberation movements, whose history has always been closely linked.

No one can say—if he does not want to turn his back on historical realities and the evolution of the present-day world, which in a few decades has experienced more profound upheavals than were experienced by mankind for centuries—that he is willing to permit the existence of Marxist-Leninist ideas, or that he respects them, but that he cannot allow them to be expressed publicly and in an organized way.

Sometimes there is talk in this connection about "alien ideas." It is deplorable that assertions of this kind should link up with colonialist and racist propositions alleging that the peoples of the colonies could not themselves rise to an awareness of the ideas of progress and scientific socialism. (The liberation war, too, was said to have been instigated from abroad.)

People forget that there are no ideas in any country of the world today which do not have their equivalent, their source or their continuation elsewhere, including petty-bourgeois ideas misrepresented as specifically national.

In our country bourgeois ideology is constantly fed by the formidable presence of the imperialist and neo-colonialist West. In order really to combat harmful foreign influence, it is necessary to strike at the links which foreign institutions maintain with reactionary or bourgeois reformist ideologists, whether grouped in pseudo-religious or pseudo-university organizations or not. It is necessary to follow carefully the influence and activity of West German big financial capital, the neo-colonization of minds by capitalist experts and advisers on the level of important ministries or departments, to say nothing of the anti-popular bias of the training of police and constabulary by French instructors.

Bourgeois ideology is also fed by an age-long "national" way of thinking which in our country as anywhere else is linked with the

exploitation of man by man and draws continuously on small-commodity production. The duty of patriots and advanced progressives, of all who have our soundest national traditions at heart and want to infuse fresh vigor into our civilization and culture, is to rid this civilization and this culture of the influence of bourgeois ideology.

As regards Marxism-Leninism, it is not incompatible with our Arab and Islamic civilization. Indeed, it helps and will help in powerful measure to rid it of its feudal and bourgeois dross, and to make fruitful and strengthen its more valuable aspects. There have always been allegations to the effect that Marxism-Leninism does not apply to this or that people. But as it triumphed in more countries people came to appreciate its universal validity, to realize why it alone can ensure a really free and prosperous future to countries with such ancient and proud civilizations as Russia or China, Vietnam or Cuba, Czechoslovakia or Mongolia, Poland or Korea.

The appeal of the ideas of scientific socialism among our youth, among workers and unemployed as well as among students, is considerable. It is understandable, natural and legitimate if seen in its right historical perspective. There is no point, after having flattered it beyond measure, in accusing our youth who fully participated in the liberation war or grew up after it, of black ingratitude towards their elders and the past of the country, or of accusing it of links with "a hand abroad," as it has been accused by Western witch-hunters. One must reject this approach if one wants to understand our youth and lead it to the inspiring and noble tasks it is capable of carrying out. The Algerian people cannot allow themselves to be robbed of the least particle of the common asset of mankind, for the work of Marx and Engels belongs to them as much as the Koran, the paintings of Tassili or nuclear physics.

It often happens that the Marxist-Leninist party in a country is advised to step off the scene because its existence does not seem "opportune" to those who offer that advice. Some tell the Communists "it is too early", while others say "it is too late," but they all agree on the contradictory conclusion, "Let other organizations accomplish the historical tasks of today." Yet the existence of a Marxist-Leninist party is not a purely subjective fact, it does not depend on the goodwill of X or Y. It is an objective result of historical development.

The party of the working class comes into being like any other political organization, all of which reflect the existence and interests of specific social strata. Besides, at no particular stage, not even at the stage preceding the socialist revolution and socialist development, have Communist and Workers' parties ever claimed

a monopoly of historic changes. Whether or not such a party should exist is irrelevant. The point is that as soon as a Marxist-Leninist party comes into being it must set out to contribute its share, whether big or small, to the solution of the historical problems of the day in alliance with all other political and social forces interested in changes, even if these problems are of only a "bourgeois-democratic" nature and even if the Marxist-Leninist party does not play the leading role in effecting these changes. In that case a Marxist party operates within a front which may assume the most diverse forms.

If the existence of Communist and Workers' parties cannot be questioned from the standpoint of the advance of the peoples to democracy and social progress, it is because the existence and activity of these parties, far from prejudicing the attainment of the objectives of the common front of all progressive forces, contributes at every stage to the effectiveness and strength of this front.

The Algerian Communist Party, with its merits and demerits, which a scientific analysis of its history will yet make it possible to know better, has helped through the struggle of workers and peasants encouraged and led by it, to increase the role of the masses and the disinherited in the national movement, which, in turn, has helped to give the latter a very marked social orientation. In addition to this contribution proper, which none of its members could have made on his own had he belonged to another organization, the Party has taken part in various forms in the common effort of the liberation movement at its every stage.

In the twenties, it was on a joint list presented by the Communists that Emir Khaled was elected municipal councillor of Algiers, and it was with Communist support that he was elected General Councillor. The Moslem Congress in 1936 united the Ulama (with the Benbadis), the Federation of Deputies, the Algerian Communist Party and independent leaders. Afterwards, in 1946, the Initiative Committees for an Amnesty united, along with Communists, all other patriotic trends and succeeded in calling a halt to the colonialist repression begun in May 1945, a success which made for a new upsurge in nationalist mass propaganda. The Algerian Front for Democratic Freedoms (1952) united the MTL, ACP, UDMA, the Ulama, the trade unions and independent leaders. The latest and most important united front was the NLA-NLF, in which the ACP adopted an original form of participation according to an agreement signed with the NLF in the spring of 1956. This form consisted in the fact that its members joined the NLA-NLF front individually while the ACP made its actual political contribution to the overall political action of the NLF.

