

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

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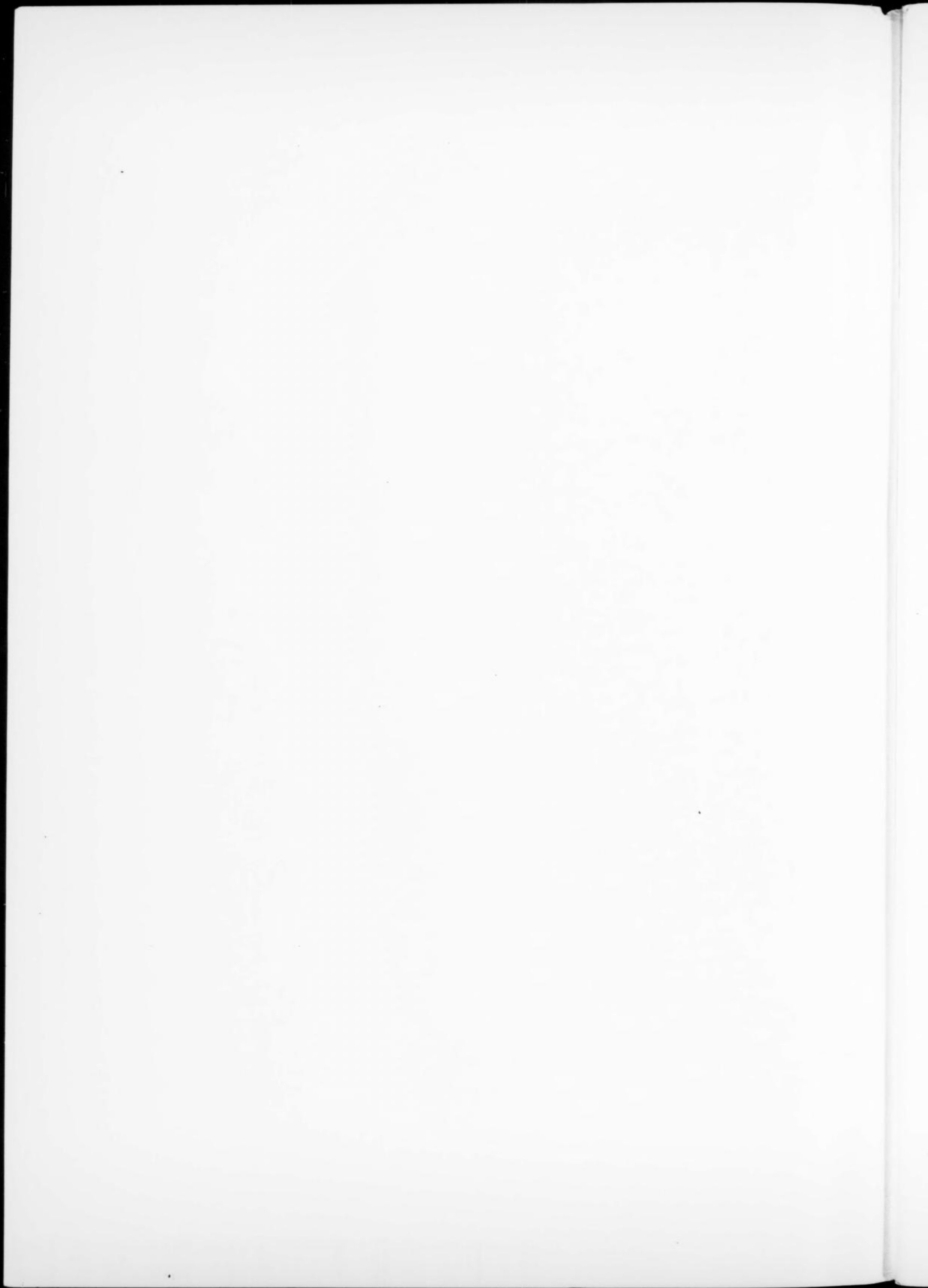
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Stop the drift to world war

NORMAN FREED, KJELD OESTERLING

THE PEACE MOVEMENT is now confronted with new tasks arising from the existing international situation and the growing threat to world peace on the part of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism has embarked on a blatant course of aggression in various parts of the world. The massive air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the use of chemicals, poison gas and napalm bombs, the landing of marines in increasing numbers constitute naked aggression against the people of Vietnam.

More than 20,000 U.S. troops recently invaded the Dominican Republic to prevent the people from establishing a democratic government of their choice.

Washington is continuing the provocations against Cuba, carrying out its bloody plans in the Congo, using Malaysia as a weapon against the national-liberation movement, with the aim of maintaining their domination in Southeast Asia; they continue to occupy South Korea and the island of Taiwan, which is an integral part of Chinese territory.

In Europe the United States, using the aggressive NATO alliance, proposes setting up a multilateral nuclear force or implementing other variants of nuclear armament as a means of enabling the West German revanchists to place their finger on the atomic trigger. At the same time it is seeking to counteract the rising tendencies in Western Europe towards a realistic security system.

Twenty years after World War II the world is again brought to the brink of war, to the point of no return. If a nuclear world war is to be averted, all the anti-war and progressive forces in the world must join to combat these acts of aggression and to prevent it from expanding. The situation is grave. The "war party" (as the U.S. press calls the ultras in the

Pentagon and in the State Department) are at present gaining the upper hand in the USA.

The main reasons for escalating the war in Vietnam are political and strategic. And behind these lurk the economic interests of the big monopolies. It has now been disclosed that the design to extend the aggression in Vietnam was worked out prior to the Presidential election but was held back so that Johnson could exploit the peace sentiment of the people of the United States for his own purposes. The Pentagon, therefore, advanced its aggressive plan during the election through Goldwater. The people overwhelmingly rejected the plan. But this has not prevented the Johnson Administration from doing its utmost to execute it.

For a long time sharp differences existed in the top U.S. ruling circles as to how to achieve their political and strategic aims in Southeast Asia. One wing advocated a "defensive" policy, i.e., waging a war of aggression with the aid of the local population, with the U.S. military acting as "trainers and advisers." It believed that this would be sufficient to defeat the liberation movement in South Vietnam. But the plan backfired. The people liberated four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam, and were well on the way to complete the liberation of their country. The USA was on the verge of a military defeat similar to that suffered earlier by French imperialism. For the Pentagon, it was a question of either pulling out or of getting in deeper. The other wing, which advocated direct U.S. military participation and the extension of intervention to DRV territory, seized on the military defeats and gained the upper hand for its policy.

There never were any serious differences in U.S. ruling circles as to why the U.S. should stay in Vietnam. U.S. imperialism long ago

worked out its plans to utilize, in its own interests, the disintegration of the old West European colonial empires. Advancing the theory of filling the "vacuums," it developed the strategy of "small" and "local" wars to prevent the peoples from consolidating their independence and to pave the way for neo-colonialism. It installed puppet governments and at the "request" of these "legitimate and friendly governments" granted them military "aid."

In pursuit of the vacuum policy Washington decided to create a new zone in Southeast Asia particularly in South Vietnam because of its proximity to the socialist countries of Asia. The idea was to create a springboard for further expansion into the Asian continent. The 1954 Geneva agreements prohibited the presence of any foreign military forces in any of the independent countries of former Indo-China. This is why the USA refused to sign the agreements and refused to implement them. To prevent democratic elections from being held in Vietnam it set up a puppet regime in Saigon and started its war of aggression.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam, a grave danger to world peace, is an important link in the chain of military conflicts developed by American imperialism. The aggressors are trying to involve the Latin American continent in these conflicts. They are carrying out preparations for a war in Europe, for it is in Europe that most of the unresolved issues left over from World War II remain. It is here that the largest concentration of imperialist military forces is to be found. At the recent meeting in Paris of the NATO Defense Ministers, McNamara, U.S. Secretary of Defense, declared that by the end of the year the number of nuclear warheads supplied for use by NATO in Europe would be "100 per cent higher than in 1961."

In view of the present position of Bonn, at a time when atomic weapons have been stationed in West Germany, this means increasing the danger of the West German militarists using these weapons for their revanchist purposes. It is no accident that Seehofer, West German Transport Minister, told a recent meeting of a hundred thousand Sudeten Germans in Stuttgart to "continue the holy work of the older generation" by striving to win back "their" lands in Czechoslovakia.

The appeal by President Johnson to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for an understanding and for easing international tensions while escalating the war in Vietnam, carrying out military intervention in the Dominican Republic, increasing the stockpile of atomic weapons in Europe and seeking to pro-

vide the West German revanchists with the opportunity of using atomic weapons is hypocrisy, an obvious attempt at deception, calculated to cover his dirty deeds and confuse public opinion.

Two main propaganda lines emanate from Washington. One is that the atomic weapons at the disposal of the United States and the Soviet Union are so immense and so destructive that neither side will bring itself to use them. This is called the "balance of terror." The purpose of this propaganda is to lull the people's vigilance and to weaken their fight against the dangers of atomic war and for the abolition of atomic weapons. The hypocritical argument is advanced that destruction of atomic weapons would actually increase the danger of war.

The other propaganda line, that of minimizing the destructive power of atomic weapons, is calculated to create the illusion that nuclear war will not be all that destructive and that after a time life will resume its normal tenor. With this aim in view, numerous so-called scientific reports have been made public, based on the study of conditions on the Pacific Island used by the USA to test its H-bomb. The reports indicate that after a number of years trees have begun to grow again and fish to appear in the rivers and lakes; after one or two decades agriculture may again be possible.

Communists and all peace-loving forces reject both these lines. Contrary to the militarists' allegations, the danger of atomic war is real, and its destructive power threatens to destroy a civilization built up through the millenniums. Humanity cannot and will not permit its own destruction, even if there is a remote possibility of beginning a new era.

In conditions when reactionaries and, first and foremost, American imperialists are becoming more and more active in various regions of the world, trying to make the situation more tense, taking aggressive steps against the socialist countries, the states which have liberated themselves of colonial domination, against the revolutionary movement of the peoples—in these conditions, unity in the world Communist movement is indispensable. The stakes are too high. No matter what the differences in the movement, they should face the imperialists with united ranks. Unity in the world Communist movement will facilitate unity of all the peace-loving and democratic forces.

Of greatest importance is the appeal contained in the communique of the Moscow Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. The communique states that "it is more than ever necessary for all Communist

parties to show their sense of internationalist responsibility and to unite for the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against the rule of monopoly capital, for active support to the liberation movement and defense of the peoples who are objects of imperialist aggression, and for the struggle for world peace based on respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all states." Dwelling on the decisive importance of uniting the revolutionary forces, the communique points out that Communist unity must be strengthened in the interest of the unity of these forces. The Moscow meeting voiced the conviction that what unites the Communist parties is much stronger than that which at the moment disunites them.

The recent conference of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe likewise made a valuable contribution to the struggle for unity. It addressed an appeal to the Labor and Socialist parties of Western Europe to end their support for U.S. policy in Vietnam; to halt the barbarous bombing and acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; to end all acts of aggression by the United States in South Vietnam, beginning with the withdrawal of all U.S. military forces, and to allow the Vietnamese people to exercise freely their right to decide their own destiny. This requires recognition of the National Liberation Front as the true representative of the people of South Vietnam. This appeal, if put into united anti-imperialist action throughout the world would bring peace to the people in Vietnam and eliminate a grave danger point threatening the peace of the world.

The Communists are convinced that if the peace-loving forces unite for a decisive struggle they can frustrate the criminal war plans, maintain peace and promote friendship among peoples. The Communists, as noted in the 1960 Statement of fraternal parties, see their historical mission not only in abolishing exploitation and poverty on a worldwide scale and in excluding wars from the life of human society for all times, but in ridding mankind already in the present epoch of the nightmare of a new world war.

The forces upholding peace are vast. They can put an end to the policy of aggression pursued by U.S. imperialism. Major international actions aimed at putting an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, protest campaigns, a powerful movement of solidarity with the Vietnamese people in all countries will become the barrier that will hold back the wave of aggression. In a number of countries, money is being collected for the purchase of supplies

and medicines to be sent to the war-stricken people of Vietnam. This is one of the manifestations of the growing consciousness of the peoples and the consciousness of the peoples is an important factor in world politics.

The working people have created an arsenal of effective means of struggle against imperialist aggression. They were inspired to this by the sense of solidarity with the victims of the imperialist aggression, a clear understanding of the fact that the sparks of imperialist war are threatening their own homes.

Today also, the working people can take up the tested weapons of struggle against the increased war danger. In this respect the world congress for peace, national independence and disarmament to be held in Helsinki will, undoubtedly, be of great importance. This congress will promote unity of all peace-loving forces in the interest of joint actions against the forces of war.

The demands of the peace-loving forces reflect standards of social justice so dear to the peoples, standards which the imperialists have never succeeded in destroying in the minds of the working masses.

The peoples demand:

— an end to U.S. acts of aggression in Vietnam;

— the withdrawal of American troops and armaments in keeping with the Geneva agreements of 1964;

— an end to the interference of U.S. imperialists in the affairs of South Vietnam; the granting to the people of Vietnam of the right to determine their own destiny.

Mankind is at present living through a critical moment in its history. To stop the aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere, to defeat the interventionist policy of American imperialism, to deliver a decisive blow to the "war party"—that is the most important task today. Unless this is done the aggression in Vietnam and Latin America, whetting the appetite of the imperialists, may become the prelude to a world nuclear war.

* * *

In U.S. foreign policy, diplomacy is at present being substituted, more and more, by military operations and threats. It should be recalled that Kennedy, too, made use of military threats but generally subordinated them to diplomacy. The high-sounding concepts of the "new frontiers" and the "Alliance for Progress" are now giving way to open threats, naked aggression, and blatant hypocrisy. The Johnson Administration and its advisers are playing much more strongly on what they

think are the "weak points" of the forces of peace and progress. After a period of diplomatic and economic reconnaissance the American imperialists are openly basing their policy on deepening the split in the world Communist movement and socialist camp. U.S. imperialism is making a crude attempt to set the "price" of peaceful coexistence—a free hand for itself in Southeast Asia and anywhere else in the world, hoping to halt by military means the revolutionary process of our epoch and to extend its supremacy to other parts of the globe.

These plans, however, are being thwarted by the firm, resolute position and initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as of the non-aligned countries, and above all by the people of Vietnam. The deceitful character of the U.S. imperialists' attempt to make use of peaceful coexistence for blackmail was convincingly exposed by Leonid Brezhnev in a speech on the 20th anniversary of the victory over Hitler. He recalled that when it comes to relations with the USSR, American politicians seem ready to recognize the need for peaceful coexistence. But at the same time the United States is crudely violating this principle in its relations with other states, interfering in their internal affairs, and committing acts of naked aggression. It is obvious that the American politicians are pursuing a double-faced policy.

The Johnson Administration realizes that its policy of aggression is developing at a time when imperialism no longer possesses an atomic monopoly. Hence the theory of "limited wars" and "preventive defense" with conventional weapons or even with tactical nuclear weapons. This theory, which made its appearance during the Kennedy Administration, has gained ascendancy and is being put into practice by the Johnson Administration. Johnson has gone a long way in adopting measures pertaining to the structure of the armed forces, military training and the choice of weapons to be used in line with the theory of "limited wars."

Before being introduced fully, this program was tried out on a smaller scale in the acts of aggression against Laos. The designation of Maxwell Taylor, the theoretician of "limited wars" and "preventive defense," as the executor of this military theory on a large scale in Vietnam marks a new period in U.S. foreign policy. The new leaders in Washington are carried away by their own propaganda of American omnipotence. The only thing that can bring them back to reality is the united resistance of the peace forces.

The exploitation of mythology in politics by

Hitler has been sufficiently disastrous for the world to apprehend a repetition. Myths are the triumph of credulity over evidence. But truth is stronger than myth and truth is bound to emerge victorious. The rulers of the U.S. are exploiting all irrational beliefs, the anti-Communist prejudice and fears arising from frustration, and cruel impulses bred by hysteria. There has emerged a new and dangerous edition of the myth of "Communist aggression," so fatally exploited by Hitler. This myth has been influencing U.S. foreign policy for a long time. At present it appears to have won the upper hand, and goes together with the concept of the dependable power of the new Leviathan.

Self-deception based on the illusion that the U.S. is so powerful that it can hold back the course of history anywhere in the world is emerging as state policy. There is a grave danger that U.S. politics, instead of being based on a realistic calculation of the contending world forces, may become the expression of irresponsible power based on the proposition "World Power or Ruin."

The self-deception that social change and advance can be prevented by military force will boomerang.

For in the case of people fighting for national and social liberation, such as the people of South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic or any other people fighting for social change and advance, it should be borne in mind that while they may be economically and militarily weaker than U.S. imperialism, the radical shift in the balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism, the existence of the mighty socialist world system, and the support and solidarity of the progressive forces enable these peoples, operating in conformity with the objective laws of social development, to achieve victory over imperialism, which is moving against the objective development of history. In our time, social progress cannot be prevented any more than the rising of the sun.

The lesson drawn by Kennedy from the loss of U.S. nuclear monopoly was the need to find a new, less hazardous foreign policy. This lesson is now being ignored by Johnson. In his recent statement he declared that "the American nation cannot, must not and will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere." This constituted an implied criticism of the late President Kennedy for his refusal to allow the use of the U.S. air force during the U.S.-backed Cuban counter-revolutionaries' invasion of the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. And when Johnson asked Congress to vote 700 million dollars for the war in Vietnam and the Dominican

Republic, he said: "We must do everything that needs to be done, whatever risk or costs may be involved." Certain commentators now call this position the "Johnson Doctrine."

The "escalation" tactic, a component of the "Johnson Doctrine" is, in a sense, a political device, calculated to avoid a sudden sharp crisis on a world scale which by its shock effect could, in a short period of time, create a worldwide anti-war front. If one cannot "accustom" world opinion to bombing and the landing of marines on foreign territory, one can try to weaken its sense of the seriousness of the situation by distributing the danger and by administering "gradually increasing doses."

* * *

Can these political and propaganda tricks produce the desired effect? Even with the political support of the West German, British, Italian and some Latin American and other governments, the U.S. finds itself almost in complete isolation with regard to the peoples of the world and even some of its allies. The French government, for example, which supported the U.S. during the Caribbean crisis, is at present opposed to U.S. policy in Vietnam and is calling for negotiations and neutralization, for the withdrawal of American troops from the Dominican Republic. Sixty members of the Parliamentary Labor Party in Britain signed a petition urging the Wilson government to disassociate itself from U.S. policy in Vietnam. The Prime Minister of Canada, Lester Pearson, called upon the American government to stop bombing North Vietnam and to open negotiations.

Not only is there a growing world opinion against U.S. aggression, protests and criticisms are made by people close to the ruling circles of the U.S. Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and other Senators and Congressmen, have been widely reported as criticizing the actions of the government and protesting against them. Walter Lippmann has emphasized the weak points of the official explanation given for the refusal to negotiate with patriots, the force which controls four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam. George F. Kennan, in a speech in New York, called for a "total revision of our position towards nuclear weapons and their role in our defense." He also called for a serious re-examination of the U.S. approach to nuclear disarmament.