Ex-members of the ACP who now belong to the SVP are occasionally asked: "Why are you organized (with other members who once

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belonged to the NLF) in an independent party? Didn't you agree to join the NLF after its First Congress in 1963 on the basis of the Algiers Charters?"

It is true that in June 1964 the ACP called on its members loyally to join the NLF so as to continue in its ranks militant activity corresponding to their Marxist-Leninist convictions (in line with the Program and Rules of the NLF approved by its Congress), the purpose being to facilitate, as Congress had urged, the rise of a vanguard party guided by the socialist principles enunciated in the Algiers Charter.

The founding of new socialist parties involving Communist and non-Communist parties is no new fact in the history of the international Communist and working-class movement. It is obvious, however, that in the process the inclusion of Communists in a new party which the NLF pledged itself to become could end in dissolving the ACP only to the extent that the process of formation of a socialist vanguard out of the NLF became real and gained in scope and strength while the doors of this new party would be open to all, Communists or non-Communists, who met the terms of admission established by Congress. Incidentally, the General Secretariat of the NLF knew this.

It is known that under strong pressure from the Right the positive evolution of the NLF was upset and many Communists, leading ones included, who met the criteria of admission to the NLF, were arbitrarily barred from this party at the time whereas it had conservatives in its ranks whose attitude to the colonialist enemy was highly doubtful.

The split of the NLF, which came after June 19, 1965, the calumnies of its new leaders, who alleged that the Communists had joined the NLF only in order "to assume leadership in it by democratic means" (!) and the stance of the new leadership on the Algiers Charter put paid to the experiment.

Nevertheless, this experiment had created opportunities for contact and cooperation between the foremost activists of the NLF and the Communists, who came to know one another better in the fight for socialism. Many of them eventually joined the SVP.

That period provided useful lessons concerning the irreplaceable role of a socialist vanguard organized on the principle of independence and establishing solid contacts for unity of action with the political and social forces interested in alliance to the same end.

Those lessons, as well as the fundamental reasons already listed, clarify the present attitude of the SVP towards its members' joining the NLF as a party. It would be wrong to regard this attitude as sectarian, partisan or spiteful. We are careful not to give rise to useless frictions or sterile illusions among progressive members.

We merely take account of realities, such as the following:

1. Conditions for work in the NLF, regarded as one "party," are even less favorable to socialist members than after June 1964. To many of the present spokesmen and leaders of the NLF, Marxist-Leninists who might join the NLF are "subversive" and "dangerous elements who would think of nothing but how to assume leadership in the NLF." Every constructive suggestion on their part risks being taken for a maneuver.

2. There is no reason to minimize the independent activity of the SVP. Of course, the latter is committed to a thoroughly constructive and unitarian effort and not to systematic opposition to the NLF or the regime. But it is also necessary to learn the lesson of the shortcomings noted in the socialists' activity after 1964, especially their attitude to certain weak points registered in the activity of the regime prior to June 1965. As these weak points were not sufficiently criticized nor combated by the more conscious progressives and the Communists in independent fashion, they made it easier for the Right and the enemies of the agrarian reform and of socialism to attack and helped to put the masses and the progressives in disarray.

The reasons for increased independent activity of the SVP that are still valid are neither sectarian nor narrowly partisan. They are considerations prompted by the interest of strengthening the progressive movement as a whole and take account of the socialist perspective. Here are some of them:

(a) The working class and its organizations cannot rely, as far as their future is concerned, solely on the one official party, however progressive and good an ally it may be, for the orientation and the very existence of this official party are exposed to the fluctuations and adversities which affect any power. Everyone knows, for example, how the one party went up in smoke in Ghana and Mali. Everyone knows of the insignificant role which the Arab Socialist Union (NAR) played at a time when the progressive Egyptian regime was threatened and when it was rescued only by the spontaneous intervention of the people. The maintenance of a working-class and socialist party operating autonomously within a united front of all progressive forces is a guarantee that the interests and aspirations of the working people will under all circumstances have a spokesman and defender.

(b) It is only the existence of an independent party of the working class that makes it possible, whatever other possibilities there may be at any moment, fully and systematically to spread the theory of scientific socialism and constantly to safeguard this theory against distortion and slander. Only its existence makes it possible to train members in Marxist-Leninist principles, not in an abstract or general way, but with due regard to the realities of the country and

the requirements of the struggle at every moment and in this way to supply the experienced cadres that will be needed in large numbers for the socialist revolution and socialist development.