The Western press has commented at length on the discussions and conflicting views in the top leadership of the U.S. These differences and contradictions may play a rather important

role, under certain conditions, in changing the present course of aggression. But a real change in the international situation will be brought about by the efforts of the socialist countries and the international working class, by the national-liberation movement, by a united and decisive movement for peace and for the settlement of problems through negotiations. The imperialists can only be halted by mass public pressure, by the rallying of the forces opposed to war, including those bourgeois circles in the United States opposed to the hazardous policy of aggression.

Of great importance today are the words of Lenin: "We are not indifferent to whether we are dealing with those representatives of the bourgeois camp who are in favor of a military solution or with those representatives of the bourgeois camp who are in favor of pacifism, however worthless and however reprehensible from the standpoint of communism."

Proceeding from this Leninist concept, from an analysis of the present situation, the Moscow Meeting of Communist parties in 1960 noted in its Statement: "A certain section of the bourgeoisie of the advanced capitalist countries who soberly evaluate the correlation of forces and the horrible consequences of a destructive war also come out in favor of the policy of peaceful coexistence." Of course, only constant pressure on the part of the working people can make this section of the bourgeoisie more active.

* * *

Today socialism is becoming the determining force in historical development. The keynote of history is the liberation of oppressed nations, not their enslavement. The conditions for socialism are maturing in the developed capitalist countries in spite of all the efforts of monopoly capitalism to obstruct social advance. The socialist world system and its economic, military and ideological strength are the main guarantee of peace and progress. The forces of peace and progress can maintain the historic and strategic initiative. But the situation today is such that the tactical initiative has to be grasped at each decisive moment or it will be lost to U.S. imperialism.

One cannot but see that a considerable section of world opinion outside of the actual areas of aggression and intervention remains chiefly at the stage of anxiety, anger and disgust over the acts of aggression, expressing these sentiments in general demands. One cannot but see that there are sections of world opinion which underestimate the danger, either because they think that "the battle for

world peace has already been won" or because they do not see how their particular effort could change the course of events.

No effective interplay of political, diplomatic and military measures on the part of the forces of peace has so far been achieved in the present crisis.

One of the reasons for this is the old problem of "the secrecy of war preparations" and the "discipline of the imperialist military machine." With the emergence of the socialist world system and the creation of mass organizations acting for peace, it has become possible to overcome to some extent this obstacle and in a number of cases to stop the war in its embryonic stage. But the secrecy which shrouds imperialist war policy decisions, the enormous centralization of power and the mechanization and partial automation of the imperialist war machine, combined with the gigantic destructive effects of nuclear weapons, have made "the discipline of the imperialist military machine" even more dreadful and the need to develop constant actions for peace and against aggression even more imperative.

For instance, it seems that the development of aggressiveness of U.S. imperialist policies today does not require an overall militarization of the internal life of the nation, at least not in its "classical forms." A "nuclear war by accident" becomes not only an actual possibility, but also a political cover for a conscious effort to unleash a world conflict.

It seems as if there is considerable difficulty in quite a number of countries to pass beyond general expressions of sympathy, to more direct actions of support, actions which could force a change in the policy of aggression or at least seriously restrict acts of aggression. These shortcomings should be overcome.

What unity of action within the world Communist movement in these conditions means has been underlined by the events themselves. It is perfectly clear that had there been no such sharp differences in the Communist movement, the U.S. imperialists would not have dared to extend their aggression in Vietnam. In the present situation, fraternal parties should avoid mutual attacks in order to preserve unity against their common enemy, imperialism. To our mind, the time has come to take new steps to unite all who can be united around a concrete program of action against imperialist aggression. Differences of opinion cannot be an obstacle to united action on questions that are vital to all.

* * *

The imperialist bombing and armed inter-

vention cannot be stopped by protests alone, at least not in the present situation. This understanding is demonstrated by the different steps taken by the socialist states. The imperialist aggression can only be stopped by a combination of all adequate means—political and military, mass actions and state initiatives. An all-sided view must be taken of the very real and very great danger which the "limited wars and local armed interventions" present to the whole world. If the imperialists should start "limited wars" and escalate them into a world conflict, they will no doubt be defeated. But together with them a large part of humanity would perish.

As we see it, the "key" to the present situation is the development and coordination of all adequate means of action, with an effort to strengthen world opinion against the imperialist aggression.

The development of actions forcing a change in the policy of those governments which are either supporting or have not disengaged themselves from present U.S. aggressiveness requires actions on a mass scale and on a state level mutually supplementing and strengthening each other. The development of more effective and concrete forms of solidarity with the liberation movement, to both reinforce unity and coordination of action and to raise the understanding of the interconnection between the liberation struggle and the general fight for peace and progress is imperative at the present critical stage.

Success hinges on combining mass actions with the elaboration of a system of world security, plans for atom-free and limited armament zones, for freezing existing armaments in certain areas, plans for neutrality, disengagement, withdrawal of foreign troops and abolition of foreign bases, disarmament measures, development of economic and cultural relations. But first of all what will be decisive is worldwide action to defeat imperialist aggression where it has shown itself most brazenly—in Southeast Asia and in Latin America. Democrats should be bound to explain and show through political action that peace in Toronto or Copenhagen depends to a large extent on peace in Saigon, that security in the world depends on the ability to throw out of Latin America corrupt "gorillas" and U.S. puppet dictators.

The meeting of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe stressed the tremendous role played in world politics by the problems of European security. The communique approved by the meeting states: "In reply to the cold-war policy, to the division of the European continent and American

interference through NATO, an alternative in keeping with the interests of the European nations and universal peace can be advanced, that of European collective security.

"It is a question of establishing new relations between all the peoples of Europe based on peaceful coexistence, with respect for the national systems and interests."

The participants in the meeting were of the opinion that today, 20 years after the end of the war, it is time to remove the threat of a conflict by normalizing the situation. Germany, in their opinion, should become a nuclear free zone; the German Democratic Republic should be recognized; the integrity of the present borders of Europe should be proclaimed; West Berlin should be given the status of a free and demilitarized city; a treaty should be concluded between the two German states. All this will promote peace, the prevention of a military conflict, and the stepping up of the struggle against West German militarism, which is inseparably linked with the U.S. aggressors.

It is necessary to further discuss and debate in order to overcome the erroneous view that peaceful coexistence cannot be maintained or that it is achieved automatically, by the very existence of nuclear weapons. Peaceful coexistence, when correctly applied, is an unceasing flow of initiative, is a cyclotron which disintegrates the positions of the "war party" and accelerates the maturing of the consciousness of the people not only in the struggle for

world peace, but also to eliminate imperialism as a social system.

It is not the danger of war and nuclear destruction alone which mobilizes and unites but this danger together with the realization of the possibility of preventing an atomic war.

Action, cohesion and initiative are urgently needed throughout the world to safeguard peace and the security of the peoples. Such a line should be pursued in the course of multilateral actions at all levels, embrace all tendencies and trends, and become a versatile democratic movement of our epoch. In our opinion, it should be a broad and genuinely effective one.

Aggression must be stopped! The "limited wars" must be stopped!

Peace, freedom and self-determination are indivisible. The proposals of the peace champions must acquire a realistic and concrete form when translated into practice. An immediate end to the aggression in Vietnam! Peace for Vietnam! Democracy and self-determination for the Dominican Republic! No further political or military preparations for attack against Cuba! No multilateral nuclear forces, and a new system of security in Europe! No new provocations in connection with Berlin!

Twenty years have passed since the last world war. The next war will come rather soon if we do not act as we can and should. Let us act then before it is too late, while we have time, let us act immediately!

Correction

Article by Otto Siks in March 1965 issue of WMR: page 22, right hand column, line 3 from top should read "by 160 per cent compared with 1937." Lines 12-13 in same column should read "by 122 per cent compared with pre-war."

Ideological work and the policy of the Party

Concerning the directives of the
Central Committee, Hungarian
Workers' Party

ISTVAN SZIRMAI

THE EIGHTH CONGRESS of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held at the end of 1962, outlined the Party's tasks in the ideological sphere now that the foundations of socialism have been laid in the country.

What does the balance sheet for the period since the congress show, and what new frontiers have to be charted? The guidelines issued by the Central Committee in April dwell on these points.

I.

The guides examine only those theoretical and ideological problems which affect the masses and which are of immediate political importance.

In the process of laying the foundations of socialism the economic and class structure of our society underwent big changes. The changes have posed new problems, and it is clear that new steps will be necessary in many spheres of socio-economic and ideological life as well as a critical reappraisal of the previous methods of work.

One of the principal aims is to develop and encourage creative work. While posing a number of theoretical problems which still await solution, the guidelines do not pretend to pass a final opinion on these problems, thus affording every opportunity for further discussion. The Central Committee, the initiator of the discussion, is furthering the development

of spiritual life and helping to find the solution to the problems of the day.

Big changes have taken place also on the international scene. The ideological processes under way in the country, the moulding of a socialist outlook are closely bound up with these changes. Such issues as peaceful co-existence, the fight for peace and international socialist economic cooperation are not treated at length since the Party has repeatedly expressed its viewpoint on these questions. It has also more than once expressed its agreement with the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, with the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. Hence in this case, too, there was no need to elaborate new positions.

Since the defeat of the counter-revolution in 1956 the Party has waged a struggle on two fronts — against revisionism and dogmatism. The guides stress the urgency of combating these two erroneous trends, expressing the viewpoint of the Central Committee that either trend can be the main danger in various spheres.

Schematic thinking and sectarian intolerance are encountered to this day in Party life. Dogmatism still hampers free creative work, properly assessing the situation, examining from Marxist positions new socio-economic developments. The struggle against dogmatism must be continued if we are to advance.

Attention is drawn to the fact that Right opportunist, revisionist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends have come to the surface of late in our ideological and cultural life. These views are expressed in diverse ways, and the ideological struggle to expose them is not always satisfactory.

The need to intensify the struggle in defense of Marxism is dictated by the situation in the country itself and also by the "fragmentation" tactics pursued by the imperialists in recent years. These tactics encourage and stimulate the anti-socialist tendencies which still exist. Marxists should not ignore this fact, and they should take a more serious attitude to it than has been the case up to now.

The Party can effectively uphold Marxism, be its worthy representative only if it approaches social development creatively, tackles new problems and shows how to solve them. Hence the keynote of the guidelines is that creative thinking must be promoted in every way.

II.

Since problems arising in economic and social life are in the forefront special attention is devoted to them. The Eighth Congress, noting that the economy and ideology had become the two principal spheres of the class struggle, defined the situation in the country at the time and the new tasks connected with our advance since the defeat of the counter-revolution. There are no longer any antagonistic classes in our country. The various classes and sections of society have one common feature — all *politically* agree with the aims of socialism and recognize the leading role of the Party. However, the ideas of socialism, the principles of Marxism-Leninism do not as yet fully hold sway in practical, economic work, in the world outlook of some sections of the population.

The problem of the inter-relation between the economy and ideology is particularly important today, especially because, as the guidelines point out, many Party organizations tend to overlook this. True, our Party organizations realize the importance of the more complex forms of economic work, characteristic of the present situation, that economic issues merit priority, but in many cases they do this at the expense of ideological work, pushing it into the background.

A number of urgent tasks face our national economy at present: economic management, the prices and bonus system and planning must be improved, a thorough study be made of the experience accumulated and theoretically analyzed. But this does not imply that the economy is an aim in itself; the purpose in focusing attention on economic problems is to achieve broader social objectives, to further improve the well-being of the individual in our socialist society.

We reject the view that the desire for a better and richer life is a capitalist vice. But

we know that better conditions do not automatically strengthen socialist consciousness, thinking and morals. Hence our work in the economic sphere should be closely linked with our activity in the ideological sphere, for only then will we be successful.

The question of the inter-relation between the economy and ideology is approached from the standpoint of the social role of labor. The principle of distribution according to labor should be more consistently implemented. Along with improving the bonus system we need greater ideological and moral stimuli. We are not only anxious that incentive should be combined (where this is possible) with public and personal interests, but also that socialist labor should receive the moral recognition due to it. We also rely on the consciousness, enthusiasm and socialist ethics of our working people, three factors which have a tremendous mobilizing force.

While the vast majority of our people, knowing the importance of the transformations that have taken place in our society, are working in a new way, the fact remains that labor discipline is not always satisfactory.

Socialist labor discipline cannot rely on insecurity, the scourge which enables the capitalists to maintain a compulsory discipline. This would be contrary to all the laws of socialism, to the principles of socialist humanism.

Our experience shows that socialism (social ownership of the means of production and socialist production which aims at fully satisfying demand) cannot alone ensure sound labor discipline. Socialist consciousness and the moral incentive must, therefore, be combined with the material incentive and the application of measures that ensure a conscientious attitude to labor. It would be a mistake to revert to the so-called "firm hand," the advocates of which would like to settle all problems by administrative measures. But it would be no less of a mistake if the Party were to allow tendencies to take root which condone laxity, violation of labor discipline and make things easy for the careless, irresponsible worker. The Party intends to take more resolute action than hitherto against tendencies of this kind.

III.

After the defeat of the counter-revolution our Party considered as its main task to remedy the mistakes of the past and fully to develop socialist democracy.

Viewpoints which identify the further development of socialist democracy with "liberalization" are wholly rejected.

Socialist democracy during the transition from capitalism to socialism is the dictatorship of the proletariat which represents the interests of the people, of the masses as against the interests of the minority of hostile, anti-social elements. Socialist democracy voices the demands of the working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population.

Hence the work to extend and perfect socialist democracy is at the same time a struggle against so-called liberalism which, far from promoting democracy, has the reverse effect.

How can socialist democracy be carried out most effectively? In this connection three groups of problems should be noted:

a) *The work of the institutions exercising democratic rights.* Some of these—Parliament, the local councils, etc., — must be improved in many respects. Their role must be more specifically defined, their spheres of activity extended and their basic principles elaborated accordingly. The possibilities for perfecting our electoral system should be studied. The theory of the socialist development of the state and society is by no means complete.

Our immediate task is to ensure better use of the existing forms of democracy, by applying the principle according to which the development of democracy implies increased and effective activity on the part of the masses.

b) *Coordination of different interests on the basis of socialist principles.* Thanks to democratic centralism it is possible by giving priority to the most important common interests to coordinate national and local, public and personal interests as well as the interests of different classes and groups of the population. Of course contradictions may arise between local interests and the interests of society as a whole. The coordination of these interests is, therefore, a complex task that calls for constant attention. Here two extremes must be combated: excessive centralism, on the one hand, and underestimation of centralism, on the other. The first extreme takes the form of ignoring local interests, of unnecessarily restricting local initiative and curtailing the right to make decisions on the spot; the second extreme, on the contrary, takes the form of satisfying local interests at the expense of public interests. These trends must be combated in every concrete instance.

The Party is the consistent representative of the interests of the people. Socialist democracy therefore requires that the Party always perform its leading role.

c) Vital to broadening democracy is the *participation of the public in affairs of state.* More public activity and initiative are needed in all spheres. In our conditions democracy does not end with the political institutions. It plays a bigger role in the economic and social life. In all these spheres the antecedent to democracy is the policy of the Party and the Government, which determines aims in accordance with the public interests; at the same time the people in their mass should help in elaborating and realizing these aims. If they are to do so effectively they must be kept informed of what is taking place. Direct and correct information about home and foreign policy issues, about our difficulties is a sure way to establish confidence between the Party and the people.

IV.

As the conditions of socialist construction are changing and with these the socio-economic situation, so new demands come to the fore with regard to running the country. In this connection there has been considerable discussion in recent years concerning the leading role of the working class.

Some question from an "objective," "professional" standpoint, whether the working class can effect its leading role in the social, political and ideological spheres, considering the higher standards necessitated by the scientific and technological revolution. Others think that this role depends on the number of workers holding leading positions. Still others maintain that with the consolidation of national unity, as the classes draw closer, there is no longer any need for the leading role of the working class. And lastly, dogmatists accuse the Party of having in recent years "renounced the leading role of the working class."

The criterion in judging the leading role of the working class should be the manner, effective or otherwise, in which its policy is carried out. In this respect it can be said that compared with the past twenty years and also with the period of the personality cult the leading role of the working class has increased, and it is fulfilling this role more consistently. This is seen in the growing alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the greater confidence reposed in it by the people since the foundations of socialism were laid. Today the entire people approve and support the basic aims of socialist construction.

To ensure the leading role of the working class at all stages of socialist construction is an important task which cannot be neglected. This principle, which holds true for all spheres of our society, takes different forms depending on the changed conditions.

In the past twenty years the working class of our country has grown in every respect. Numerically it is now nearly twice as big as it was before the war; but even more important is that it is a better educated and politically conscious working class, a working class that has acquired a rich and varied experience in socialist construction. All this has, needless to say, enhanced its place and role in society.

The ranks of our socialist intelligentsia are reinforced by the sons and daughters of workers and peasants. It would be a mistake to lose sight of this circumstance and to take the view that the leading role of the working class can be performed only by manual workers, or, on the contrary, that the worker appointed to a key position brings less benefit to the working class. The reverse is the case, for the worker in such a role has more opportunities for realizing the aims of his class. It could likewise be a mistake to think that the leading role of the working class can be performed only by cadres drawn exclusively from the working class. The leading role of the working

class is effected by all citizens, irrespective of their social origin, who accept the policy of the Marxist-Leninist party and fight for its implementation. The Party will continue to encourage the promotion of the best representatives of the working class to key positions.

Big changes have taken place in the class structure of our country. We no longer have a class of capitalists. The peasants have taken to socialism, and for the most part the intelligentsia is now of working-class and peasant origin. It follows therefore that, in its policy of alliances, the working class must use other means than those used during the period of the fight for power. It should be borne in mind that while there is unity on the basic issues, on common aims, in other respects the different classes do not necessarily share the same interests. The working class must therefore in its policy consistently uphold the interests of socialism which, essentially, correspond to the interests of all working people.

As the leading role of the working class grows and the political guidance of society improves, the ideology, the world outlook of the working class strikes deeper roots.

V.

The moulding of the socialist outlook proceeds in a struggle with alien ideological trends. The ideological legacy left by capitalism is now chiefly in the form of a fairly widespread petty-bourgeois ideology.

One manifestation of this is the apolitical, indifferent and passive attitude to public life, to the new economic and political system. Another concerns the lawful elements of the revolutionary process—the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the working class and its party, collective farming, etc. Such people would like to impose on socialism their petty-bourgeois way of life, their views, but without their being involved in public affairs, in anything that might impinge on their narrow personal interests. Many of them try to justify their individualism on the grounds that in this way they can preserve their “moral purity” in the vortex of politics.

The best way to combat this outlook is to perfect our socialist public relations and to further democratize public life.

Two closely related tendencies far removed from our world outlook can be observed in the life of our society today: disillusionment and pessimism. These tendencies are found among those who have been disappointed in their expectations and who partly have lost faith in socialism and in the revolution; they are found among timid people who have no confidence in themselves and who see no future for themselves. In exploiting societies the reasons for this are easy to find — in the influence exerted by property relations which isolate and alienate people and engender feelings of loneliness. There is only one class that can overcome the pessimistic view and show the way out to all. That class is the working class.