(c) The existence of a large number of people belonging to the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class has an immediate beneficial effect on every progressive activity in the country. The contribution made by all these people, wherever they may be, is evident wherever anti-imperialist and class struggles are taking place and wherever it is necessary to build, to explain, to mobilize, to defend and further the revolution. Everyone, including our adversaries, admits that the members of Communist and Workers' parties are professionally and morally honest people, that they are competent, disinterested, hard-working, experienced, loyal and sensible. Some are surprised by this. But is it really surprising? These men and women are not "superior" to others, they have not been singled out by fate in any way, nor are they devoid of shortcomings. Their qualities useful to the revolution they owe to their party, to the fact that their organization enables them to educate themselves, gain collective experience, acquire a sense of discipline, modesty and devotion, be more exacting towards themselves and objectively analyze situations and events. And if for some reason, general or local, members are not properly organized, this tells immediately on their behavior and efficiency.

In all these fields the existence of the party of the working class imparts, not only something more, but also something qualitatively new to the united front.

*National Leadership of the
Socialist Vanguard Party*

Algiers. December 1, 1969



IN WHOSE SERVICE IS ERNST FISCHER?

FROM CRITICISM OF DOGMATISM TO REVISIONISM*

Late in 1969 Ernst Fischer, well-known philosopher and theoretician, was expelled from the Communist Party of Austria. It might seem at first sight that this is an internal affair of the CPA and so we Czechoslovak Communists cannot very well go into a critical analysis of Fischer's views and position. But the issue is not as simple as that.

Ernst Fischer is well known in our countries. His philosophical and sociological concepts have an appreciable impact on a fairly large proportion of intellectuals concerned with the humanities. Fischer visited Czechoslovakia many times. His trips to this country strengthened the influence of his concepts on part of our ideological front. Many consider him a bold analyst and staunch Communist revolutionary. It is hardly accidental that Fischer's range of interests includes analysis of the standing of youth in the technological revolution of today and in the grim class battles that are increasingly assuming a world scale. Our internationalist duty is to take a critical stand on Fischer's views regarding the Czechoslovak events in August 1968.

It is high time to realize that Fischer is a key spokesman of the Right in the Communist movement, of a trend seriously endangering the efficiency of the international Communist and labor movement. Czechoslovakia has seen only too clearly the tragic boundary which the Rightists crossed and beyond which our Party and our country began to drift towards a deep crisis. We must point to the pseudo-revolutionary character of this "revolutionary adventurism".

In an interview he gave *Stern* on November 30, 1969, Fischer said: "I have become a convinced radical democrat now. Socialism is unthinkable without a maximum of democracy." Fischer did not use the adjective *radical* by chance, for it is a reasonably precise description of radicalism and revolutionism.

RADICAL DEMOCRATIC TREND

The classics of Marxism gave an exact definition of radical democracy as a trend having outgrown bourgeois democracy and radicalism without going as far as dialectical and historical materialism and identification with the interests of the working class. It would be light-minded of us mechanically to identify Fischer's views with

*Abridged from *Rude Pravo*, January 27, 1970.

the classical type of radical democracy. We must not forget, however, that general philosophical and political problems and situations recur analogously according to the law of the negation of the negation. Old problems arise in new situations, acquiring a different content and having a different social purpose. For instance, Young Hegelians "come back" to us in the form of semi-anarchic and indiscriminate condemnation of institutions as a perpetual source of condemnation. Feuerbach "comes back" with his abstract humanism and so does Kantian positivism with its philosophy of false non-partisanship, which tries with the aid of science to reconcile irreconcilable class contradictions of the world of yesterday and today.

Fischer uses undialectical and abstract methodology in the same way as radical democrats did at one time. This would explain why, in the same interview, he said his place was "beside parties." He is no doubt right in saying democracy is in danger in today's world. But his methodological shortcoming is that he treats democracy in abstract terms and outside time although the seemingly incisive and concrete relevance of his caustic criticisms has a winning quality at first.

PERFORMING THE ROLE OF THE INTELLECTUAL CRITIC

Fischer's methodological one-sidedness shows in several respects simultaneously. To begin with, it is evident that he does not entirely view the class and economic basis of democracy in the context of history and space. He makes an absolute of problems still outstanding in some degree or other in certain parts of capitalist Europe and appraises the political history of the world on their strength. He does not ask himself how far the evolution of the problem of classes on the world scale and the social consciousness of the world Communist and labor movement, whose idea is undoubtedly determined by something more than the situation in the capitalist countries of Europe, have advanced. Fischer betrays his incomprehension of the objective dialectic of history, an incomprehension typical of radical democracy and abstract humanism.

To be sure, we cannot deny the critical role of the intellectual analyst who mercilessly exposes any situation in which human dignity is threatened. This role is entitled to a measure of one-sidedness, which characterizes, for example, the committed artist. But it cannot be made a universal rule nor exalted to the rank of official philosophy or political platform. Marxism includes and implies humanism but its humanism must not be identified with abstract, existentialist humanism. The humanism of which the Marxist philosopher or political leader speaks has no chance of success outside the basic class categories.

METAMORPHOSES OF A HYPERBOLE

Lastly, it must be noted that Fischer deals with the real forms of democracy and humanism, not from the standpoint of the objectively given overall class structure of specific historical relations, of the communist social formation, but from that of the "cultured" intellectual who assesses the world and his environment from the standpoint of the vision and sentiments of one whose life and destiny are somewhat outside the natural and real environment. Hence it is only logical that the inclination to criticize turns out to be radical criticism losing all realistic sense of time and space.