The pessimistic view is, in effect, grist to the mills of the hostile ideological and political trends. It is not accidental that in their “fragmentation” tactics the imperialists attach no little importance to inculcating pessimism in the socialist countries.

In recent years pessimism has increased even among those who have benefited from socialism, especially among students and some intellectuals. It is therefore essential that we get to the root causes for this pessimism and combat it.

In the past the Party did not always keep the people informed about the difficulties, about the mistakes committed. Today it frankly and openly discusses the problems with the people.

Sometimes in our propaganda we promised that the building of socialism would be easy and quick. Our propaganda must continue to express the revolutionary optimism of Communists but we must make it clear that building the new, socialist society is not an easy matter. We now know that while it will not take a hundred years to build socialism and communism, it will certainly be a matter of decades. We are tackling the extremely difficult job of building an entirely new social and economic system. Only the fainthearted will be daunted by the difficulties. Not so revolutionaries for whom difficulties will be a clarion call to action.

VI.

Nationalism in our country is a hostile ideology, inimical to socialism. With the development of socialism the class basis of nationalism has all but disappeared. We no longer have a class of capitalists, while most of the petty bourgeoisie have taken to socialism. But this notwithstanding, the nationalist ideology has by no means shed all its influence; it appears again and again in different guise.

Nationalism is a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concept even if it is not represented by the class of bourgeoisie, even if it finds expression to some extent in a socialist country. In the past nationalism played a role in shaping national states and establishing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It would be wrong, therefore, to say that in all circumstances is nationalism reactionary. It plays a progressive role, for example, in the fight for the liberation of the colonial peoples and their national independence.

The nationalism which we are combating signifies not patriotism, not love of country, but a nationalist superiority, a haughty, scornful attitude to other nations, an egoism inimical to the other free nations, a trend agitating against consolidation of the international forces of socialism. Nationalism in the conditions of socialism runs counter to the unity of the socialist forces. It is therefore a hostile concept, a weapon of the bourgeoisie, of the capitalist world. It is not fortuitous that the imperialists use nationalism as a political instrument in their “fragmentation” tactics.

A policy based on national isolation and national intolerance has no place in socialist countries. The onward march of socialism, the inevitable trend in history, rules out the possibility of any socialist country pursuing such a policy without ultimately causing injury to its people and to socialism.

Our Party has always combated manifestations of nationalism, and counters it with socialist patriotism.

Socialist patriotism springs from the socialist gains of our people, their revolutionary creative effort and realization of their national and international importance. This patriotism seeks through our political, economic and cultural achievements to bring the people closer to the summits of communism, to multiply the international forces of socialism, peace and progress. This patriotism, therefore, blends with internationalism, with the conviction that the success of the international working class also enriches our forces, that the future of socialism in our country is inseparable from the development of the socialist countries, from the international fight for socialism and democracy.

For the working people of all countries the socialist world system is the embodiment of their revolutionary aspirations. That is why they support this system which helps their liberation struggle against imperialism and colonialism, against capitalist domination. The attitude to the socialist world system is the basic criterion of proletarian internationalism. But the attitude to the Soviet Union remains the touchstone. The fraternal ties linking our people—the first in 1919 to follow the example of the socialist revolution in Russia—with the USSR are of long standing. Progressiveness is incompatible with hostility to the Soviet Union, the great power building communism, and the bulwark of peace. The experience of the Soviet Union is of the utmost value to the other peoples who have taken the road of socialism, including our people.

In moulding socialist patriotism we can confidently rely on the national feeling of the masses, on their love of country. National nihilism is alien to Communists, to Marxism-Leninism. Communists are patriots. They love their country, are true to their people. They have always been the champions of national independence. They are imbued with legitimate national pride, but they always distinguish between patriotism and nationalism.

The people of the socialist countries are advancing, within their sovereign states, along a common road, the road to communism. The socialist world system is a community of independent and equal states. At the same time these states have traversed different pathways, are at different levels of social, economic and cultural development and have different revolutionary experience. All this, naturally, is the source of certain contradictions. Thus the establishment of relations of a new type between the socialist countries and the development of these relations is accompanied by difficulties

and problems. But if we are guided by the common ideas of Marxism-Leninism which are universal, by common interests and aims, we shall successfully overcome the temporary difficulties and contradictions.

The national independence won and upheld against imperialism by joint efforts laid the foundation for international cooperation between the socialist countries. The guarantee of the sovereignty of the socialist states is their cohesion and unity. Independence and sovereignty, international unity and cooperation are inseparable.

The socialist countries inherited a painful ideological legacy from capitalism — distrust of other nations, national prejudices. In the socialist countries nationalism clings to still existing contradictions and age-old pre-conceived ideas which are often deliberately spread. The working people of the socialist countries have liberated themselves from exploitation, have abolished the landlord and capitalist classes which, in an effort to maintain their class interests, to blunt the class consciousness of the working people and prevent their international unity, zealously fomented nationalism, chauvinism and racism. Under the leadership of the Communist parties the people of the socialist countries are, by their activity and ideological struggle against nationalism, helping to bring the socialist nations closer, are accelerating the historical process towards this end.

VII.

The view is often expressed that the Party's role in ideological work should be confined to advancing problems and developing discussions around these problems. Spokesmen of these views hold that if the Party expresses its views on ideological issues even in thesis form it thereby "through Party discipline narrows and restricts independent thinking." Others proclaim the idea of autonomy and insist on absolute, "full" freedom in the sphere of culture. They see the Party's role solely as creating, by its socio-political work, a political and moral climate conducive to the development of culture and science. This attitude denies the leading role of the Party generally, and in cultural and scientific life particularly.

A sharp struggle is taking place between diverse ideological trends, views and opinions, a struggle from which the Party cannot remain aloof. The growth of the spiritual life of our society, of the consciousness of the masses is an integral part of the general process of building socialism. These trends can either accelerate or retard this process. Our Party, therefore, as the exponent of Marxism-Leninism, as the Party heading the building of socialism, plays the decisive role in guiding ideological life, all scientific, cultural and educational work.

The Party and Government do not interfere administratively in scientific and artistic endeavor. Party documents have repeatedly stressed

that the principle of socialist realism includes the right to experiment, the right to develop different styles and forms of art, that questions relating to art cannot be solved by administrative decisions. Consequently, Party guidance in culture is not something that nullifies artistic freedom. On the contrary, we believe that in a society building socialism and communism real artistic freedom can be achieved only through Party guidance and on the basis of its Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology.

The Party should therefore continue to guide ideological and cultural life. To this end the Central Committee has set forth the tasks facing the Party in the sphere of ideological work.

The attention of the members is drawn to the importance of ideological work, to the fact that socialist construction will be successful only if this work is carried out more consistently, only if the ideas of socialism take root in the minds of the people.

Economic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries

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IN THEIR INTERNATIONAL trading relations the socialist countries are guided by respect for the sovereignty of each country and for mutual benefit. They see this as the basis for peaceful coexistence and for preventing the economic competition of the two social systems from becoming a chronic economic cold war.

Influential forces in the big capitalist countries, and especially in the United States, by hindering trade with the socialist countries, dream of holding up economic development of the socialist system. Recently, however, sober views have been voiced by those who have drawn lessons from the past and who realize that shortsightedness in this respect in addition to being politically pointless also hurts their own interests. And, there are business men whose tardiness in trading with the socialist countries makes them fear that they might miss the "boat to the East."

Without indulging in speculation as to which of these trends will prevail it can be said that the obstacles to expanding East-West trade are of a dual order. They stem, first, from the trade policy of the developed capitalist countries, and, second, from the structural crisis of world trade.

It should be noted that economic relations between the developed capitalist and the socialist countries can hardly be examined without taking into account the countries of the "third world," i.e., the overall structure and trends of world trade today.

That the underdeveloped countries are experiencing a crisis in the export of their traditional goods to the markets of the industrial capitalist states is common knowledge. Apart from the policy of discrimination practised by the imperialist countries, to say nothing of other factors, this crisis is due

primarily to the changes that have taken place in the structure of the demand for raw materials (more synthetic and fewer natural raw materials are now required), the better utilization of the traditional raw materials and the increased value of output resulting from better processing, plus the slow rise in demand for imported foodstuffs (owing to a less dynamic market and artificial import barriers aimed at propping up domestic agriculture even when it is less profitable). The decline in demand for the raw materials produced by the developing countries affects both consumer items (coffee, tea, cocoa, fruit and edible fats) and industrial raw materials (ores, natural rubber, cotton, jute and leather). Lately oil, too, has been affected.

The developing countries are making efforts to export manufactured goods, but here, too, they encounter stiff competition and customs barriers.

Because of the sluggish growth of labor productivity, unequal trade between developed and developing capitalist countries, and because of the difficulties encountered in marketing traditional export goods which adversely affect export prices and worsen the terms of trade, national income in the developing countries is growing at a snail's pace — in some cases it is declining. No small part in retarding the economic growth of these countries is played by the outflow of monopoly profits; funds received from abroad in the shape of loans extended by the developed capitalist countries are not adequate to alter the situation. Moreover, these loans are given as often as not with a view to neo-colonialist enslavement of the recipient. All this found confirmation at the World Trade and Development Conference held in Geneva in 1964. Delegates from many countries of the "third

world" pointed to the disastrous consequences of this state of affairs.

Hence, for most of the peoples living in poverty, the key political, social and economic problem is that of markets for their basic exports rather than gifts or loans. At the root of this state of affairs is the international division of labor imposed in the past by rapacious colonialism. The way out of the crisis of the international division of labor engendered by capitalism can be found only in industrialization.

"The fact is that the industrialization of peripheral areas has at last been recognized to be an essential component of economic development," Dr. Raul Prebisch, Executive Secretary of the World Trade and Development Conference, says in his report on Latin America. "But there still exists an anachronistic trade structure stemming from the concept of the international division of labor which held undivided sway until recently: barter of raw materials for manufactured goods. The industrialization of our countries is proceeding within this framework. This is an obstacle to economic development, an obstacle which hinders our progress more and more inasmuch as the demand for imported manufactures in our countries is increasing rapidly while the export of raw materials is growing rather slowly, mainly for reasons which do not depend on the Latin American countries."*

Industrialization requires an inflow of a vast amount of values, investments and raw materials, and this calls for promoting export trade. The export possibilities of the developing countries would be even more restricted were it not for the new markets offered by the socialist countries. The rapid growth of imports by the latter has in a way compensated for the decline in imports by the developed capitalist countries from the "third world." Agricultural exports from developing countries remained stable in 1956-63, although their sales to the industrial capitalist countries declined, because the flow of goods to the socialist countries increased. The slight increase in the export of industrial raw materials registered in this period was due to bigger purchases by the socialist countries. This, however, does not solve the problem in its entirety inasmuch as the share of the socialist countries in world trade, including trade with the developing countries, is still not very big.

Owing to a number of reasons, not least of which is the striving of the imperialist powers

to isolate socialism economically, the socialist countries, while turning out nearly 40 per cent of the world's industrial output in 1965, account for no more than 12-14 per cent of world trade as a whole and for only five per cent of trade outside the socialist countries. Still, their share is growing far more rapidly than world trade as a whole. In the socialist countries average annual rate of growth in trade in 1950-63 was over 11 per cent (trade with developed capitalist countries increased by nearly eight per cent and with developing countries by more than 15 per cent). The socialist countries have built up their industrial potential and created a differentiated, rapidly developing economy, the demand of which for goods of tropical origin is far from satisfied. This offers a growing outlet for the export by the developing countries of both their traditional products and goods produced by their emerging industries. In other words, the demand for goods produced by the countries of the "third world" is increasing in the socialist countries and diminishing in the capitalist countries.

What are the conditions required for solving within the triangle of the three groups of countries the structural problems of world trade and economic development?

The difficulties stem basically from imbalance in payments. While the developed capitalist countries experience no payments difficulties in relation to the developing countries, they do not hold out any prospect of a tangible growth of demand for the products of the latter. The socialist countries, on the other hand, while they have a vast import potential, cannot maintain equilibrium in payments balances with the developing countries so long as exporting to these countries involves immobilizing funds in long-term credits. The obstacle to a still greater growth of imports by the socialist countries is lack of the additional means of payment needed.

In view of the above, the dynamics of payment potential as it stands now merits special attention. Total exports from the developing countries to the socialist countries rose in 1956-62 by 173 per cent, and to the industrialized capitalist countries, by 35 per cent. Three-quarters of the exports of the underdeveloped countries, however, go to the industrial capitalist countries. This complicates things for the underdeveloped countries inasmuch as sluggishness in exports to the former (with all its implications as regards prices) will continue to affect their economic development decisively unless more effective levers promoting exports to the socialist countries are found.

*Towards a Development Policy for Latin America, ECLA, May 1963.

Exports to the socialist countries are paid for primarily in the goods they produce, mainly capital goods. But there are limits to the extent to which the socialist countries can dip into their national income for credits (though they can do so to a greater extent, relatively speaking, than the industrialized capitalist countries). Hence further increase of purchases hinges on obtaining free means of payment through trade with the developed capitalist countries. A constant excess of exports over imports in the socialist countries' trade with the developed Western countries could be a useful stimulus to exports by the developing countries.

The developed capitalist countries would thus be able to increase export of manufactures to the developing countries, which, drawing on income from increased exports to the socialist countries, could take more of the goods the developed capitalist countries are interested in selling. Moreover, the capitalist countries could also increase exports to the socialist countries. Even with exports steadily exceeding imports, they could find in the socialist countries a trade outlet hardly likely to be equalled by any other market in the foreseeable future. Many capitalist groups stand to gain from the fact that the socialist countries are in a position to offer a wide variety of goods on more advantageous terms than can be found on the capitalist market. Clearly, it is imperative that ways and means be found of overcoming the growing difficulties encountered in international trade. We should like to suggest an approach which, in our opinion, would provide a way out of the menacing crisis caused by the anachronistic division of labor dating back to the heyday of colonialism. It should be pointed out, however, that the considerations put forward here offer merely the contours of a possible solution; a detailed examination of the many political and economic problems involved would be needed and many obstacles would have to be surmounted.

Above all, the split in world trade caused by the existence of trade and political blocs should be overcome. The experience of the Common Market, the Free Trade Area and other regional groupings shows that attempts to find partial solutions cannot save international trade from stagnation, for it is becoming clearer that growing interdependence is a necessary concomitant of technological progress and of the growth of the productive forces.

There is no doubt that the artificial barriers obstructing East-West trade are a serious brake on world trade and economic progress.

Let us look at these obstacles and explore the possibilities for promoting mutually beneficial trade between the socialist camp and the industrialized capitalist countries.

It can be taken as an axiom that mutual benefit will be the greater the more consistently the principle of equality will be applied in the economic relations between countries. Formally, the most-favored nation treatment, which implies ruling out all discrimination, is an expression of equality. Actually, however, all contractual arrangements are attended by a multitude of mutually exclusive circumstances on which the actual benefits accruing from such arrangements depend. Therefore, application of the most-favored nation principles in itself does not guarantee a truly equal approach to all countries. As a rule, it is a matter of preferential tariffs. What a country gains from this depends, on the one hand, on its economic strength (i.e., the volume and structure of its exports), and, on the other hand, on the preferential tariff pattern as a whole. Another factor is the movement of the prices of the goods the export of which may be stimulated by the most-favored nation treatment.

The crux of the matter is that apart from customs duties as such there can be discrimination as regards import quotas and licenses, surcharges, internal taxes and transportation rates. Consequently, even in relations between capitalist countries, reciprocal concessions should extend to the total of trading conditions, so that the benefits of most-favored nation treatment should not be nullified by other restrictions.

A number of socialist countries are accorded most-favored nation privileges in some capitalist countries. Experience has shown that this affords certain advantages but does not do away with discrimination practised in other forms out of political considerations. In view of this we are for a broader interpretation of the most-favored nation concept. This applies particularly to quantitative import restrictions imposed on a wide range of industrial and agricultural items which act as a brake on the growth of exports to the developed capitalist countries. In regard to goods usually not subject to quota limitations, the slightest slowdown on the home market is accompanied by blocking imports, especially those from the socialist countries. (A case in point is the action taken on rolled metal products by the Common Market). Sometimes import permits are issued for only one week (as in the case of egg imports in Federal Germany). In these circumstances it is difficult to speak of normalizing trade.

The usual argument advanced in the capitalist countries against according most-favored nation treatment or other privileges to the socialist countries is that the former, allegedly, are not granted equivalent prerogatives on the socialist market. It is said that the foreign trade of the socialist countries is completely subordinated to political expediency, that they ignore cost of production and customary price practices, that their "ultra-protectionist system" does not allow exporters to penetrate by means of free competition to the socialist home market, that they cannot increase their exports over the hard-and-fast bounds set by the state plan, and so on.

It is easy to see that arguments of this kind are a caricatured form of the old complaint that socialism is not capitalism. State monopoly of foreign trade in the socialist countries and the extension of planning to this area signify of course that it is subordinated to the laws stemming from the socialist relations of production, under which the laws of value and profit are used to promote, not to dominate over, economic development.

But the fact that under socialism the value of a trade agreement or any given transaction is judged by economic expedience (incidentally, we are not yet fully satisfied with the methods of assessing economic effectiveness) can hardly be considered valid grounds for complaint.

After a transaction is included in the plan, the choice of the foreign contractor with whom to place the order depends on which offer is the most advantageous in the given overall export-import context. Often it is a matter of deciding whether to expand production at home or to buy abroad, and at times production capacities are expanded to meet export needs. Some goods may not be imported because of excessive prices (or limitations imposed on our exports) and the attendant payment difficulties. In all circumstances the decisive role is played by the terms of trade and the needs of economic development. Under capitalism, on the contrary, the trend is to assess the merits of a deal exclusively from the standpoint of the interests (as a rule, moreover, of transitory interests) of the given group of exporters or importers; government policy is limited as a rule to partial redistribution of the advantages accruing from international trade between the various groups of capitalists, with preference accorded to the most powerful monopolies.

As for the charge that we are guided by political considerations, these have a bearing only on:

1) moves to counter discrimination prac-

tised by imperialist countries (in particular the banning of exports to socialist countries);

2) the extensive economic aid and opportunities we provide for trade, without political strings, to the newly free countries and those "third world" countries aiming at independence and sovereignty in order to help them free themselves from the toils of the capitalist division of labor.

Consequently, "political considerations," if they exist, are not an inherent feature of socialist foreign trade but a result of the policy pursued by imperialism.

Full reciprocity in applying the most-favored nation principle is thus possible though not always precisely measurable, as has been pointed out above.

An equivalent privilege granted by a socialist country (provided it has a system of customs tariffs, as some countries have) could be the application of this principle. Even if a country does not have customs tariffs, it can apply the reciprocal most-favored nation principle by granting the given trading partner terms no less favorable than those granted any other country, thereby ensuring complete equality. Within the bounds of the expenditures earmarked for imports it is possible to give preference to that capitalist country which grants the most favorable conditions for our export trade by applying the most-favored nation principle. In this way one can visualize what might be called "penetration" to the socialist market, competition with other suppliers on this market and an overall growth of the volume of exports. In the case of non-essential products it is possible to import more of certain goods than originally planned provided this is justified by increased exports. This is a matter of concrete negotiations during which the nomenclature of goods, prices, terms of payment, etc., can be determined to the satisfaction of the contracting parties.

The socialist countries offer a form of exchange which has a particular appeal to capitalist contractors—long-term agreements concerning delivery of definite quantities of goods. In trade between capitalist countries the lists of imports stipulated in trade agreements are as a rule not strictly observed since the decision to buy rests with a multitude of capitalist firms. In the case of the socialist countries, on the contrary, stipulations in agreements are by and large the equivalent of a decision to buy. This situation gives rise to certain difficulties in dealing with the capitalist countries owing to the differences between the two socio-economic systems. These difficulties are all the greater the less the

state is able to influence the capitalist enterprises and the more reluctant it is to do so. In this respect the policies of capitalist countries vary. It is not fortuitous that long-term agreements are more realistic with countries that have a substantial state sector in industry (for instance, France and Austria), where the state provides more extensive guarantees of credit operations with the socialist countries, where the political climate is more favorable for trade with the East, and so on.

This, of course, does not mean that the socialist countries consider it possible to expand trade relations in general and under long-term agreements in particular only with countries where international trade is subjected to internal and external controls. The decisive thing is the policy pursued by the capitalist countries. That there are contradictions between the various groups of capitalist powers is common knowledge. On the one hand, there are those which advocate a "liberalization" of trade. The USA applies this to the "third world," but retains restrictions on trade with the socialist countries, while Britain applies it to some extent also to the latter. On the other hand, there is the Common Market in which protectionist trends act as a serious brake on trade with the developing and socialist countries. The object of these trends can hardly be camouflaged by the French concept of the "organized market," which clearly is but a cover for perpetuating an international division of labor disadvantageous to other countries. Still, the recent moves by President de Gaulle towards extending and consolidating economic contacts with the East may amount to something more than mere propaganda.

With a view to ensuring mutual understanding over a longer period of time we visualize three types of long-term agreements between the socialist and capitalist countries:

1. Agreements on the supply of certain types of raw materials and manufactures covering a longer period (say, five years), with periodical revision of prices and payment arrangements. Interstate agreements of this type do not necessarily have to cover all exchanges, but only that part which is certain to be realized, i.e., deliveries for enterprises under the jurisdiction of the capitalist state or for enterprises whose representatives countersign the agreement (such as the agreements between Poland and Denmark and also between Poland and Austria on the supply of coal in exchange for ships, industrial equipment and rolled metal, or the long-term agreement between the USSR and Norway on deliveries of aluminum and herring). Stability

of trade and the terms of trade are advantages provided by the socialist countries which are rarely to be found on the capitalist market. Such agreements do not preclude other transactions over shorter periods. As a matter of fact, they could provide the guidelines for the latter.

2. Agreements on the supply on credit of machines and other equipment for new projects, and also licenses, installation of plant and introduction of new technological processes, with the credit repayable in the course of several years fully or partly in the products of the given newly-built or reconstructed factory. Although agreements of this type are not concluded between states, they represent an advanced form since they go beyond the bounds of trade proper and extend to the sphere of production cooperation. As a rule they may be concluded with particular capitalist concerns or groups of concerns. The advantage accruing to the socialist country concerned consists in speedier mastery of complex production processes and in being able to repay the credit in more advanced types of manufactures than those making up the bulk of the exports to the given capitalist country. This is important, considering that the export of manufactures, especially products of the engineering and chemical industries, encounter formidable obstacles on the markets of the developed capitalist countries.

Agreements of this type could be concluded for joint operations on a third market, especially in the sphere of construction, in providing credits for new enterprises in the developing countries, and for using the trade representatives and the technical organizations of the concerns involved to sell and provide maintenance services for the products of the factories built in the socialist countries, etc.

We now have a number of agreements of this or of a similar kind. But they have been concluded in less important limited areas and not, as a rule, in heavy industry. It would be highly desirable to extend their scope, provided this is not accompanied by attempts at political pressure. In some cases, capitalist concerns, especially West German, are anxious to acquire property in the socialist countries. These transparent designs aimed at weakening the resistance of socialist countries to imperialist infiltration and undermining their unity are all pathetic attempts to return to a past that has gone never to return.

The establishment of "islands" of capitalist property on the territory of a socialist country in any case would not give the economy of the capitalist country any worthwhile advant-

age as compared with the benefits accruing from agreements on cooperation in industry. Such "islands," running counter to socialism, would but evoke popular dissatisfaction.

3. Trilateral agreements taking in the socialist countries, the developed capitalist countries (or separate concerns) and the developing countries. Such agreements would make it possible for a country to compensate for a passive balance with another country by an active balance with a third. For instance a socialist country could then buy from a developing country raw materials and manufactures to a sum exceeding the value of its exports of industrial equipment and other goods to the latter. This would stimulate exchange. Since the socialist countries export industrial equipment to the developing countries on long-term low-interest credits, they receive little in return, while their import needs remain unsatisfied. But they could use their favorable balance in trade with the developed capitalist countries to finance additional buying abroad. And the developing countries, thus ensured an excess of exports to the socialist countries over imports from these countries, could compensate for their trade deficit with the developed capitalist countries, a deficit caused by the enormous disparity between their marketing opportunities and their import requirements. One need not go into detail in describing this classical pattern of trilateral trade for it is well enough known as a method used in ordinary clearing operations to overcome limitations of currency exchange between countries.

Agreements of this kind in which developing countries take part would have to be subjected to constant readjustment. This indeed is the greatest difficulty connected with such agreements. The point is that even if the duration of a trilateral agreement were to be five or six years, this would not be long enough for the underdeveloped countries to balance their foreign trade. For in the case of most of these countries (with the exception of the oil producers) imports must necessarily outweigh exports in the trade structure. This excess of imports has to be financed separately. Financing the balance of payments deficit might be covered by a separate agreement, or included in the basic one, and the burden shared by the developed capitalist and socialist countries.

One can hardly take an optimistic view of the possibility of arriving at such point financing of trade. The developed capitalist countries and separate concerns, if they do extend credit on favorable terms, do so to further their own neo-colonialist ends. The

fact is, however, that true long-range economic gain calls for steps in this direction. The success of such steps depends on the general political climate and especially on the strength of the worldwide social movements working for peaceful coexistence and socialism.

Even if we were to regard them solely from the economic standpoint, trilateral agreements could be of enormous importance in mitigating the consequences of the structural crisis of world trade engendered by the capitalist international division of labor. These agreements could enable the developing countries in particular to expand their traditional export trade and increase its profitability. It would not be necessary—as the French "organized market" concept claims—to restrict their production for export (in many countries this is impossible since they cannot launch the production of other competitive goods within a brief space of time). At the same time the products of newly established industries could gradually find their way to the world market, and in this way the developing countries would get more firmly on their feet in the sphere of foreign trade.

* * *

We have not examined all the possibilities of promoting East-West trade nor all the difficulties involved. For one thing, we have not dealt with the implications of the fact that the socialist countries need to import from overseas developed capitalist countries far greater quantities and different kinds of raw materials than from Western Europe. Neither have we examined the important and complex monetary and financial questions arising in connection with the above-mentioned difficulties and also because the monetary and exchange mechanism of socialism differs from that of capitalism (for example, in the sphere of inter-state debt clearance). There are also problems connected with the fact that free convertibility is only partly practised by the capitalist countries. But none of this is serious enough to rule out the possibilities mentioned above.

Each step forward in the development of economic relations between the socialist and developed capitalist countries brings us nearer to the solution of the burning problems of our time. The economic perspectives of the developing countries will be the better and the prospect of peaceful coexistence of all nations the more promising, the more effectively East-West trade is promoted and the greater the mutual benefit accruing from it.

Some problems of the class struggle in the capitalist countries

I. NOERLUND, A. WEBER

PROGRESS TOWARDS strengthening Communist unity largely depends on a continued and more fruitful discussion of important topical questions of common interest. As stated in the Communiqué of the Consultative Meeting of the 19 Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow over March 1-5, 1965, meetings and discussion are conducive to the solution of tasks currently facing the Communist movement and the revolutionary forces generally.

Discussion often concerns the perspective of the advance towards socialism. And this is understandable, for the basic trend of our time is transition from capitalism to socialism. It is also understandable that the Communist parties, which are equally concerned with both the immediate aims of the working class and its ultimate goal, should make the greatest contribution to elaborating the problems posed by this transition.

In particular, new problems are posed by the perspective of the advance to socialism in the highly developed capitalist countries. Problems of this kind have been raised at recent congresses of some fraternal parties and in joint discussions of urgent issues. The recent seminar sponsored by our magazine* on the role of the Communist parties in some of developed capitalist countries also touched on these problems. On the one hand, they are a reflection of the fact that the social character of the productive forces calls for the transfer of production to public management, which, in turn, makes the abolition of the capitalist relations of production an urgent objective necessity of social progress. On the other hand, they indicate that the social changes

now taking place in the capitalist countries bring into action new factors, new subjective motives impelling the masses in these countries towards the socialist alternative. We consider it necessary to state this clearly and unambiguously for this is important for the right orientation in the struggle for socialism.

And so the working class is faced, and cannot but be faced, with new problems which, in addition to reflecting the specific conditions in the particular countries, are of a more general nature. We have in mind here those complex problems which still await solution or explanation. A broad exchange of views on these problems is, then, of very great importance and all the Communist parties can make a valuable contribution to the more generalized analysis which we should like to see.

In this article we shall pose some of the questions which in our view necessitate further discussion and elaboration.

PRESENT-DAY CAPITALIST SOCIETY

"The social structure of society and of state power," wrote Lenin, "is characterized by changes, and unless these changes are understood not a single step can be taken in any sphere of social activity. The understanding of these changes determines the prospects for the future, by which we mean, of course, not idle guessing about things unknown, but the basic trends of economic and political development—those trends, the resultant of which determines the tasks, direction and character of the activity of every intelligent public man."*

In the spirit of this Leninist thesis, the Com-

*See our "Round Table" printed in this issue.

*Lenin, *Complete Works*, Eng. Ed., Vol. 17, p. 144.

munist parties analyze the changes which have taken place or are taking place in capitalist society. Nothing remains immutable, and this applies to capitalist society as well. Needless to say the nature of capitalism has not changed, it remains a society based on the appropriation by a small monopolistic class of the wealth created by the working people. In this sense reality reaffirms the basic conclusions of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of capitalism. But the forms and methods of capitalist exploitation have been developed and modified in many respects. This makes it possible for us to say that the basic contradictions of bourgeois society manifest themselves in certain respects in a new way. The general picture of class struggle of today cannot, therefore, be identified with a situation which existed, say, at the turn of the century.

It is our intention to summarize here, if only briefly, the general features and trends of development now under way. This, naturally, means that only in particular cases will it be possible for us to deal with the deviations from the general rule. But this restriction is necessary, if we are to single out the general elements of the processes taking place in the different countries.

The technological standard of production has reached a qualitatively new stage. Industrial progress has resulted in big changes in the pattern of the national economy in the developed capitalist countries; it has led to the adoption of industrial techniques in all branches of the economy, to a tremendous increase in the social productivity of labor, and to a high degree of internationalization of economic relationships. The scientific and technological revolution signifies a new stage in capitalist production characterized by automation, cybernetics, chemicalization and atomic energy.

These developments have had their impact on the conditions of life. We now have mass production and mass demand for new types of goods, and new spheres of human endeavor are now involved in industrial activity and capitalist exploitation. Moreover, the scientific and technological revolution has brought in its wake new methods of intensification of labor and greater exploitation. Under capitalism the workers see technological progress not only as a boon but also as a bogey: for them automation may spell redundancy, while application of atomic energy is seen as a symbol of destruction.

This contradictory development demands that we correctly assess the ways in which the new forms of exploitation affect the working people.

State-monopoly capitalism is now predominant. Corporations, trusts and other monopoly amalgamations now occupy the dominant positions in practically all spheres of economic activity. Monopoly has brought with it certain changes in the old forms of exploitation and has given rise to new, more complex and varied forms. Modern capitalism displays a close intertwining of monopoly and the machinery of state. Large-scale state-monopoly intervention, now indispensable for reproduction and exchange, somewhat modifies the capitalist cycle and opens up before the monopolists new fields for maneuver.

State-monopoly capitalism confronts the workers' movement in some countries with the need to see more clearly the close connection between the economic struggle and the struggle for political aims.

Big changes have taken place also in the class structure of society. On the one hand, industrialization has been accompanied by a big increase in urban population. The numbers of wage workers, especially industrial workers, have grown considerably; a relative increase has taken place in the middle classes and the numbers of intellectuals have grown. At the same time most capitalist countries show a steep drop in rural population. Attempts are being made to tone down the implications of the growing numbers of wage workers by elevating them to the status of office employees and by so doing to stimulate artificial contradictions.

On the other hand power within the capitalist class is more and more concentrated in the hands of a small group of monopolists who are making record profits and consolidating their positions in this respect.

These circumstances create both new opportunities and new difficulties for building a broad anti-monopoly alliance and for the working class obtaining the leading role in that alliance.

The conditions of the working class are marked by new features. In the course of the class struggle the monopolies have had to concede a number of demands advanced by the workers. This is a direct result of the working-class struggle which has been given added impetus thanks to the strength and influence of the socialist world system and its achievements. Another factor in this is the appearance of the new methods of capitalist exploitation, which require a more qualified and educated labor force. What matters here is also the mass demand for consumer goods and manufacture of new durables. By and large, this has led to an increase in the average level of personal consumption.

In addition the monopolies are developing new methods for exerting pressure on the workers. In the labor process as such this finds expression in accelerated speed-up often reaching critical limits, greater nervous strain and extreme fatigue, in the resort to unemployment or the threat of unemployment as a means of exerting pressure on the workers. Wide use is made of other forms of exploitation such as higher rents and taxes, high prices, consumer credit, and artificial encouragement of irrational forms of consumption aided by phoney advertising. The overall result is a growing polarization in the distribution of the social wealth.

Both aspects of the changed condition of the working class are of great importance in charting the course of its struggle. They point first of all to the necessity to broaden the struggle, to the working class being the leading force in promoting the popular and national aspirations. A better understanding of the actual changes in the condition of the working class enables it to fight more effectively against such an experienced adversary as monopoly capital.

Sometimes the advanced capitalist countries are described by the bourgeois press as "mass societies." In particular, reference is made to the modern forms of mass consumption and of spending leisure time; the tendency to standardize material and spiritual consumption (under the impact of mass production and capitalist advertising); the mass information and communication media (television, cinema, the press, radio); greater mobility of population arising from urbanization and the modern means of conveyance.

And last but not least, big changes have taken place directly in the social and political spheres. Parliamentary government is the affirmed system in most Western countries. Monopoly capital has not been able to overwhelm the established traditions of bourgeois democracy. On the other hand, trends are at work to widen the functions and enhance the role of the executive authority which, relying on the bureaucratic machinery of state, is bent on emasculating constitutional rights and freedoms and on detracting from the role of the representative bodies. The civil structure of society with its ramified system of economic, political, professional, cultural and religious institutions and organizations has also become more complex and differentiated. The attitudes, strength and influence of these institutions and organizations are now a vital factor in the life of society.

As noted above, the Communist movement engages in broad discussions on the signifi-

cance of these changes in the economic, social and political conditions and the corresponding changes in the conditions of working-class struggle in the developed capitalist countries. Although different trends manifest themselves differently in the different countries it seems to us expedient to analyze the basic trends in modern capitalism as a whole. This will enable us to see more clearly the general features characterizing the perspective of the advance of these countries to socialism.

As we see it, it will be in place here again to refer to Lenin's words, which continue the quotation cited earlier. "The changes that have taken place . . . do not remove the *fundamental* traits of the old regime, of the old relationship of social forces. Hence the fundamental task of a politically conscious public man is clear; he must evaluate these new changes, 'make use' of them, grasp them, if we may use that expression, and at the same time, he must not throw out the old baggage, he must preserve the essentials in the forms of activity and not merely in theory, in the program, in the principles of policy."

WHY THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION?

Below we shall adduce some thoughts on how the new objective conditions affect the shaping of the subjective factors working for the socialist reconstruction of society in the developed capitalist countries.

Initially, the revolutionary action of the proletariat took the shape of a direct and more or less spontaneous protest against the brutal exploitation and inhuman conditions of existence. In the forties of the last century Engels described how the bourgeoisie of his time, dooming the workers to physical and moral degradation, made inevitable an angry and wrathful explosion of proletarian revolution. (Incidentally, Engels with his usual penetration discerned the possibility of "milder," peaceful forms of revolution, a possibility which, he noted, would depend also on the development of the proletariat.)

Today most factory and office workers do not experience the extreme forms of material want of the past. We realize, of course, that the relatively high standard of living in the developed capitalist countries is partly due to monopoly exploitation of the former colonial and dependent countries. Nor are we forgetful that in the richest capitalist countries there is still a considerable part of the working people who can hardly make ends meet or who live in dire want.

However, through organized action the workers' and democratic movements can and

do secure the adoption of certain measures which help to improve the condition of the poorer groups of the population.

As we know, some Socialists have reached the conclusion that as a consequence of these improvements there is no longer any need for socialist revolution, that in the conditions obtaining today we should dismiss from our minds the thought of class struggle and orient ourselves exclusively on the "evolution" of capitalism into socialism. On the other hand, the view is expressed—both by bourgeois politicians and "Left" pseudo-revolutionaries—that the attainment of a certain level of material well-being signifies a petty-bourgeois or bourgeois way of life. On these grounds, the two sides hold that the working class has no motive for effecting a social reconstruction of society.

But is it true that with the standard of living attained in the leading capitalist countries the motive for social change has disappeared? All our experience show that this is not the case.

In the first place, we cannot disregard the fact that our times, in which capitalism has reached the apex of its development, have seen more bloodshed and destruction than all the previous history of mankind. Two devastating world wars, the ravages of fascism, the shattering economic crises—all have taken a toll of millions of lives. These catastrophes had their sources in monopoly rule. The masses are beginning to realize this. That is why life in the capitalist countries is marred by the constantly growing fear that the policy of their rulers may spark off a nuclear war—which would be the catastrophe of catastrophes.

The issue of war and peace is therefore pre-eminent in the mass movements in modern capitalist society. Recent developments testify to this (the growing scale of the protests against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic). The motives for stepping up and extending these mass actions are stimulated to the utmost when the masses see that what is at stake is peace and the need to fight against those ready to gamble with nuclear holocaust. This alone makes nonsense of the view that the partial material gains won by the working class remove the motive for the socialist reconstruction of society.

Moreover numerous other facts show that at the higher stages of the development of capitalism new and sharper contradictions come to the fore expressing as they do the basic contradiction of capitalism, namely, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private form of appropri-

tion. As noted above, these contradictions can be observed in all the processes taking place in capitalist society. Subjectively this is perceived as a growing rift between the actual condition in which the masses live and the conditions in which they think they should and ought to live. And this perception heightens the subjective desire to abolish the old society and seek a new way which, leading forward, can only be in the direction of socialism.