The humanitarian intellectual has an inalienable right to exaggerate in order to warn against evils that have not yet become widespread. But he has no right to exalt his hyperbole to the rank of a general characteristic of society, otherwise his hyperbole will become anarchy whether he likes it or not. And anarchy can set history in motion but can neither investigate it constructively nor make it.

Fischer cites Marx's idea of the absolute emancipation of the individual. But he overlooks important conditions for the historical realization of this lofty ideal. He does not take full account of the historically conditioned class character of communist emancipation. As a result, reality with him diverges from the ideal because he identifies the latter with the former.

AT LOGGERHEADS WITH HISTORY

Any one who uses this method is bound to clash with history and to be inexorably passed by it. It is not a mere declaration when we say that the Communist movement is the decisive exponent and subject of modern history. Its collective wisdom and historical maturity are the decisive barometer of real humanism and real democracy. Nor is it a mere declaration on our part to maintain that it is the Communist movement that feels the heartbeat of history. A radical democrat can detect certain feverish states of the social organism but he is not competent enough to make a complete diagnosis of the patient, let alone treat him.

In the interview mentioned earlier Fischer said: "I have never liked power, it is rather repellent to me." Surely anyone will admit that power as an end in itself arouses hatred and has the qualities of a negative phenomenon. But in politics it is utterly impermissible to apply to power ethical and aesthetic criteria of power similar to the general political criteria evolved by the radical critic and humanist. The issue of power is not so much an axiological and moral issue as one of class interests, an issue having a perfectly concrete historical form, character and content. Power must therefore use

appropriate means, including means that may be resented by the "cultured" individual. Communists are anything but in love with force. But neither do they regard it as the devil whom one must exorcise.

SPECULATING ON DEMOCRACY

Fischer the radical does not see the historically conditioned nature of democracy. We have said that democracy is conditioned in class terms. It is also conditioned politically and economically. However, one should always remember that it is also conditioned by the specific form of the worldwide class struggle. Nor should one forget how noticeably growing international tension affects the evolution of socialist democracy.

Fischer ought to have been struck by the anti-Communists' speculation on the defense of abstract democracy. Anti-Communists know well that in practice abstract democracy opens the flood-gates to spontaneous democracy which, as we have seen with our own eyes, is a destructive political force whose dangerous effect knows no bounds. Fischer ought to have learned this lesson. He ought to have realized that whoever goes beyond definite bounds must answer for it accordingly.

SLIDING DOWN AN INCLINED PLANE

One should also draw proper conclusions from the one-sided approach to dogmatic excesses, which logically degenerated into an overall criticism of Marxism-Leninism as a system. It began with criticism of an unduly objectivist view on philosophy and history and with criticism of fatalism, alleged to have made its way into Marxism. Fallacious methodology logically ends in subjectivism. The law of the growing role of the subject in modern history must not be interpreted subjectivistically. Fischer has regrettably put himself on this inclined plane. He senses that the end will be bitter. But Fischer is not alone—he is merely a representative of the higher type. His analyses and errors spring from international sources and find international ideological reflection. This is why they affect us so closely. Fischer has numerous devoted and zealous disciples in our country (some of them have emigrated in the meantime). We know ideas are contagious, both those that uplift the spirit and those that lead astray. And this induces us to make a critical analysis of Fischer's views. A real upsurge in the movement calls for an explicit attitude to subjective idealism, the philosophical foundation of revisionism. The march of history is inexorable. Those who do not understand the nature of history are criticized with a view to drawing conclusions for the future. *We learn the lessons of his-*

tory not in order to take vengeance but the better to understand it so as not to repeat dangerous mistakes of the past.

The Communist and labor movement must criticize subjectivism for several important reasons. Subjectivism narrows the class basis and practical orientation of the movement and, above all else, imperils the revolutionary working-class nature of the movement. It introduces petty-bourgeois elements into the Communist movement. This is confirmed by the fact that Fischer pins definite hopes on the intellectuals. Rightist subjectivism detracts from the revolutionary class efficiency of the movement. It indirectly promotes the interests of the bourgeoisie and anti-communism, and helps to activate even the extreme Left and elements of the "Left"-wing deviation in the international Communist and labor movement. It transforms dogmatism into revisionism and vice versa.

IN CONCORD WITH ANTI-COMMUNISM

Fischer's key error which, indeed, flows logically from the concept of abstract democracy and humanism, is his fundamental incomprehension of the present-day role of the Soviet Union in the Communist and labor movement and in the worldwide class struggle of today. Because he does not understand dialectics, Fischer puts the continuity of post-October development in the Soviet Union upside down. He construes necessary political changes in the Soviet Union as a "bureaucratic withering away" of the legacy of the October Revolution. He does not understand the nature of development in Soviet Russia, a development conditioned by the worldwide class struggle and determined by internal political, economic and historical conditions. He does not mind mechanically applying the model of bourgeois democracy to Soviet reality.