It is important, however, to see clearly that in the eyes of the people the aggravation of the capitalist contradictions is manifest not only in the old forms, but also (in some extremely important aspects) in new ways, which are not always immediately perceived as the expression of the basic capitalist contradiction. Hence the essential and decisive role played by the class-conscious parties of the working class in explaining the essence of these contradictions and utilizing in full measure all the revolutionary possibilities.

If we look more closely at *the economic struggle* waged in recent years by the workers in the Western countries, what strikes the eye is that this struggle, far from subsiding, is gathering momentum. The workers are determined to maintain the standard of living reached, to preserve every one of their social gains. Moreover, they want the greatest possible share of the fruits of their labor, the fruits of the technological progress and of the scientific and technological revolution.

Underlying the continued development and deepening of the struggle for immediate demands is the objective process of the appearance of new requirements engendered by the conditions of production and social life, and also the unprecedented opportunities now available for comparing living standards in the different countries.

To counteract this constant urge of the masses for better conditions monopoly capitalism resorts to the mechanism of monopoly prices, inflation and "incomes policy." It tries to freeze wages and restrict consumption, to nullify the workers' gains and shift the burden of the economic difficulties connected with growing competition and crisis-like phenomena on to the shoulders of the workers. This basic conflict in modern capitalist society leads ultimately to the growth of overt or covert dissatisfaction with the capitalist system.

Furthermore, the complex of social contradictions in a mature capitalist society is increasingly pushing to the fore other aspects of social relations reflecting the pressure exerted by the blind forces of capitalism on

those who labor. Leaders of the capitalist world are surprised when they observe the widespread discontent, mute ferment and frustration even among those not experiencing actual hardship. Bourgeois ideologists ascribe this to the impact of the scientific and technological break-through which has upset the old order of things. But this is only half the truth. The feeling of alienation, insecurity, and frustration is deeply rooted in the social structure of capitalism, in its inability to infuse people with the joy of creative labor and ensure the free and full development of man.

In evoking the socialist perspective it is especially important to point to the problems posed by the conditions of workers directly employed in the sphere of production.

Some years ago a "Capitalist Manifesto" was published in the USA. The authors of this work, (Louis O. Kelso and Mortimer J. Adler) say literally the following: Workers performing mechanical operations and constituting the bulk of our labor force and our population *make a relatively small contribution in producing the wealth for our society compared with the contribution made by owners of capital.* According to the authors' calculations, labor is responsible for less than 10 per cent of the national product, whereas the other 90 per cent is contributed by the owners of capital. It would be hard to find other apologists of capitalism so outspoken in presenting the capitalist claim to practically all the material wealth created by society.

But what merits attention here is something different, namely, *that from the standpoint of capital this is how things stand.* As the accumulation of past labor grows and is materialized in the means of production concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie in the shape of capital, the significance of living labor diminishes accordingly, and, consequently, its "right to a share in the material wealth." In other words, expressed in terms of Marxist political economy this means: the higher the organic composition of capital, the greater capital's claim to the newly produced values.

In practice this "capitalist logic" tends to *eliminate man from production.* Under capitalism technological progress is not a means of economizing social labor in a purposeful and planned manner, but a means of ceaseless, war, now open, now concealed, against labor, a wage freeze and wage pause, or of ruthless firing of "redundant" workers. The threat of wholesale dismissals arising from automation hangs like the sword of Damocles over the workers. From the viewpoint of capital, labor power becomes an increasingly "expensive"

and "troublesome" element, which ought to be reduced to the minimum necessitated by technological progress and profit-seeking.

Loss of job is a tragedy for the worker, aggravated by the circumstance that the very structure of capitalist production converts him into a "partial" worker, while the dynamics of technological change tend to eliminate skills. Hence the urgent need for a publicly-controlled scheme of planned and rational retraining for workers, for a systematic improvement in educational and cultural standards to facilitate an unhampered change of skills and occupations and a painless readjustment to the new conditions of production. But the solution of these problems is barred by social inequality which in modern capitalist society is especially pronounced in the sphere of education.

Another aspect should be mentioned here. Under capitalism the question of the *dignity of the worker* acquires greater significance. Capitalist application of the new technology increases the workers' alienation, depersonalizes his labor and threatens to turn him into a robot. But man's need for creative endeavor, for safeguarding his dignity against all encroachments in the process of production, far from disappearing, grows in step with economic progress and with his emancipation from the oppressive burden of material want. This, too, introduces a new element into the class struggle of the working people.

Already today demands concerning job security, conditions, speed and nature of work, and refresher courses for employees, figure prominently in the workers' movement in many countries. It is worth noting that these demands find a ready response also among the highly skilled and well-paid workers. Workers want the appropriate terms to be included in the collective agreements at all levels. Providing the guarantees for these demands presupposes, however, *the actual right of factory and office workers to have a say in management*, including decision-making on employment and redundancy, in planning, organization of labor, allocation of investments, etc.

In other words, what we have here are demands which, if realized, would curb the power of the monopolies. The struggle for these demands is then conducive to shaping class consciousness; it helps the workers towards realization of the need to fight for the conquest of power.

The significance of these demands is all the greater because of the circumstance that in the conditions of today the worker is keenly conscious of his unequal status in the factory,

where democracy is flouted on the pleas of the "sovereign" rights of the owner and where the despotic rule of capital is exercised in its most naked form. This explains why the workers' and democratic movements in many countries are voicing demands for the *broadening and renovation of democracy*, and, in particular, for genuine workers' participation, through the trade unions and factory committees, in running the economy and managing the enterprises.

In this we have another manifestation of the conflict between capitalism and democracy. The sharper the international and internal problems of capitalist society, the stronger the authoritarian trends in the policy of the ruling circles. These trends, arising as they do from the state-monopoly organization of production, reflect the efforts of the ruling class to cling to its privileges. They find expression in persistent attempts to emasculate parliamentary institutions, augment executive authority at the expense of legislative authority, to build up the machinery of repression, and to restrict constitutional rights and freedoms.

Authoritarian trends can lead to fascism. Fascism, as we know, is not an unnatural "deviation" in the political development of the West. But bitter experience has taught the masses to hate fascism, and the struggle against it has become an essential part of the democratic and national tradition. The march of events impels the masses towards the realization that *capitalism is incompatible with genuine democracy*.

All this leads to a deepening of the content of the democratic demands. More and more, they embrace the various aspects of social life—ranging from production issues to foreign-policy decisions, whose preparation and adoption have always been walled off from the workers and kept beyond their control. The working class now wants to have its say in all spheres of the life of society.

Extreme unevenness of industrial expansion is accompanied by the appearance of depressed areas, by the chaotic and deformed develop-

ment of large cities, by inequality of education, by health services and social security not being on the level of social requirements. These and other problems of a like nature act as a stimulus to diversified mass movements which, essentially, become more and more anti-monopoly and anti-capitalist.

Thus the motives operating in the direction of social change now emanate from those aspects of capitalism which in the past were overshadowed by cruder and more brutal forms of exploitation. This explains why large numbers of people in the West are now against capitalism and for socialism. This, of course, is not to say that their understanding of the socialist goal is always on the level of scientific socialism.

However, it would be an illusion to put the sign of equality between the urge for social change and a conscious option in favor of socialism. Experience teaches that discontent with capitalism can be seized upon by the reactionary, fascist forces, to mislead the masses and channel their discontent into a track leading to retrogression.

Hence the vital role devolving on the revolutionary vanguard of the working class—the Communist and Workers' parties—capable of correctly formulating and expressing the strivings of the masses and of directing their social activity into revolutionary channels. The complex social reality of today makes more demands on the Communists, enhances the role of the workers' parties and calls for unity of action by the various contingents of the working-class movement. To be equal to these demands implies making an **effective contribution** to the building of a broad, democratic and anti-monopoly alliance headed by the working class, an alliance which would be that politically conscious majority without which socialist reconstruction in our time is unthinkable.

As we see it, it would be useful to deepen the analysis of these problems and, in particular, to consider the question of how the working class can accordingly develop the forms of its struggle.

Social doctrine of the Vatican and the twentieth century

LIBERO PIERANTOZZI

PIUS XII, WHO HAD lived a secluded life with his relations, with Vatican circles and with the Curia Romana which as a result of his autocratic rule became omnipotent, in an atmosphere of intrigue and speculation which even in death did not spare him, passed away on October 9, 1958. His passing was followed by a period of unease in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church (it remained for years without an "executive," without a secretary of State); grave cases of disobedience and even rebellion were reported from national bishoprics and church communities in different parts of the world.

The passage of time had shattered basic principles governing the strategy of this "political" Pope. The chimera of capitalist "restoration" in the socialist countries, which he, jointly with Atlantic extremists of the Dulles type, had nursed for years was scattered to the winds by the vitality of socialism and the developments which set in particularly after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. Shattered, too, was the "Carolingian dream" of a Western Europe as a bellicose outpost of an anti-Soviet atomic crusade under the leadership of Catholic forces—from Italian Christian Democracy to the French MRP, from the Adenauer party to the Belgian Catholic Party and even to Franco and Salazar.

Bandung showed that the representatives of 1,500,000,000 people, liberated from colonialism, had in the words of an Italian priest, put Catholicism in the dock together with colonialism, thus sparking off a profound crisis in the costly "missionary" structure. Excommunications of Communists and progressive labor movements (especially in Western Eu-

rope) were of no avail. In Italy, for example, only a few months before the death of Pius XII, the Communist Party won another resounding electoral success, extending its political influence to all areas of this country which is overwhelmingly Catholic.

Even in their own religious world, despite the measures of the Holy Office, Catholic trends favoring renovation began to question the structure of the church, the injunctions of the hierarchy and dogma, while Protestants and the Orthodox Church launched an intensive anti-Pope and anti-Rome polemic. The magisterial halo of the Papacy became dimmed, and the power of attraction of their religious "vocation" began to fail. This was accompanied by a thinning of the clergy both numerically and culturally and by a silent but far-reaching erosion among believers.

In June 1963 Togliatti, recalling the papacy of Pacelli in connection with the election of Paul VI, wrote in *Rinascita*: "The framework of Pius XII's political concept was the traditional one in which the Church was assigned the function of preserving the established structure at the very moment when it was changing and disappearing, as a result of the emergence of entirely new forces, systems, aspirations and habits. For John XXIII's predecessor there were extenuating circumstances (which can be understood) — the situation that took shape after the Second World War when it seemed to the conservative hierarchy that the United States was powerful enough to ensure the stability of the old social systems indefinitely. This conservative illusion, however, failed to evoke a response in the minds and hearts of people; it petered out under the impact of the facts, of the growth and success of the revolutionary movements all over the world. This policy (of John XXIII's

With this article we continue the discussion of the problems posed in the article by S. Alvarez printed in No. 6 of our journal.

predecessor—Ed.) blamed the Church for the failure of the reactionary cold war designs.

"Thus the Catholic political movement was overtaken by a crisis which was bound to worsen. The Church had to bear the burden not only of the NATO foreign policy, but also of the fascist dictatorships in Portugal and Spain, of the disintegrating colonial regime, French authoritarianism and German militarism. The big Catholic parties were rent by contradictions. Aligning oneself with these parties brought into relief the fact that in Italy, for example, 10 or 12 million men and women, if not more, remained indifferent to the episcopal injunctions and even to excommunication and interdictions. True, the ruling classes gained a certain respite. But at what price for the Church?"

On October 28, 1958, after ten fruitless rounds of voting, the 77-year-old Cardinal Roncalli, Patriarch of Venice, who took the name of John XXIII, was elected Pope in succession to Pacelli. His election was a compromise; the choice fell on a person of venerable age who was above the factions of the Curia and whom the French bishopric favored.

John was of humble origin; the son of a peasant, he was born in the Catholic province of Bergamo, at the foot of the Alps, north of Milan. In his youth he participated, under the patronage of his bishop, in one of the first "social" battles of Italian catholicism, when he supported the 50-day strike of 800 workers in the village of Ranica for trade union rights. This social ardor of the young Roncalli naturally was not to the liking of the Vatican. However, a few years later he was included among the leaders of papal diplomacy, and during the interwar years he essayed his first attempt at establishing, far from Rome (in Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey), contact with the people, for the most part non-Catholic, who lived in extreme poverty and who, consequently, were involved in sharp social conflicts.

At the end of 1944 he was transferred to Paris to replace the Papal Nuncio Valeri who had compromised himself with the men of Vichy. Here he was to witness, until his transfer to Venice, the drama of the worker priests and harsh reprisals—on orders from Rome—against the progressive wing of French Catholicism.

This Pope whom the Conclave had evidently intended should perform the role of only an ordinary administrator until the struggle between the pro- and anti-Pacelli forces was settled showed, on the contrary, a profound understanding of the situation in his Church. He frankly and correctly assessed the condi-

tions in the world of the atomic age, the affirmation of socialist states, and accomplished two things which, despite ebbs, resistance and sabotage, marked a turning point in the religious consciousness which unites half a billion adherents in all parts of the world. Three months after his election he announced the convention of the Second Ecumenical Council in the Vatican and two months before his death, in April 1962, he issued the encyclical "Pacem in terris."

True, in May 1961, the Pope had published another encyclical on developments in Catholic "social" doctrine — "Mater et magistra." But in this case we have a detailed document elaborated by a number of people, a document which is essentially eclectic and which aims at bringing the various links of the Catholic position into accord with the new requirements, but without in any way impinging on the old above-class principle and the traditional anti-socialism. Still this encyclical no longer has praise—in which Pius XII lavishly indulged—for compulsory syndicalism (corporatism) and for the reprisals and terror measures used by fascist regimes against the economic struggle of the working people and against strikes.

"Pacem in terris" was conceived by John XXIII at the time of the Cuban crisis when he took cautious but firm action—even of a personal nature—with respect to Kennedy who had made a dangerous attempt to invade a socialist country in the Caribbean. This encyclical, especially in "Part V," departed from the traditional and, at times, hypocritical exhortations and pseudo-moralizing of many Vatican documents on the issues of peace and coexistence, and made a profound and realistic analysis of the *concrete reality of today*, drawing the conclusion that the only possible basis for real peaceful coexistence is recognition of the legitimacy of the new social experiments by entire peoples and the justice of the aspirations of the working classes and the oppressed peoples for freedom.

This, in the final analysis, signified rejection of the crusades, recognition of political and social pluralism on the international arena and of the need to negotiate between countries with differing regimes; it signified condemnation of the policy of force and the armaments race.

Not only reactionaries both in Italy and America, not only the Bonn revenge-seekers headed by Adenauer, not only the Atlantic extremists and advocates of an "atomic crusade" against Moscow sent up a hue and cry. Even prelates in the Vatican, including Cardinal Siri of Genoa, President of the Conference of Italian Bishops, spoke of the "harm"

done to the Catholic Church and religion by John XXIII's encyclical. For these men the Church has always been the bastion of conservatism and religion, the real "opium for the people," an ideology bitterly hostile to the basic demands of the millions, both believers and non-believers.

The reactionary clerical press even went so far as to blame the "pro-Communism" of the . . . Pope for the success of the Communist Party in the general election on April 28, 1963.

In reality "Pacem in terris" is, above all, a document by the head of the Church who realized the danger of the gap between his Church and the world of today, a gap which is sapping the vitality of the Church, and who honestly sought a way to refashion man, the man of our times, as the protagonist and creator of the new reality. He sought to define the real position of this man, to understand his orientation, aspirations and vital interests, to review the results, giving an objective appraisal of the difficult path traversed by man, actually beyond the reach of the influence of the ideological canons of the Catholic religion and often even in conflict with its practical organization which is associated with those forces trying in every way to hamper the full development of the new social reality.

John XIII summarized the three salient features of the present-day world: the socio-economic development of the working classes who are passing from elementary economic demands to demands for full political rights and the right to share the benefits of culture; the participation of women in public life which undermines one of the decisive sectors that makes the Catholic religion a mass phenomenon in some countries; the affirmation of new communities of free peoples and emphatic rejection of the old division of peoples into ruling and dependent nations.

The path chosen by John XXIII, to enable his church to preserve and extend its contact with millions of people, although a cautious one, shows understanding of this reality and of the concrete aims which set masses in motion and make these masses the real protagonists of history. Fully aware of the grave mistakes of the past, and realizing the difficulties of the situation he inherited, he warned the hierarchy that this movement must not develop without participation by the Catholic Church and certainly not in open hostility to it. This was a new line, one showing an unusual understanding of the grave historical backwardness of the Catholic religion which has cost it so many defeats. At the same time this discourse is wholly compatible with the basic duties devolving on the Pope, which, as hither-

to, are to preserve for the Church the space conquered and to win new space, to play a leading and, if possible, decisive role in the bloc of the principal historical forces, which would also make for its consolidation and further expansion.

Just as at the end of the last century, at the time of Leo XIII, the Roman Church decided, belatedly it is true, to abandon the feudal strata who had outlived their day and to try at all costs to unite with the bourgeoisie then in the ascendancy in some Catholic countries, so John XXIII, on the basis of his objective evaluation of the role played today by the masses in the historical process, sought through his "Pacem in terris" and the convocation of the Ecumenical Council to galvanize his Church into action and to remedy the errors of his predecessors, and to join wherever possible in the political, social and economic reconstruction and renovation taking place in the world which intuition told him were decisive.

Hence the summoning somewhat suddenly of the Ecumenical Council by John XXIII at the beginning of 1959, much to the chagrin of the Curia, and its opening in October 1962, despite obstacles, dissension and attempts to reduce it to a kind of formal celebration. The purpose was to discuss matters concerning the internal structure of catholicism, its relations with other denominations and, lastly, the church's attitude to the great social, political and cultural problems of the day.

At this supreme council of the Church three trends crystallized and clashed, depending on the degree of differences with John XXIII's basic concept: the *conservatives* who regard inviolable the basic orientation and structure of the Roman Church (apart from minor amendments) as originally defined by the Counter-reform, the First Vatican Council (1869-1870), and maintained right up to the time of the papacy of Pacelli; the *moderates* who are ready to compromise for a formal modernization that would leave intact the basic traditional principles; and lastly, the *innovators* who advocate a critical rethinking to enable the Church to throw overboard everything anachronistic and out of joint with present-day society which is changing rapidly under the impact of the great social, technical and cultural movements.

The Ecumenical Council was attended by more than 2,000 prelates. Of these 853 were from European countries, 290—from Asia, 273—from Africa, 325—from North America, 465—from Central and South America and 63—from Oceania. The biggest single contingent was the Italian (385), next came the United

States with 196, Brazil 171, France 122, Spain 84, Canada 76, India 72, Germany 58, Mexico 52, Argentina 50, the Congo 44, Colombia 43, Philippines 40, Britain 39, etc.

Arbitrarily to include any one of the groups at the Council in one or another of the three trends would be wrong. It would likewise be inaccurate to form an opinion of them according to the stand they took in the course of the three sessions, when a certain differentiation took place within the various groups and, consequently, a realignment of forces. Moreover there were cases when groups which had united in support of an "innovation" on a particular issue, took the opposite stand on another issue. For example, the delegates from the Arab countries who were very close to Patriarch Maximos IV, who was most outspoken at the Council, united with the conservatives against the declaration in favor of the Jewish people. The American groups which supported the anti-racist declarations and the declaration on freedom of religion, when it came to condemning nuclear, chemical and bacteriological warfare in effect supported the position of the State Department or the Pentagon.

The group of Italians, with certain notable exceptions, constituted one of the bastions of the conservative viewpoint under the leadership of Cardinal Ottaviani, Cardinal Siri, Cardinal Ruffini and the Vatican Curia which zealously guards its omnipotence, shielded in the halo of papal infallibility and absolutism. In effect John XXIII convoked the Ecumenical Council in defiance of the Curia; in point of fact the progressives are urging the reorganization of this top group which dictates conditions even to the Pope. The Curia also determines the relations with the secular authorities. It has big financial interests and all in all is a reactionary force which cannot be ignored under any circumstances.

The conservative sector is supported generally by a large part of the episcopacies of Spain, Portugal, the Philippines, Latin America, by the "white" missionaries in the Far East, by the supporters of Cardinal Spellman of the United States, and by some of the Yugoslav and Irish bishops. The moderates include Cardinal Montini, the Polish bishops close to Cardinal Wyszynski, the Belgian bishops of Cardinal Suenens, some South American and African bishops, and the Indian bishops. Cardinals Bea, Maximos IV, Alfrink, Koenig, Lienart, Lercaro, Cardijn, Frings and others have identified themselves with the line of John XXIII.

At the first session of the Council (October 12-December 7, 1962) with Pope John in the

chair, two arguments were fought out. As a result of direct interference by the Pope both ended in a resounding defeat for the conservatives and the Curia. Thus, as a result of the first conflict, initiated by Cardinal Lienart, all Council commissions were to be reorganized according to the choice made by the Assembly (instead of by the Curia). As a result of the second debate, the draft On the Sources of Revelation, prepared by Cardinal Ottaviani, was rejected and it was decided that the text should be revised by a commission on which Cardinal Bea functioned.

In June 1963 John XXIII died and Cardinal Montini ascended the Papal throne under the name of Paul VI.

At the second session, held in the autumn of 1963, two unimportant decisions of a general character were taken. Clashes took place at this session, too, but it was clear that the various groups were waiting to see what line the new Pope would take.

A debate was continued at the third session (September 14-November 21, 1964) which ended in the so-called "black" week. Since then none of the basic problems of the Ecumenical Council have been settled, and the fate of the assembly will be decided at the fourth, concluding session, scheduled to open on September 14, 1965. But already now there are grounds for posing the question: has not "black" week predetermined the fate of the Ecumenical Council by imposing the will of the Pope, and partly of the Curia, on the assembly?

By the decision of Paul VI an explanatory document was circulated at the time concerning the structure of the church, and 19 amendments were proposed for the decree on Ecumenism which the Bulletin issued by the Council of Evangelical Churches in Italy described as a "basic violation of the text." Highly disturbing was the Pope's decision, conveyed to the Ecumenical Council by Cardinal Tisserant, to postpone until the next session, the general and preliminary voting on the Declaration on Freedom of Religion, submitted by a delegation of 16 cardinals, headed by Frings, and supported by 1,200 participants in the Council in a special petition.

The tension that prevailed towards the end of the third session, the obvious change for the worse in the atmosphere (especially when compared with the first session held under John XXIII)—all confront the other non-Catholic Christian communities with the question (which Archbishop Frings of Cologne incidentally considers logical) of the ability of the Catholic religion to create its own dialectics which could turn the Ecumenical Council into

a "consultative body," i.e., into a center of joint search for "truth." The tension at the third session calls to mind the stormy closing session of the First Vatican Council, and particularly July 18, 1870, the day when the dogma of papal infallibility was proclaimed and when in protest one-third of the delegates absented themselves, including the Bishops of Paris, Vienna, Monaco, Milan, Turin, the Primate of the Galician provinces and the primate of Hungary, the "social" Archbishop Ketteler of Mainz and the archbishops of Prague and Marseilles.

But the fact remains that the entire discussion is characterized by the clash between those eager to find the pulse and measure the "temperature of the earth" (to quote De Chardin) and to discover in so-called "evil" at least a tremor of growth, and those who, on the contrary, are determined to keep people, things and events within the bounds of conservatism and tradition, leaving only a narrow margin for so-called renovation. As we see it the clashes which took place during the 130 plenary meetings and in the commissions are due not so much to the methodological differences arising from different interpretations of the "immutability" or "historicity" of the Catholic Church, as to the different attitudes, at times poles apart, of the various delegates who are actuated by particular motives and interests, especially with respect to the "secular" problems of the day. That is why the Ecumenical Council is no longer the purely internal affair of the Church and should be seen as an event reflecting the real forces that are operating, as an event affecting the basic problems and values connected with the trends and movements of different origin and pursuing different aims.

It was not accidental, therefore, that towards the end of the Council the struggle centered on the declaration on freedom of religion and conscience, on "Schema No. 13" concerning relations with the contemporary world and on the Schema concerning the missionaries.

The stormiest moment at the third session came during the debate on the traditional doctrine on freedom of religion and conscience. The assembly literally split in two on this issue. Gregory XVI in his encyclical "Mirari vos" (1832) had expressed the view that from the poison of religious indifference "springs the erroneous and absurd rule, or rather mania, that everyone should be granted freedom of conscience and guaranteed this freedom," that this was "a dangerous fallacy, paving the way to absolute and unbridled freedom of opinion. . . ." To this is added, he

said, freedom of the press, the most pernicious of freedoms in the face of which all other horrors pale. Gregory's successor Pius IX, in his "Quanta cura" and "Syllabo," likewise condemned this "mania" for religious freedom and considered freedom for each to embrace the religion he thought to be the true one, to be one of the biggest mistakes of his time. The narrow-minded approach ensuing from this doctrine (which is no longer accepted in our day) became particularly evident in our changing world in which the old core of nations with a Catholic majority no longer enjoys its former influence. The use of force and secular power in support of the Roman church and against other religions and freedom of conscience is an archaic illusion, possible only under dictatorships of the Franco and Salazar type. Cardinal Bea who drafted the declaration on freedom of conscience was obliged to state: "Another delusion due to a misconception of what was meant by love of truth were the religious wars which caused so much suffering, when attempts were made forcibly to impose, in the name of truth, certain convictions upon other people forgetting the while about an essential element—love of truth, i.e., freedom of man."

Despite personal interference by the Pope, the Ecumenical Council rejected by an overwhelming majority the schema on the reorganization of the missions, drawn up by Cardinal Agagianian of the Curia. The schema was opposed mainly by the bishops of former colonial countries who were tired of taking orders from the Congregation of the Propaganda of Faith whose criteria are similar to those of the British Colonial Office. The main reason however is the crisis in the old missionary system which dates from the times of colonial empires. The situation has completely changed today. As one of the Bishops from West Africa noted: "Islam is advancing, heathenism is offering resistance, and thanks to the desire for autonomy and the return to traditional customs communism is rapidly gaining ground, especially in the relatively developed countries of Africa."

Some years ago the Jesuit Masson, professor of the Georgian University in Rome and Secretary of "Missionary Week" in Lovanio, spoke in Milan about the changes taking place among the African masses. He recalled the former archaic Africa where people seemed to be immobile and meek, a world which seemed to have come to a standstill, and whose people, tied to the soil to vegetate on it, were scattered over vast tracts where the missionary took it for granted that he would find them living in the same state 5, 10, 20 years later.

Today, according to this Jesuit, things are changing rapidly; people are streaming towards the centers which at one time were inhabited almost exclusively by Europeans. Tens of thousands of Negroes, discarding traditions, emerging from their immobility, were seeking work, losing the apathy typical of the unchanging, static village, were becoming accustomed to the new processes, to the new rhythm of the emerging industrial society. Religious interests were therefore fading even when not rejected as the legacy of a situation that was no longer acceptable, and in the misery of the "bidonvilles," in the overcrowded shacks a new solidarity—as yet indefinite—was beginning to take shape on a new basis.

Fortified with a greater measure of independence, the delegates from the countries where they are missionaries, are also demanding a new approach to the problems of the newly-free peoples, an approach totally different from that of the prelates of the Curia, trained in the Latin and ceremonial tradition of the Vatican. Steps are being taken in this direction, mainly through secular organizations which, incidentally, are financed by the United States. Missions of a new type are taking shape which, besides using the traditional means and drawing on their varied and rich experience, use the trade unions, semi-economic, linguistic and other organizations as a kind of confessional for Catholics, pan-Christians or simply for "all believers." With Rome as the fulcrum for action catholicism is being promoted in Africa and in Latin-America and also in parts of Southeast Asia. Next year a center for the coordination of activities on an international scale will be officially set up.

The last important document of the Ecumenical Council is "Schema 13," which was recently revised by the commission. It had been strongly criticized at the session by a British prelate who qualified it as "unclear, ambiguous, superficial and not worthy of the Council." "Schema 13" will undoubtedly be the epicenter of discussion at the final session of the Ecumenical Council.

The revised schema now consists of an introduction and three parts. The first, "Man in the World of Today," corresponds in part with the introduction to the old schema (the so-called "Sign of the Times"). The second part "The Church and the Conditions of Human Existence," treats of atheism. The third part, devoted to the tasks of Christianity in our times, is divided into five paragraphs: the dignity of marriage and the family; raising the cultural level in the world, economic and social life, political life and, lastly, the international community and peace.

This last point sparked off an extremely significant debate, specifically in connection with the demand that atomic, chemical and biological warfare be resolutely condemned. "The threat of destruction hangs over mankind," said Maximos IV, patriarch of Antioch, who has now been made a cardinal. "We often speak about a just war, but what motives could morally justify destruction equivalent to a world cataclysm? Is it permissible to destroy civilization and entire nations on the pretext of defending them?" "... The Ecumenical Council," he stated, "should issue a clear and solemn declaration condemning nuclear, chemical or bacteriological warfare, whereas the schema, on the contrary, argues the case in polemic terms."

This proposal provoked an immediate reaction on the part of a U.S. speaker, who defended the possibility and the admissibility of conflicts in which "easily-controlled" tactical atomic weapons could be used. It is worth noting that some American newspapers commenting on this speech by a "spiritual pastor" said it reflected the views of the Pentagon, rather than his own.

A keen debate developed on the subject of hunger in the world, this tragic legacy of an unjust system which Roman Catholicism has more than once defended (Paul VI's appeal in New Delhi was partly prompted by this debate). One of the lay "listeners" present at the Council, Norris, President of the International Catholic Commission, said:

In the unequal community of nations, a small group has grown excessively rich. Forming 16 per cent of the population of the world, this group owns 70 per cent of its wealth. It includes nations living on the northern shores of the Atlantic, which are traditionally Christian. The gap between the rich and the poor is rapidly widening. Living side by side in one and the same world community the rich are growing richer and the poor, poorer. For millions of people, Norris continued, poverty means an average life expectancy of 35 years. For millions of human beings living in such poverty death means deliverance. Norris was echoed by the bishops of the "third world," who are concerned about poverty, among them Zoungana, the new cardinal of Upper Volta and the Indian Thangalathil who spoke on behalf of 70 colleagues.

Finally, among the numerous other reasons for the polemic on "Schema No. 13" is the gap (noted by all) existing between the Catholic religion and the main trends in present-day culture, the critical impoverishment of Catholic culture. Such is the price paid for the long years of obscurantism and crusades,

superstition and anti-culture. It is therefore understandable that the primate of Belgium and other more circumspect prelates concerned with problems of culture are urging the Church to make a profound study of the significant developments in modern culture, of the major ideological trends of our day, instead of anathematizing them. Marxism, said Monsignor Guerra Campos, secretary of the Spanish episcopacy, is "not a vulgar form of materialism. It is atheistic because atheism is an integral part of its world outlook. It believes in the need for and adequacy of material reality, while religion and idealism thrust man beyond its confines, alienate him and hamper his liberation. This atheism has its own eschatology. It is necessary that we understand that denial of the transcendental as far as Marxists are concerned is not a fault but a virtue since it enables man to rediscover himself. This world outlook cannot be countered by polemics or false praise alone. What is needed is a deep study of this world outlook so as to be able in the future to enter into a dialogue with Marxists which Paul VI in his encyclical 'Ecclesiam Suam' thinks is almost impossible."

From this brief illustration of the subject-matter discussed at the Ecumenical Council, and of developments in the Roman Catholic Church it is evident that the progressive movement developing today is exerting an influence also on the age-old, ossified structure of the Church which, this notwithstanding, unites half a billion people and is still influential in some decisive areas of the world.

The debate in the Ecumenical Council, which

is by no means finished, once again calls in question many dogmas of catholicism and affects issues which are uppermost in the minds of millions, both believers and non-believers. This struggle gives Marxists every reason for viewing with satisfaction some of their conclusions based on an analysis of the situation and confirmed by events; but more important still it enables them to make a profound study of developments in the light of the new reality which does not fit in to ready-made patterns. The attention with which the Italian Communists followed the discussion in the supreme body of catholicism, was prompted not so much by purely cultural interests or historical curiosity as by a desire to find—sometimes in the crucible of polemics and clashes—that all-important and positive something that is crystallizing and maturing among the Italian Catholic masses without whose participation the progressive development of our society is impossible, as the debate in the Ecumenical Council showed.

"We Communists," Luigi Longo said in an interview to the magazine *Stern*, last autumn, "have always rejected anti-clericalism, have curbed attempts to unleash a religious war in our country, our aim being to unite all working people in the common struggle for the democratic renovation of Italian society, differing on this issue even with our Socialist comrades and with the "secular" parties. We believe that honest religious consciousness can make a contribution to the struggle which is the pivot of all our activity, to the struggle against the oppressive and brutal power of capitalist society."

Culture and the masses

JIRI ZAZUNEK

You want an art that would be a people's art? Very well then, begin by making . . . the people the masters of their destiny.

Romain Rolland

MAN'S FUTURE IS THE subject of serious reflection in the world today. Besides technological and scientific prognostication, thought is being given to the future of culture. What part will culture play in people's lives when work will take up less of their time? What will be the relationship between culture and the masses? How do these problems stand today and how will they be resolved under socialism?

In the present article we propose to examine a number of questions of interest to the public in the socialist countries, primarily in the light of Czechoslovak experience.

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Western sociologists invariably repeat in different keys one idea that twentieth-century culture lags behind the material and technological base, that the gulf between "culture" and "civilization" is widening. The same problems are discussed, true, in another context, in socialist society as well.

Despite the increase in leisure time and the existence of mass media, people, according to Western authors, are somewhat embarrassed by the emptiness of free time at their disposal.

A consumer attitude to reality, passivity and a desire to get away from the serious problems in life and art are growing. Writers like Hemingway and Faulkner are appreciated by the few, whereas for more than twenty years now the public have been fed on blood-curdling Frankenstein films, and "King Kong," re-issued again after the war, netted its pro-

ducers more than \$2 million. By pressing a button the TV-viewer can switch over from Brecht to a run-of-the-mill drama.

The question of people's attitude to the higher cultural values, formerly a matter of social and material *opportunities*, now increasingly asserts itself as a matter of their *interests*. The growth of the mass media has revealed a number of concealed contradictions.

Since the turn of the century sociologists have evinced a growing interest in audience response, in the way works of art and literature influence viewers and readers.

We now have the concept of "mass culture," by which is meant a culture designed to fill the gap between the needs of the public and its inability to appreciate the higher cultural values.

Historically, this contradiction between art and the public is connected with the professionalization of artistic creation, a trend which became more pronounced with the rise of capitalism.

From the village church, the village green and the festivities of the town-hall square where it developed in the Middle Ages, art migrated to the concert hall, to the theater and the picture gallery. Middlemen became the link between the artist and his public. But, as Marx wrote in his *German Ideology*, professionalization of talent and its concentration in exclusive groups were accompanied by its decline among the people.

When man's contribution to the things produced ceases to be creative, when he no

longer sees the social implications of his daily work, its purpose and relation to the overall effort of the human race, when he no longer feels that what he does is an expression of his innate powers, he cannot but lose contact also with art expressing human activity and consciousness.

It would be foolish, of course, to urge, as Ruskin did, a return to the era of the guilds and the individual craftsmen. In the development of society professionalization of art was a necessary thing and it still is.

MASS CULTURE

The contradiction between art and its narrow social base, between the artist and the masses excluded from the creative process, was keenly felt by many great 19th century artists. The first attempt to solve this contradiction — an attempt which had tragic consequences — came at the end of the century. It was made by Tolstoi, who in his later works denounced out of hand all culture up to his time, including his own work, on the grounds that it was inaccessible to the people; Tolstoi pleaded for a writing that “all could understand.” This approach, signifying in essence a negation of culture and the mission of art, could not but lead to a crisis for Tolstoi both as man and artist.

In real life the contradiction between art and the public is resolved spontaneously, in a much more prosaic way. It is worth noting that Tolstoi, in a most penetrating way, pointed to this: “It turned out that while we were arguing . . . the people nevertheless hungered for spiritual food, and the failures who had dropped out of science and art, in response to swindlers prompted solely by the profit motive, began to provide the people with this food and are supplying it to this day. For the past forty years in Europe and for the past ten years here in Russia books, pictures and songs have been churned out in millions, fairs have been opened and the people flocking to them to gape and sing get their spiritual fare not from us. . . .”

This description fully applies to the rise of the “mass” art and its function as a medium of communication between the public and art at the level of the masses and their “philosophy of life” (Gramsci).

Of course none of this was genuine art; it was an outlet for frustrated aspirations in which democratic elements were accompanied by reactionary concepts, passive patience, acceptance of the existing way of life, and worship of bourgeois values.

Of this art Gramsci wrote: “We should ex-

amine the *special illusion* imparted to the people by the serialized novel and how this illusion changes in the process of historico-political development . . . One should examine from this aspect the novels of ‘gloom’ of the Radcliff type, the ordinary novel, the tales of adventure, detective and crime fiction, the trash novels, etc.”

Thus, in the course of the 19th century there gradually crystallized what can be described as two cultures existing and developing side by side—an “elite” culture and the “mass” culture which, unlike folklore, is produced and disseminated by professionals.

This differentiation is in many respects conventional, of course, and not only in the sense that the boundaries between the two cultures are highly mobile, with works that originate on what seemed to be the periphery of art being later accepted as major contributions to culture. Take, for instance, the Georgian painter Priosmanishvili, who used tavern oil-cloth as canvas, or the well-known “Good Soldier Svejk,” originally scoffed at as being low-grade.

The conventionality of this differentiation is revealed also in the varying reactions to the same works. Not infrequently great works of art are one-sidedly perceived through the prism of the reader’s restricted experience. Dostoyevsky’s novels are read as adventure stories, with pages of philosophic reflections scanned or skipped as “extraneous.” On the other hand, snobbery prevents “connoisseurs” used to academic canons to perceive the novelty of content and form in the living contemporary art often originating in the “low” genres which often impart new impulses to art.