Fischer's abstract radicalism is at variance with the real trends of development of socialist economy and politics. However, he may be said to personify things. By voicing his disagreement with the Soviet leadership, he disagrees, in fact, with objective processes. He underrates — likes others — the fundamental fact that the Soviet Union's objective position within the international Communist and labor movement results in its point of view, tested by fifty years' experience, being nearest of all to objective truth. This is not an expression of alleged Soviet centrism, as the Maoists claim, but of an objective historical situation, which has its effect, in particular, on subjective political and ideological formulations.

*Ladislav Tomasek
Jaroslav Korinek*

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, CP OF LUXEMBOURG

On April 22, 1970, it will be a hundred years since the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin), brilliant continuator of the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels, organizer of the great October Revolution and founder of the Soviet state, teacher and leader of the international working class, of all the working and oppressed people of the globe.

Throughout his life Lenin was most closely linked with the working people by his entire activity. He gave all his energies to the proletariat's class struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. He fought uncompromisingly and with devastating force against all vulgarization, distortion or ossification of Marxist theory, against Right- and "Left"-wing opportunism, against every brand of dogmatism or revisionism.

A great theoretician, propagandist and organizer, Lenin left an imprint on the way of thinking and evolution of a whole epoch in man's history, the epoch of imperialism, proletarian revolutions and the victory of the national liberation movement, the epoch of building socialism and communism.

Lenin founded the Bolshevik party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — that powerful lever of the October Revolution and the builders of the Soviet state. He laid the foundations of the world Communist movement, which today embraces the whole world and is steadily gaining ground among the mass of the people. Lenin gave the Communist movement a clear and organizational unity.

Lenin made a decisive contribution covering the whole epoch to Marxist theory in every sphere—philosophy, political economy, the theory and practice of communism, the problem of organizing the class struggle of the proletariat. Marxism-Leninism, Lenin's heritage, is a guide and a source of inspiration and optimism to the working people of all countries in their fight against imperialism.

Inspired by Lenin's teachings, the Soviet people and their great Communist Party continue to fulfil their mission by strengthening the Soviet state, by erecting the edifice of socialism as they advance towards building communism, by supporting the international working class and the oppressed peoples, by fighting for peace, demo-

*Zeitung vom Letzeburger Vollek, January 11, 1970.

cratic development, further progress in socialism and communism, and the social advancement of mankind.

Lenin is also the teacher of the working people and Communist Party of Luxembourg. They learn to devote their forces, aspirations and energy in a Leninist way to the just struggle to free the working people from exploitation and oppression, for a better, a socialist future.

To the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the Lenin centenary year will be a Leninist year, a year of reinforcing the Party and improving its activity in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The Party calls on its members, supporters and friends to help accomplish these tasks.

*Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Luxembourg*

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

The CC CPJ released a communication of its Secretariat entitled "Commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. A ten-volume edition of Lenin's selected writings, a centenary meeting, a competition for the best articles about Lenin, and other measures planned." The communication reads as follows:

"On April 22, 1970 it will be a hundred years since Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was born. In this connection the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan has resolved to carry out the following centenary measures:

"1. Beginning in November, the publication of a ten-volume edition of Lenin's selected writings (plus two extra volumes; to be published by Otsuki Shoten). The edition has been compiled independently by the Editorial Committee for the Publication of Lenin's Selected Writings under the CC CPJ, which was prompted above all by the desire properly to combine the effort for the concrete and creative application and development of the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism.

"2. Holding, on the initiative of the CC CPJ, a centenary meeting to be addressed by members of the CC Presidium.

"3. Publishing collections of articles about Lenin, and carrying centenary articles in the CPJ press, primarily in *Zenei*, the theoretical and political journal of the CC CPJ.

"4. Launching a movement for the study of Lenin's writings, holding a competition for the best articles about Lenin and carrying a selection of them in *Gekkan Gakushu*.

"5. Selecting Lenin's best writings and distributing them."

Akahata, November 8, 1969.

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

BELGIUM

January 20. The information bulletin of the Communist Party reports that the Central Committee heard reports by the National Secretary Jean Blum and Deputy Chairman Jean Terfve on the youth movement and the struggle for peace. It was decided to hold a national conference of young Communists in Brussels next March on the subject "Freedom, equality and participation in management."

URUGUAY

January 21. At a special session devoted to the Lenin centenary the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay stressed that Lenin's ideas exerted a great influence on revolutionary development in Latin America, inspiring foremost revolutionaries in setting up Communist parties in Cuba, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay.

ITALY

A conference on the subject "Italian Capitalism and World Economy" was held in Rome on *January 22* sponsored by the Institute and the Center of Political Economy Studies.

YUGOSLAVIA

The Lenin Centenary Committee met for its first session in Belgrade on *January 24* under the chairmanship of Josip Broz Tito. After Tito's opening address, the meeting heard a report by V. Vlahovic, "Lenin and Our Revolutionary Movement." A program of centenary celebrations was approved.

CYPRUS

On *January 16-24*, a CPSU delegation visited Cyprus where it had talks with the AKEL. The communique issued following the talks notes in particular that both delegations are in solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people, and stress the importance for world peace and security of the withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, political settlement of the Mideast crisis on the basis of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, and securing peace in Europe in line with the proposals

jointly elaborated by the socialist countries to turn Europe into a continent of peace and equal cooperation.