Also conventional is the very notion of the “elite” or “high” art. It is often meant to designate art for the social or spiritual elite. This interpretation seems to be too narrow and historically unfounded.

Democratization of society, destruction of the old social barriers, the participation of growing numbers of people in social life are usually regarded in this case as a threat to culture, which, we are told, is gradually being destroyed because of the mass taste which more and more influences the artist in conditions of commercialized art.

What is ignored here is that the “high” art carrying forward the best traditions of the old, profoundly rich and human culture, is far the most inaccessible to the broad masses, but expresses the self-awareness of society and not of the “elite” and is linked, especially nowadays, with active creative elements in the consciousness of the masses.

In this sense the contradiction between "high" and "mass" culture reflects the contradiction between the theoretical and uncritical, spontaneous consciousness of the masses.

Gramsci, discussing science, religion and the philosophy of life, wrote: "... The mass man has two theoretical outlooks (or one contradictory outlook). One is contained in his activity and links him with his comrades in a practical striving to change the reality; the other is a superficial outlook which the masses have uncritically taken over from the past. But even this superficial outlook is not fruitless, it binds a person to a definite social group, influences his ethics and his will with smaller or greater force which may reach a point where it allows no movement, no solution, no choice, and leads to moral and political passivity."

Historically, this contradiction is resolved primarily through the active participation of the masses in the social process. Essentially, this process presupposes the abolition of the very concept of "masses," for when masses become a conscious vehicle of social progress "... the intellect and reason of millions ... awaken not only to read books, but for action, vital human action, to make history" (Lenin).

Contemporary "mass" culture undoubtedly reflects the given mass taste, but at the same time it moulds that taste, consolidates it, seeks to establish the contradictory and heterogeneous mass consciousness at some "median," guides itself by the statistics of society rather than its dynamics, makes for conformism in relation to the reality, becomes a narcotic, breeds passivity and indifference, and presents not simply a reflection of mass taste, but as the U.S. critic MacDonald observes, *exploitation* of it.

Clearly, an art transformed into a commodity cannot but be guided by market considerations, by demand; consequently, the producer purveys that which the theatre and concert goer and reader demand. But it is equally true that, as Marx expressed it, the product creates its own subject, that the commercial production of art is at once the production of meaningless, artificial desires and illusions running counter to the consumers' own interests. A West German contributor to the symposium *I Live in the FRG* wrote: "The spiral of wishes and their fulfilment is endless, it goes on and on to infinity. Our contemporaries blame themselves, their own insatiability, thinking that it is they who want more and more, without realizing, however, that in their striving toward standardization they are

literally carrying out a definite social program ..."

Unlike the 19th century, "mass culture" today has no clearly defined social boundaries. In our day, thanks to the mass media and the democratization of society, "mass" culture and "high" culture tend increasingly to be interactive, they are disseminated through the same channels and are "consumed" (though differently) by essentially the same public. Western sociologists call this the "homogenization" of culture.

One can find in one and the same issue of *Life* a serious article on nuclear theory side by side with a feature on the love-life of Rita Hayworth, an editorial on the birthday of Bertrand Russell and full-page advertisements, nine pages of reproductions of Renoir paintings accompanied by reminiscences by the artist's son, and the item "Kerima: her marathon kiss is a movie sensation." While it is true that Micky Spillane movies draw huge audiences, it is equally true that nearly 50 million people in the USA attended the premiere showing of the three-hour screen version of "Richard III" starring Laurence Olivier. Beginning with 1920, alongside a vast quantity of commercial trash, some 20 million gramophone records of music conducted by Arturo Toscanini were sold in the USA. In this sense it might be more correct to speak today not of the division of culture into the "mass" or "pop" variety and a "high" culture, but rather of culture disseminated through mass media and consisting of different trends—passive and consumer, on the one hand, and active, creative, genuine, on the other.

In the light of this one can hardly agree with those sociologists in the West who classify culture as "mass" or "high" according to the forms of dissemination or genre.

In the process of development art "takes in" and aesthetically interprets various requirements. The traditional division into "high" and "low" genres ignores this mobility, as a rule. It often lists as "high" art academic works collecting dust in second-hand book shops but fails to see how before our eyes the cinema has turned from an attraction into an art, how modern grotesque grows out of buffoonery and science-fiction stories reach the level of literature discussing ways of man's development. Entertainment can be either art in the proper sense of the word, a manifestation of man's creative and intellectual powers, or an illusion, a "daydream" (Gramsci). Television can equally be a soporific, as it often is, and an art, a new vehicle of knowledge and aesthetic enjoyment.

It is therefore not a matter of the communi-

cation media employed by art today, though of course the industrialization of art makes for standardization; nor of the genres in vogue; but of whether art takes its cue from the active elements in the life of society which in the alienated world of contemporary capitalism are the guarantee of the further development of man and his personality, whether art fosters these elements or whether it adapts itself to things as they are, to the institutionalized demand which is expressed in conformism and absence of principles.

An art which underestimates the public and sees in it only a consumer of ready-made values and not an active co-author, an art which loses sight of the goal and becomes a means towards other than artistic ends, warps society. Yet it need not be so. As William Faulkner once said, even in America the artist may be used by Hollywood, but he may also use Hollywood if his aim is clear to him.

With the mass communication media dominated by monopoly, public control over these media becomes one of the most serious political problems facing the democratic forces in the capitalist countries. In this respect we cannot but agree with the position of the Communists in the Western countries when they point out that although the mass media are monopoly-dominated, they nevertheless can and should be used to promote democracy in public life. Particularly important is democratic public participation in control over TV programs. The popularity enjoyed by the British TV program "The Week That Was," the authors of which made it a medium for sharp social and political criticism, is indicative. One could also point out the role played by progressive film directors in shaping democratic traditions in French and Italian cinematography.

The lines taken by cultural development in modern society are largely determined by the correlation of social forces in the given country, the strength of the democratic tradition, the activity and influence of the socialist forces, and, on the broader plane, by the overall social trends of world development.

While theatres are closing down in the center of Paris, beaten in the competition with television, new theatres establishing contact with their audience are opening in the workers' suburbs. This is, without doubt, due also to the rising political awareness of the masses, to the influence of the progressive political forces in the local councils.

TWO ASPECTS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

A task facing socialist society is to make the treasures of human culture accessible to the masses. "Art belongs to the people," Lenin said. But he added: "In order to bring art close to the people and the people to art, we must first raise the general educational and cultural level." How does this problem stand in our time? Is there a contradiction between art and the people under socialism as well?

These are questions not only of theoretical interest. When many areas of artistic endeavor are being put on an industrial footing and mass dissemination of works of art has become the rule, a proper understanding of these problems is necessary for a correct cultural policy.

One of the tasks of the socialist revolution is to abolish the consequences of the capitalist division of labor in the intellectual sphere. The problem can be resolved only as the result of a prolonged process of economic, social and cultural change.

The problems of the cultural revolution, now being solved in all the socialist countries, involve, specifically, changing the way of life, organizing a proper working and architectural environment, etc. Hence the need to comprehend theoretically the very notion "cultural revolution" and delineate its various aspects. As our literary critics have pointed out, one can single out, conditionally, two main processes in the cultural revolution which, though interconnected and inseparable, involve different aspects of life.

The first is what we call *democratization* of culture: raising the general educational, technical and professional level of the population, disseminating culture and art among its broadest strata. In the postwar much has been achieved in this respect in Czechoslovakia. Mention can be made of the increased circulation of books, the growth in the number of public libraries, the almost doubled theatre attendances, the considerably changed social composition of the theatre audience as compared with the years of the bourgeois republic. Exhibitions of works by the Czech painters Slavicek and Zrzavy were visited by 300,000 and 100,000 people respectively. Total circulation of literary and cultural-political periodicals in Czechoslovakia reaches 500,000.

In this connection we should perhaps point to the important work done by artists, writers and poets, who have never refused to speak before workers in the factory and young people in clubs. The contact between the public

and art rests on a more natural basis than before. It is a fact that despite numerous misunderstandings due to the insufficient competence of some spectators this contact has influenced the very content of art and the character of problems posed by it, that the active elements of social consciousness are responsible for the creation of the best recent works.

Of course the spread of culture in itself cannot resolve all the contradictions, bridge the historical gap between the masses and culture, since it primarily satisfies requirements at the given level which in many respects is determined by the demands of what Marx called "reproductive" life, i.e., life confined between simple labor requiring no special cultural attainments and reproduction of labor power in which culture again plays a secondary role (entertainment, etc.).

The second process is much more complex. It alone offers a fundamental solution of the contradiction between the public and art, for it concerns the very place and role of culture in the life of the people, the level of requirements. The substance of this process is the elimination of the contradictions between labor and man's spiritual potential. Only when man lives a creative life—both in the production and social spheres—does culture cease to be an external mirror of being and become an integral component of the life of all.

* * *

"Art," Brecht wrote, "means, in effect, skill. Any one who admires art admires labor, the skilled, perfect labor. One must know something about this labor in order to admire and enjoy it, to rejoice in its product—a work of art." One must be able to discern and appraise, and not only to consume passively, in order to acquire the ability of perception. It is necessary to find a form of active association with art, of direct contact with the artist's work. It is here that the contradiction is resolved which we discussed at the beginning of this article, the contradiction between the opportunity to enjoy culture and the actual cultural requirements.

The postwar years have witnessed a vigorous growth of the audience to which modern Czech and Slovak writers, artists and stage and film directors submit serious works of art. The structure of the demand for art has also changed considerably. Nevertheless, to limit oneself to this aspect of the problem alone means overlooking its real complexity and contradictory nature.

The contradiction between art and the public is manifested forcefully today in some as-

pects of the demand for art. This first became apparent in film distribution. For years ideologically and aesthetically mediocre or poor films rated among the biggest box-office successes, while many pictures of outstanding artistic merit drew far smaller audiences.

According to the sociological survey conducted by Karbusicky and Kasan, over 60 per cent of those they interviewed were still not prepared to enjoy Dvorak's music, 10-20 per cent were reported to appreciate classical music, and only with regard to Smetana's operas did the number rise to 30 per cent. Sociological surveys alone cannot, of course, reveal the causes of this state of things. The ability to enjoy classical and particularly symphonic music presupposes undoubtedly a greater degree of aesthetic preparation of the audience compared with other kinds of art. Evidently, this is the reason why the situation in this field is particularly complex.

Other examples could be cited testifying that, although we have been able to banish, to a large extent, the gutter and commercial trash from the press, cinema and theatre, the potential concealed demand for it still exists, which finds expression in many fields of the artistic demand.

The situation in the theatre, where the matter of repertory has been seriously discussed in connection with the considerable decline in attendance, was summed up in an article by theatrical critic Vlastimil Urban. "The problem of attendance," he said, "is no cause for concern to theatres which are able to express the thoughts and emotions of their audiences through powerful and unique artistic images, theatres whose programs reveal their social commitment. Nor does it worry those which have shamelessly jettisoned all principles and turn out unadulterated trash. The remainder, the theatres which are not strong enough to join the first group, are straining every effort to avoid finding themselves at the opposite pole. Moreover, there is a real danger that they will lose the fight under economic pressure." Incidentally, it should be noted that the state subsidy in Czechoslovakia amounts to double the box office receipts, which to some extent counteracts any tendency towards a commercial approach to programs.

A bad service was rendered here also by the simplified approach to art, when the didacticism and obtrusive schematism of many works of art made people indifferent to the arts generally and to the cinema and the theatre in particular, the consequences of which are still felt.

The biggest box-office successes in 1960-63 were the films *The Hunchback*, *Captain Fra-*

cass and *The Eternal Song of the Forest*, all of them in many respects weak and in poor taste.

FILMS THAT DREW BIGGEST AUDIENCES IN BOHEMIA AND IN MORAVIA IN 1963

	Percentage of total tickets sold in first two months
<i>Babette Goes to War</i> (France)	81 per cent
<i>The Eternal Song of the Forest</i> (Austria)	80 per cent
<i>High Noon</i> (USA)	79 per cent
<i>Three Musketeers</i> (France)	77 per cent
<i>We Were Ten</i> (Czechoslovakia)	71 per cent

Of these five films one is a Western (*High Noon*), two are melodrama (*The Eternal Song of the Forest* and *Three Musketeers*), and the remaining two, comedies. The corresponding percentages for such films as *Death is Called Engelchen*, *The Enclosure*, and *The Childhood of Ivan* were 42, 25 and 24.

In 1964 the biggest box-office success was the Western *The Treasure of Silver Lake* (84 per cent). Compare this with *The Defendant*, a Czechoslovak film (31.4 per cent), the French film *Cleo from Five to Seven* (44 per cent) and the Soviet film *Hamlet* (33.5 per cent).

One cannot deplore the fact that comedies draw more spectators than dramas, and it would be wrong to contrast the success of Chaplin films with those of Einstein. Socialist art presupposes a diversity of genres, themes and styles, and it was a mistake in the past to have lost sight of this.

The question we are discussing here is connected, not with the genre of a work of art, but with the level at which it satisfies aesthetic requirements, say, in the sphere of the entertainment or intellectual game such as the detective story. Karel Capek wrote about the detective-story genre: "It is, as a matter of fact, a splendid and very old tradition of mundane intelligence, rationalism, practical experience and observation, with all metaphysical motives excluded." (This is not true of all the detective stories printed in our time, of course.) In other words, we are concerned with the low level of many works still enjoying success, the backwardness of tastes which, on the broader plane, show that a number of social problems are still outstanding in our society (for it would be wrong to explain these facts by the survivals of the past alone).

Does this mean that the "education in arts" which we have engaged in for the past twenty

years has not justified itself and brought no results, that it has not solved any problems or solved them only outwardly?

No, this is not the case. The foregoing testifies only that at times we have tended to underrate the complexity of the relationship between art and audience, that we saw only one side of the problem, that behind the quantitative indices we failed to see some qualitative phenomena rooted in the objective state of society, in its existing social set-up and specific contradictions.

For instance, we often say that in our society labor has lost its non-human character, and this is true inasmuch as it has ceased to be the object of capitalist exploitation. But it has not yet become fully "human," for so far it is not creative everywhere and always, that is, as often as not it does not yet presuppose and create a broad sphere for the application of human abilities. It would be wrong to believe that in our society everyone possesses a developed requirement for creative work, an ability creatively to perform his duty.

"When our propaganda, proceeding from the good intention to emphasize our superiority, still speaks sometimes exceedingly flatly about the spontaneous interest evinced by the working people in technology and creative work, this obscures the fact that it does not take place everywhere and the reasons why it is still not a universal phenomenon. The task of science is not to persuade the working class that it is perfect; it is rather more necessary for the working class that science should help it to find the prerequisite and methods for the further perfection of society and for the all-round progress of the working class itself." (J. Sindelar's article "Humanism in the World of Science and Technology," *Rude Pravo*, April 13, 1965.)

The stimuli, or the obstacles, to raising the educational level and promoting the activity of man stem from concrete activity, and this applies not only to the sphere of production but also to activity outside it, to the development of spiritual and cultural requirements, for human abilities are developing in a mutual way. A creative approach to problems of culture presupposes man's activity in the sphere of his labor and in social endeavor.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF ART: PROBLEMS AND CONTRADICTIONS

One of the grave mistakes that held us back in effectively solving the problems of cultural development was the notion that everyone has the same taste and, flowing from this, the identification of the popular character of art

with universal accessibility and appreciation.

The relationship between writer and people was often seen in a one-sided way, i.e., from the standpoint of the writer's duty to his readers; write for the people, write so that all can understand, write for every man—this was the admonition we often heard. For all the seeming democracy of the admonition it contained an inaccuracy which, given certain conditions, could become a screen for demagoguery.

For example, at the time of the personality cult when cultural life was directed in an administrative way the yardstick in assessing many works of art was the criterion known as "accessibility to the people," which, however, often screened demands having little in common with the true tastes and requirements of the masses.

Round about 1950 when it was said in our country that jazz was "a typically cosmopolitan art, a mad cacophony, coarsening people and turning them into cannon fodder" and Kmoch's "popular" brass-band music was counterposed to it—in this case, as recent surveys have shown, tastes typical for the older generation were in effect imposed on young people. Thus, a political problem was created from a phenomenon which had a more or less age or taste character, which, undoubtedly, did harm both to the development of the light genre and to our work with the youth (V. Karbusicky and Kasan in *Kulturni tvorba*, February 15, 1964).

Without bothering to ascertain the views of the public, somebody decided what the people needed and what they could understand. This approach was, as we have said, due to the underestimation of the role of the masses. The "mass" culture implanted at the time of the personality cult for consumption by the public often dulled the active, creative elements of mass consciousness and paralyzed healthy critical sentiment without which socialism cannot develop. Paradoxical as it may sound, functionally it was a culture for the "elite," called upon to foster the notion that people are as they seem to be to the bureaucrat or the critic who was often out of touch with life and its problems but who had ready-made stereotyped formulas and recipes for all occasions. Therefore, when the Party stressed development of socialist democracy as one of the most important tasks, it paved the way for elucidating the real sentiment of the masses, for basing their unity on the most progressive elements in the mass consciousness.

At a time when differences in educational levels and in the possibilities for social and creative activity have not yet been overcome,

when many survivals of the past still remain in taste, serious contradictions cannot but be manifested in the perception of art as well. Different social groups differ substantially in their cultural requirements. Interests differ considerably also between people of different age groups. There are also differences between the level of requirements of pupils in secondary schools and special educational establishments, on the one hand, and those studying in vocational schools. The level conforms to the nature of the participation in production and social life and to educational standards. Educational level determines the character and the structure of man's interests and of his leisure time as a whole. There are active and passive elements in the social consciousness.

In these conditions the demand to write in a manner understandable to all not infrequently signified a demand for the writer to accommodate himself to the average or undeveloped taste or, in other words, acceptance of the well-known principle of the "common denominator" determined in "mass" culture, as western critics maintain, by the lowest level of requirements.

That these ideas are not an exception in our country is testified by many discussions among readers. Below are some of the views expressed during these discussions: "Genuine art should be understandable to the average man, and if the average man does not understand a particular work of art, a book, say, then it is the book or, more correctly, the author who is to blame and not the average man." Or still more categorically: "Whatever is designed for the public generally should be determined by the average level." This static approach is tantamount to denying the active role of art, its questing. It dooms art to passivity, preserves the existing state of affairs, and restricts the possibilities of social dynamics. This approach is particularly dangerous today when it is manifested in a number of other spheres of social and economic life as a kind of cult of mediocrity, a reluctance to take risks, to search for the new. This contradicts the demands made by the Party, which is searching for new ways of solving the complex and pressing problems of a developed socialist society.

This demand for works understandable to all signifies in effect an attempt to resolve the contradiction between art and the audience not in an organic but in a mechanistic way. It is tantamount to denying the purpose of creative art, and is felt by the artist as an act of violence depriving art of its genuinely progressive and humanist purport.

It is to the credit of Marxist thought in Czechoslovakia that already in prewar times its best representatives, artists and critics, Neumann, Vaclavek, Urx, Fucik and others, who played a big part in developing the Party's cultural policy, rejected these simplified views and upheld the right of art to active creative and ideological questing.