The delegations reaffirmed their resolve to do everything possible to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of the program elaborated by the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The two delegations noted the importance of the Lenin centenary celebrations for progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces all over the world. They reaffirmed their belief that the Cyprus problem can and should be solved by peaceful means by the Cypriot people themselves, without interference from without, by securing the complete independence, territorial integrity and demilitarization of Cyprus in the interests of all Cypriots, Greeks and Turks, alike.

AUSTRIA

January 24. Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, issued a statement strongly protesting against the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda launched by the Socialist Party during the election campaign.

ITALY

A mass rally was held in Rome on *January 25* in connection with the Lenin centenary and the 49th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party.

G D R

On *January 26*, H. Axen, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SUPG, received a delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party, which was in the GDR to exchange experience of Party work.

MONGOLIA

January 26. The Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party discussed the Political Bureau's report made by Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers on raising the responsibility of Party and state bodies for improving the economy.

The meeting also heard and discussed a report on the draft economic plan for 1970, submitted by B. Rinchinpelie, member of the Central Committee and Chairman of the State Planning Committee, and a report on the draft budget for 1970, submitted by the Finance Minister Ts. Molom.

The meeting adopted the corresponding decisions on the questions discussed.

ECUADOR

A round-table conference, "Leninism and Agrarian Reform in Ecuador," sponsored by the Communist Party Central Committee was held in Guayaquil on *January 27* as part of the Lenin centenary program.

The participants, who included Party leaders, trade union functionaries, leaders of the peasant movement, student representatives and prominent civic figures, approved the report made by Alejandro Idrovo, member of the Communist Party Executive Committee.

AUSTRIA

At its meeting held at the *end of January*, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Austria discussed the results of the meeting of European Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow on *January 14 and 15*.

As reported by *Volksstimme* of *January 29*, the Political Bureau expressed the Austrian Communist Party's agreement with the meeting's appraisal of the problems of European collective security. The Communist Party of Austria, the paper stressed, will intensify its efforts to promote peace and security in Europe.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, held over *January 28-30*, discussed the following questions: personnel; main problems of the Party's economic policy; Presidium's report on its activity since the last Central Committee meeting; strengthening the Party and enhancing its efficiency in connection with the exchange of Party membership cards.

The meeting accepted the resignation of O. Cernik and K. Polacek as members of the Presidium and S. Sadovsky as member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Communist Party Central Committee. The meeting accepted the resignation of several members of the Central Committee, and approved, in particular, A. Dubcek's resignation as Central Committee member. He had tendered his resignation at the suggestion of the Party's Presidium.

A. Kapek, J. Korcak and J. Lenart were elected, by secret ballot, members of the Presidium and D. Hanes, V. Hula and A. Indra, alternate members of the Presidium.

In view of L. Strougal's appointment to a government post, the Central Committee relieved him of his duties as Central Committee Secretary, member of the Secretariat of the CC CPC and Chairman and Secretary of the CC CPC Bureau in charge of Party work in the Czech regions. J. Kempny was elected to these posts. The meeting endorsed J. Fojtik as member of the Secretariat and Sec-

retary of the CC CPC and M. Moc as member of the CC CPC Secretariat.

The Central Committee approved the proposal to recommend J. Lenárt for the post of First Secretary of the CC CP of Slovakia and relieve him of the duties of Secretary of the CC CPC.

The Central Committee recommended J. Piller for the post of chairman of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak trade unions and D. Hanes for the post of Chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union.

Thirty-six members and alternate members of the Central Committee spoke in the debate.

The meeting approved the Central Committee's letter to all Communists and the organizational-political direction for the exchange of Party membership cards in 1970.

The meeting adopted a resolution on the basic problems of the Party's economic policy.

The Central Committee approved the foreign policy activity of the Presidium, the Presidium's communication on fulfilment of the decisions of the September meeting of the CC CPC, and a number of other proposals.

G. Husák, First Secretary of the CC CPC, delivered a closing speech.

ITALY

The ICP Leadership met in Rome on *January 29* under the chairmanship of Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the ICP.

It discussed the situation in the country in the context of the Christian-Democrats' attempts to restore a four-party Center-Left coalition, and preparations for the local elections.

A. Natta, member of the Leadership, reported on these questions.

SOVIET UNION

Pravda of *January 28* reports that B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, met the participants of the Third Soviet Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa.

The foreign guests included representatives of the embattled people of Vietnam, of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Patriotic Front of Laos, African Party of Independence of Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands, the delegation of the Permanent Secretariat of the Solidarity Organization of the Peoples of Asia and Africa and the Executive Secretariat of the Tri-Continental Solidarity Organization, the delegations of the solidarity committees of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

In the course of the talk the foreign guests were informed of the

struggle the CPSU and the entire Soviet people are waging in defense of freedom and the independence of peoples. All present stressed the need to strengthen the cohesion of all forces fighting against imperialism, to step up the movement of Afro-Asian solidarity—an important component of the general anti-imperialist front.

On January 29 Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, received C. R. Rodriguez, member of the Secretariat, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Comrade Brezhnev and Comrade Rodriguez discussed questions of furthering all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Cuba and strengthening Soviet-Cuban friendship in the interests of closer unity and cohesion of the socialist community and all revolutionary forces.

Comrade Rodriguez told about the measures taken by the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba to achieve the targets of economic development.

Comrade Brezhnev wished the Cuban people further success in building socialism and defending the gains of the Cuban revolution. It was stressed that the Communist Party and the entire Soviet people wholeheartedly support the efforts of fraternal Cuba aimed at building the material and technical basis of socialism.

The meeting passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

The international scientific conference on the subject "The Socialist World System—the Embodiment of the Ideas of Leninism" ended in Moscow on January 30. Its participants included K. Katusev, CC CPSU Secretary, M. A. Lesechko, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, delegates from the CMEA countries, prominent scientists, and Party leaders and statesmen of fraternal countries. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Secretariat of the Communist Party Central Committee and a minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, the heads and staff of diplomatic missions of the socialist countries attended as guests.

G D R

January 31. The communique on the visit of Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Jeno Fock, Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Government, stressed the importance of strengthening the unity of the socialist community on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The two countries, the communique says, attach decisive importance to their firm alliance with the Soviet Union and to further improvement of the Warsaw Treaty organization.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Hungarian Socialist

Workers' Party are preparing to mark the Lenin centenary, and will multiply their efforts, in the spirit of Lenin's teaching, to promote socialist development in the GDR and Hungary and consolidate the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties and cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces.

The two parties emphasized the importance of the Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969 and pledged to devote all their energies to implementing its decisions.

The SUPG and the HSWP discussed the situation in Europe and noted the significance of the meeting of the leaders of the European socialist countries held in Moscow on December 3 and 4.

They also noted with satisfaction that the peoples of Europe are becoming more and more aware of the need to hold an all-European security conference as soon as possible and expressed their resolve to contribute to its preparations.

The two parties reaffirmed their position that the Federal German Republic and other capitalist countries should establish equitable relations with the German Democratic Republic in accordance with the principles of international law. The interests of European security, says the communique, call for recognition of the existing frontiers in Europe, especially the border between the two German states and along the Oder-Neisse. It is essential that the Federal Republic of Germany ratify the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, renounce its unlawful claims to West Berlin, an independent political entity, and declare the Munich agreement invalid from the very outset.

The communique condemns the barbarous war of the U.S. against the people of Vietnam and Israel's aggression against the Arab states.

ITALY

At the *end of January* mass meetings were held in many cities of Italy devoted to the 49th anniversary of the founding of the Italian Communist Party and the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Members of the Communist Party Leadership who addressed the meetings, notably, C. Galluzzi, U. Terracini and A. Cossutta, stressed the decisive role played by Lenin in the formation of the ICP, and the role and significance of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the development of the international working class and anti-imperialist movements.

BOLIVIA

On *February 4* the newspaper *Unidad* published a statement on the meeting between the delegation of the Peruvian Communist

Party and the Communist Party of Bolivia, noting in particular, that the two parties are preparing to mark the centenary of the birth of Lenin in a fitting manner and that they call upon the membership to meet this jubilee with intensified struggle against imperialism and the local oligarchy.

Both delegations, the statement goes on to say, approve the Main Document of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" and the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!"

The Communists of Peru and Bolivia approved the normalization of diplomatic relations by the governments of their countries with the USSR and other socialist countries, and also the nationalization of the U.S. International Petroleum company in Peru and Bolivian Gulf Oil.

The representatives of the two Communist parties noted that both in Peru and in Bolivia "a process of positive changes has started as a result of new forces being drawn into the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle." They denounced the plots of the internal counter-revolutionary forces, organized and master-minded by the U.S. imperialists with the help of the CIA, to prevent the development of political processes in Bolivia and Peru.

Both parties, the statement underscores, will direct their efforts towards defense of the gains won by the Peruvian and Bolivian peoples, and will further promote the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal transformations taking place in their countries.

The delegations expressed their solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam for their freedom and independence, and with the Cuban people who are building a socialist society.

The Peruvian and Bolivian Communists stressed the need to preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and to intensify the ideological struggle against all revisionist trends — both from the Right and the Left.

FRG

February 3. At its meeting in Dusseldorf the Executive of the German Communist Party once again called on the West German Social Democrats to take joint action in the struggle to end U.S. aggression in Vietnam, for European security and recognition of the GDR in international law.

The Executive of the GCP also stressed the need for joint actions for the disbandment of the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party, against the rule of big capital and the policy of price increases, against nationalist propaganda.

The Executive adopted a statement in solidarity with the people

of Vietnam and sent messages of solidarity to workers on strike in various capitalist countries.

RUMANIA

The news agency Agerpres reports that the conference of commanders of the armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Rumania held in Bucharest at the *beginning of February* was addressed by Nicolai Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the Rumanian Republic. Speaking of the role and tasks of the country's armed forces in the present period, he stressed the vast importance of cooperation between the armies of the Warsaw Treaty countries, noting that the purpose of this Treaty is to defend the socialist countries from attack by imperialist powers.

Concerning the question of security in Europe, the General Secretary of the RCP said that the proposals of the socialist countries to convene a conference on European security and cooperation have been welcomed by the peoples of Europe and supported by the governments of nearly all the states on the continent. He noted in this connection that there are favorable conditions for convening such a conference which would greatly help to settle outstanding issues and promote confidence and cooperation among European countries.

JAPAN

On *February 2-4* the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan held its 11th Plenary Meeting. Following a speech of welcome by Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, the meeting was addressed by Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, on behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee. Kenji Miyamoto reported on the draft resolution "Results of the Elections to the Lower Chamber of Parliament and the Immediate Tasks of the Party."

Sanzo Nosaka submitted a proposal to convene the 11th Congress of the Party, and it was decided to hold it in May 1970.

The Congress agenda will be: 1. Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan; 2. Report of the Central Auditing Commission; 3. Amendments to the Rules. 4. Election of the central bodies.

ITALY

The annual exchange of Party cards is proceeding successfully in the local branches of the Italian Communist Party. In connection with the forthcoming Lenin centenary Party cards are being issued bearing a portrait of the great leader.

Since the beginning of the campaign (November 7, 1969) 56,430 new members have joined the Party. New Party cards have been issued to 1,183,000 Communists.

ECUADOR

The First National Congress of the Young Communist League of Ecuador, devoted to the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, was held at the *beginning of February*.

CHILE

At its *February 6-7* plenary meeting in Santiago, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile heard and discussed the report of Jorge Insunza, member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee, on the present political situation in the country and the tasks of the party in connection with the September 4, 1970 presidential elections.

Addressing the closing session of the meeting, Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, noted that the meeting's task was to organize the Communists for the election campaign and to center the Party's activity on ensuring the victory of Salvador Allende.

Corvalan stressed the big role the Communist Party can play in the election campaign. He pointed to the need to continue to fight for unity of the popular forces and thereby ensure the victory of Salvador Allende and the defeat of Alessandri, the candidate of the Right forces, and Tomic, the candidate of the ruling Christian-Democratic Party.

THE NETHERLANDS

On *February 8* the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Netherlands concluded its work. The Congress heard and discussed the report of the Central Committee and the financial report of the Control Commission. The Congress adopted a general resolution and also the draft of its program at the forthcoming provincial and municipal elections.

The Congress elected a new Central Committee.

POWERFUL STRIKES SHAKE SYSTEM OF MONOPOLY DOMINATION

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.

From the Document of the International
Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.
Moscow, 1969.

ITALY

The strike of 20 million working people on November 19, 1969, brought the country's economic life to a standstill. It was preceded by a strike of 1,600,000 steelworkers and 200,000 workers in the chemical industry. 4,500,000 workers went on strike last October. At the FIAT enterprises the workers hoisted red flags and occupied the offices.

Through a strike at the end of 1969 nearly one million builders and oil refinery workers won the right to have union branches at the key factories. One and a half million agricultural workers called a strike at the end of 1969. Ninety thousand transport workers and office employees went on strike in January.

FRANCE

The strike of 30,000 city transport workers in September 1969 lasted a fortnight. The dockers of Marseilles, Dunkirk and other seaports held seven strikes in two months. The workers of 28 mining enterprises in Lorraine went on strike last October. Strikes were also held by workers of atomic plants. Peasants held mass demonstrations in many parts of the country in protest against the government's wage policy. The strike in the gas and power industry in November 1969 lasted 48 hours. Only hospitals and other similar public utilities were not affected by strikes.

BRITAIN

Some 30,000 automobile workers were on strike in London, Coventry and Birmingham last October. Work was stopped in 75 out of the 76 mines in a major coalfield as a result of the October strike. Nearly 100,000 miners demanded better working conditions and social security.

WEST GERMANY

At least 50,000 workers took action in September 1969 against exploitation by monopolies making huge profits. The protest movement lasted a week. About 25,000 Saar miners took action. The number of strikers in the steel industry was estimated by Western agencies at 26,000.

SPAIN

The number of strikers has grown by 50,000 since January. Strikes broke out in the Asturias, Andalusia, the Basque country, Barcelona, Seville and other towns.

BELGIUM

Some 7,000 metalworkers struck at the end of November protesting against arbitrary actions by police in their enterprises. The 1,200 AGEF-GENT workers were on strike for eight days. About 20,000 miners stopped work for a week at the Limburg mines.

SWEDEN

The seven-week miners' strike in Norrland brought on a chain reaction throughout the country. Strikes were called by 7,300 workers of five big concerns, including the SAAB aircraft and car concern in Trollhattan.

DENMARK

Some 3,200 workers struck at Burmeister and Wain, the biggest plant in the country.

U S A

The strike of 150,000 General Electric workers, continuing since October 27, 1969, is seen as a prelude to impending class battles. Wage agreements affecting some six million workers in various industries expire in the next few months. The trade union leaders admit that 1970 will witness the most powerful wave of strikes since the early fifties. Big class battles were fought in the iron and steel industry, building, transport and the automobile industry in the later half of 1969.

CANADA

Forty thousand iron and steel workers were on strike in the latter half of 1969. The strike of 21,000 nickel workers, which lasted many months, was one of the sharpest social clashes in the last decade.

JAPAN

Numerous strikes have taken place since the middle of 1969.

AUSTRALIA

Twelve thousand electrical workers and 5,000 sailors took part in mass actions in the second half of 1969 against the government's policy of following in the wake of U.S. policy.

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