S. Neumann, veteran Czech poet and Communist, wrote: "It is neither possible nor necessary for every socialist to have a cultivated taste and a clear view of the problems of literature and art, but an honest socialist who wants to change the world, who wants to help the victory of new culture should have enough sense of responsibility not to speak about things he does not understand, and if he wants to be informed, he should turn to sources not muddled by the philistine taste, method and trend . . .," and in another connection: "Art serves life in the sense that it treats the world as raw material which it processes again and again . . . in order to obtain a new view of things, *new truthfulness* with which to enrich our life."

Later, B. Vaclavek expressed the same idea: "By extending human horizons and acting on the masses in the sense of *their development*, art fulfils its own task and 'changes the world'. Therein lies its social essence."

In this respect the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is continuing the line it worked out before the war, urging the artist to create an art in which there is no place for schematism, mediocrity and conservatism and to explore new paths in art and new creative possibilities (from the resolutions of the Twelfth Congress of the CPC). At a time when culture is playing a growing role in society, with the resulting enhanced responsibility for the general ideological trend of this development, it is essential to have a competent scientific leadership relying on collective experience and taking stock of the problem in all its complexity. In its effort to improve methods of management in all spheres, our Party has devoted much attention to improving the guidance of cultural life. It helps to shape cultural policy through extensive participation by its activists, encourages in every way the work of Communists in the professional associations and enlists the cooperation of the public and specialists in discussing the most important questions.

Art has its inner logic of development in its cognition of man and the world, and it cannot go beyond the limits of this logic without betraying its mission. In this sense there is something more to it than being accessible or understandable. It cannot be measured by

these criteria. It is not this that makes up the popular character of art. In his *What Is to Be Done?* Lenin wrote about the conscious and the spontaneous in the working-class movement: "The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade-union consciousness . . . The theoretical doctrine of Social Democracy arose altogether independently of the spontaneous growth of the working-class movement; it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of ideas among the revolutionary Socialist intelligentsia."

A similar idea was expressed by A. Gramsci: "The philosophy of practice seeks not to keep 'ordinary people' at the level of their primitive philosophy of common sense but, on the contrary, to lead them to a higher form of cognition. If it affirms the need for contact between the intelligentsia and the 'ordinary people', this is not in order to restrict scientific activity and maintain unity at the low level of the masses but in order to create an intellectual-moral bloc which makes politically possible the advance of the masses and not simply of exclusive groups of intellectuals."

The solution of the problem of democracy in art lies not in a forced equalization, but in taking account of the differences; this way can lead to the elimination of these differences at a level in keeping with modern demands. In socialist society the democratization of art does not signify adaptation to average taste. On the contrary, it presupposes creating the conditions for the acceptance of its higher achievements by the greatest possible number of people. This was aptly expressed by Brecht: "There are many artists, and often not the worst artists, who by no means want to work for an exclusive circle of 'connoisseurs' but who want to create for the people as a whole. This sounds democratic but, to my mind, it is not quite democratic. It is democratic to make 'an exclusive circle of connoisseurs' into a large circle of connoisseurs. For art calls for knowledge. The perception of art becomes a pleasure only when there is an art of perception, of observation. And if it is true that each man has within him an artist and that man is the most artistic of all animals, it is equally true that this talent and this ability can develop, but they can also fall into decay."

* * *

The problem of democratization in art is closely linked with the mass communication media, which have become highly effective

means of democratizing culture, of spreading it among the masses.

The Press became a medium of mass communication already before the First World War. The turn of the century saw the birth of the cinema which was destined to become the second of the mass media. And as was the case with broadcasting, its genuine development began only after the First World War. Western sociologists sometimes call this period the first *threshold* of the mass art.

Further development was decisively determined (not mentioning the emergence of "paperbacks" in the thirties) by the invention of television, with which the *second threshold* of mass culture is associated. Television came into existence before the Second World War, but its real development began only in 1948. In that year there were only 100,000 TV sets in the world, but 15 years later, in 1963, their number reached almost 150 million. Television has become the most universal means of popularizing culture and of its democratization.

The cinema, broadcasting and TV convey art to much larger audiences. Thus, thanks to TV, viewers can now see La Scala operas or the Bolshoi ballet in areas where in the past this was inconceivable.

Nevertheless, we hear with growing frequency that because of the mass media art is losing its original character, becoming a passive form of entertainment leading to the standardized man.

Industrial production undoubtedly has a certain effect on art. This is true not only of the capitalist countries. The writing of a novel was and remains the sole responsibility of the writer. Producing of a film or a television program, however, involving collective effort and large expenditures, often leads to a tendency not to take any risks, to be conventional. This in turn ties the hands of the artist to a large extent, causes considerable difficulties in his work, makes for conformism and standardization which cannot but leave its imprint on the spectator and be painful for the artist. One has only to read the comments of Western film directors to realize this. It is not accidental that in the West, state or public control is being urged to offset commercial influence.

Things are different in the socialist countries. Here, too, industrial production makes certain demands on the artist, and on art produced by the industrial method. But any decision connected with the production of a film or a TV program is prompted not so much by commercial considerations as by the level of consciousness and social commitment of the organization concerned and of the author

himself. It is not surprising, therefore, that when film directors were asked on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the nationalization of the Czechoslovak film industry how they assessed this measure practically all of them replied that it was nationalization that gave them the opportunity to approach the cinema as an art and not as a trade. This does not, of course, answer the question how this opportunity is being realized at various stages, which depends on the concrete cultural and political situation, on the level of understanding of the cinema as an art.

As far as the mass media are concerned, it is not so much a question of forms as of spheres of influence, of the extent of the influence exerted by these media. That is precisely why these forms sharply project certain social and political issues. They are in a sense an up-to-the-minute barometer of the existing situation. The factors responsible for passivity or activity, however, lie elsewhere.

At the time of the consequences of the personality cult the Czechoslovak cinema often evoked greater discontent than literature or the theatre. On the other hand, after the Twelfth Congress of the Party it was the cinema which posed a number of important social, ethical and aesthetic problems and advanced to the forefront. Recall, for example, its success at international film festivals.

The same is true of television, in which above all TV journalism was at one time reduced to the function of illustrating pre-set propositions. Many of the programs were primitively illustrative, they did not provoke thought nor did they invite comparison, activity or choice. But when Czechoslovak television produced a number of topical and critical serials of artistic and journalistic merit, such as "Three in a House," "Ostrava Seconds," "May I Interfere?", etc., they evoked a lively response. These programs undoubtedly went beyond the walls of the house. Viewers took a keener interest in them than in newspapers or books, and looked forward to the next item. The programs stimulated a public consciousness, they stepped into the lives of the viewers, and helped them in their social activity.

These examples will suffice to show that television does not rule out activity on the part of the viewer. The point is how to utilize its potentialities, how to gear it to progressive developments and to the requirements of life.

* * *

The new society is faced with the highly important task of changing the nature of human labor, of cultivating man's creative

ability, of promoting "that development of human energy which is an end in itself." (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 800, FLPD Ed.).

Developing man's spiritual and artistic potential, and acquainting him with the achievements of culture, past and present, are a component of this task. This is a complicated process. The artist helps people better to understand the trends of reality. In this sense he crystallizes human experience. He may be said to reveal what is just taking shape in the minds of the masses. The artist or writer must see farther and better than those for whom he creates. This dialectical interaction of art and the public is a source and catalyst of the development of both art and the public.

Commenting on language, Antonio Gramsci

said that those who speak a dialect or who have an inadequate knowledge of the national language are inevitably confined to a more or less narrow, provincial world outlook that is backward and anachronistic compared with the great ideological trends in history. "A great culture can be translated into the language of another national culture. But it cannot be translated into a dialect."

This also applies to the point we are discussing here. The thing is not that everyone should speak the "same" language but that everyone should be versed in his language at the level of "national," socialist, culture, and not be shackled by his "dialect." This is how we see the relationship between culture and the masses in socialist society.

Indonesian Communist Party and the peasantry

SUHARJO

AGRARIAN RELATIONS on the island of Java, which covers an area bigger than the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg taken together and which has a population of some 45 million peasants, were investigated by 3,300 cadres of the Communist Party and of the mass organizations, mainly of the Indonesian Peasant Front (BTI). The investigation, in which Comrade D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Communist Party took part, lasted from February till May 1964.

What motivated the Party to conduct this research? How was it organized? What are the main conclusions to be drawn from it?

THE PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The research was undertaken for a number of reasons.

Firstly: In order to be able to apply Marxism-Leninism successfully in Indonesia the Party must be aware of the objective realities of our society. The deeper the knowledge of these realities the more correct will be the line of policy of the Party. Since the majority of Indonesians consists of peasants, the research had to be conducted first of all, of the agrarian relations, of the conditions of the peasants and the growth of the peasant movement.

Secondly: The place of the peasants in the Indonesian revolution is of great importance. Next to the working class, the vanguard, are the peasants, the basic force of the revolution and one of the two forces that make up the basis of the united national front (the other one being the working class); the peasants form one of the three driving forces of the

revolution (the other two being the workers and the petty bourgeoisie) and form one of the four forces of the united national front (the other three being the workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie).

Besides, the August 1945 Revolution in Indonesia has shown that the peasants are the source of food supplies for the revolution, the source of armed fighters for the revolution. The villages are the place to which the revolution retreats if it suffers setbacks in the towns and they are the basis for launching an attack against the enemy to regain towns previously surrendered. Furthermore, the peasants comprise a decisive force not only in implementing the national and democratic stage of the revolution in Indonesia, but also for its socialist stage. About 70 per cent of the 104 millions inhabiting Indonesia consists of peasants, who have a stake in building the socialist society of the future.

Thus, the work which is being carried out among the peasants today is not only to complete the national and democratic revolution, but also for the interests of the future of the Indonesian revolution, that is, socialism.

Indeed, so important is the role of the peasants in the Indonesian revolution that the latter cannot be successful without the organization and mobilization of the peasant masses. It is imperative for the Party to integrate itself with the peasants. This integration, mainly with the tens of millions of agricultural laborers and poor peasants, is a fundamental task today of the revolutionary movement against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and the remnants of feudalism.

Of course, the application of Marxism-

Leninism in Indonesia does not signify integrating the Party with the peasants only, but with all the forces taking part in the revolution. But since at the present stage the revolution is essentially an agrarian revolution, the key to its success is the integration of the Marxist-Leninist Party with the peasants, without neglecting even for a single moment its work in the ranks of its own class, the working class.

For the purpose of carrying out this task, it was necessary to conduct a research on the conditions of the peasants and the peasant movement.

Thirdly: Until now the Law on Crop-Sharing and the Basic Agrarian Law, officially promulgated in 1960 as the result of a bitter struggle conducted by the peasants, are not yet being implemented consistently. Breaking down the obstacles put up by reactionary forces in the villages, which obstruct the consistent implementation of these laws, is an urgent task. The research was designed to help the Party map out more concrete steps in this direction.

Fourthly: The investigation also envisaged training the necessary cadres well experienced in leading social research work. These cadres will be of great service to the Party in leading the revolutionary movement onward. Work of this kind enables us to weld even more closely research with Party work and makes it possible for revolutionary cadres to know better the life and struggle of the peasants.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHOOSING A CORRECT METHOD OF RESEARCH

As early as 1951, the Party began to make efforts to know better the Indonesian society and its revolution. Thanks to this the Party could draw up the theory of the Indonesian revolution, which guides the Party in leading the revolutionary movement forward.

But as regards the efforts to study the life and struggle of the peasants, the original approach, that of circulating questionnaires to be filled in by the cadres working among the peasantry, revealed weaknesses. True, this stimulated many cadres to try to know better the conditions of the peasants. They could report the sentiment and feeling of the peasants. They reported the disagreement of the peasants with the slogan urging "nationalization of all land" which had been advanced in the previous period of the struggle. Thanks to this, the Party adopted the correct slogan of "land to the peasant." It is also true that to carry out some research, even though making

some mistakes, is better than to put down a line of policy arbitrarily, without making any effort to know something of the realities beforehand.

But on the whole the facts and figures obtained through questionnaires had the shortcoming of being one-sided. As a rule they reflected only the subjective consideration of those who filled in the questionnaire, failing to take into account the objective interests of the subject under investigation. This method cannot provide an objective picture of the concrete realities in the Indonesian countryside.

Another method had to be found that would enable the Party really to grasp the concrete realities in the villages. The method of the "Three Togethers" was formulated, that is: *work together, eat together and sleep together* with the Peasants. This method enabled the Party cadres to establish direct contact with the agricultural laborers and the poor peasants.

To win the trust of agricultural laborers and poor peasants in order to obtain reliable information from them concerning their real conditions, their hardships, about the crimes committed by all kinds of rural exploiters, one has to work and live with them. And it was this method which was used by Comrade D. N. Aidit and all who took part in the four months' research.

This method was enriched with the experiences obtained in carrying out the research. The conclusion was drawn, that in order successfully to implement the method of the "Three Togethers" the researchers in the villages must adhere to the "Four Don'ts" and the "Four Musts." The "Four Don'ts" are: don't sleep under the roof of a rural exploiter; don't act as a superior talking down to the peasants; don't cause any material damage to the peasants, and don't take any notes when talking to the peasants. The "Four Musts" are: one must implement fully the "Three Togethers," one must be modest, and be willing to learn from the peasants; one must bear in mind the language, the manners and habits of the local population, and one must help the host and the peasants in solving their difficulties.

A cadre sent for research work in the villages should never accept any hospitality from a landlord, big farmer or any other village exploiter. Should he do so, he would never win the confidence of the agricultural laborers and the poor peasants and this would destroy any possibility of working with them.

The best accommodation for the cadre is

the home of the agricultural laborer or poor peasant. But the host family should be not one in extremely bad straits, because such a family is not in a position to help the research worker, however it may desire to do so. It is also wrong to stay in the house of a Party functionary in the village, even though he is an agricultural laborer or a poor peasant. This is because a Party functionary, being politically advanced, cannot express fully the sentiment and thoughts of the farm laborers and the poor peasants on all issues and this may hinder the objective study of realities in the villages.

As regards food, the researcher should adapt himself to the usual menu of the host. Therefore it is important for the cadre to know the daily menu of the host and act accordingly. If, for instance, he gives money to the host to buy rice, meat or eggs, while the host cannot provide such a "luxury" to his own daily menu, then this cadre would alienate himself from the host, would be regarded as a stranger in the house, would not obtain the trust of the peasant and his mission would end in failure. On the other hand, any arrangement which would be a burden for the host peasant must be strictly avoided.

Any action likely to arouse the suspicion of the peasants must be prevented. According to experience, the peasants show a certain reservation with regard to people who take written notes about their conditions. Such acts remind them of the evil practice of landlords, who put down everything, while the consequence of this is always bad for the peasants. The proper way is to engage in ordinary conversation, seemingly without any agenda, and make notes later.

In carrying out the "Three Together" method, the research cadres should join the peasants in all their daily work, on the fields and in the household. The peasants soon feel that the "strangers" are in fact one of themselves.

In the matter of educational work, the research has shown how important it is to launch a movement against the so-called "Five M's," in Indonesian: *main, minum, melatjur, maling, madat*, meaning: gambling, drunkenness, prostitution, stealing and drug addiction. These evils are cultivated deliberately among the peasants by landlords and other village exploiters with a view to drawing the peasants deeper into misery, undermining their morale and fighting spirit and thus keeping the position of the exploiters "out of danger." Therefore, the fight against the "Five M's" acquires political importance.

Reactionaries hurriedly declared the meth-

od of the "Three Together" unscientific. Agricultural laborers and poor peasants, they said, are at a very low level of culture, and, therefore, cannot possibly be relied upon as a source of material for any scientific research. These "highly cultured" gentlemen put their trust only in reports prepared by official authorities.

But the "facts and figures" of the official sources generally come from the exploiters in the villages, who are interested in covering up their exploitation and crimes, concealing the truth concerning the real situation in the villages.

It is the agricultural laborers and poor peasants who are directly interested in bringing to light all the secrets of exploitation in the villages. Therefore, the facts reported by the peasants are concrete, truthful and reliable, and the analysis and conclusion, drawn on the basis of these facts and the Marxist-Leninist method, are fully scientific.

Apart from this, the implementation of the "Three Together" method is of great ideological significance in moulding the character of revolutionary cadres. By doing the same hard manual work as is usually done by agricultural laborers and poor peasants, the revolutionary cadres learn to respect and come to like the masses of the working people, the creators of material values. Eating the same frugal meals and sleeping in the same conditions as the agricultural laborers and poor peasants, that is, living the same hard life of the people, steels the spirit of the revolutionary cadres and tempers their class stand. They learn to stand still better the test of hardship in life and struggle. They become still firmer in their determination to fight for the liberation of the people of Indonesia and to make their contribution to the liberation of the proletariat of the whole world.

ORGANIZING THE RESEARCH WORK

The success of the research was due not only to the correct method used, but also to the organization of the whole work.

Research teams were formed at various levels in accordance with the geographical and administrative division of the island of Java, such as the provincial and district teams, the sub-district and village assistance teams. The teams were composed of cadres of different levels in accordance with the tasks set for each team. For instance, the provincial teams were composed of members of the Provincial Committee of the Party leaders of mass organizations at provincial level and some comrades from among the intelligentsia, students and

educational workers. Members of the teams were all experienced in the mass movement and sufficiently educated in Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, they had to have a general education equal at least to that of the secondary school.

The targets of the research were clearly established. These were: the conditions of the peasants and the growth of the peasant movement. The aim was to improve the work of the Party and of the Peasant Front in awakening, organizing and mobilizing the peasants for the fight against village exploiters, and for the consistent implementation of the Law on Crop-Sharing and the Basic Agrarian Law.

The teams had the task of collecting facts about land ownership and class division, about concrete forms of exploitation, about the rural authorities, about the organization of peasants and the peasant movement, about the cultural level and customs and habits of the peasants, etc. These facts were collected in all the villages in 124 sub-districts, villages which have their respective peculiarities and which were selected with great care in order to ensure that all types of conditions would be reflected.

Another important organizational aspect of the research was the compiling of materials, which served as a guide for the teams, the drawing up of a detailed research schedule covering all stages of the work. Then, short courses were arranged for the team members to provide the clearest explanation of the tasks confronting the teams.

In the course of the work, control conferences at the levels concerned were convened with the task of summing up the results of the work done in the first few days, correcting mistakes and shortcomings, and drawing up lines of activity for the next stage of the work.

On the basis of the conclusions reached by these control conferences, the respective teams continued their work. This was followed by conferences held by teams at village, sub-district and district levels respectively, which made the final conclusions and provided the teams at a high level with written reports. Together with the report, a supplement was also forwarded containing more detailed information on concrete facts.

The overall conclusions covering all aspects of the research were drawn at the provincial research conference convened at the last stage of the work and attended not only by the researchers concerned but also by other cadres closely linked with the agricultural laborers and poor peasants.

A special commission was set up, compris-

ing the leading cadres of the Party and of mass organizations. With the assistance of this commission, Comrade Aidit compiled the final report on all aspects of the whole research.

RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH: CLASS DIVISION AND FORMS OF EXPLOITATION IN THE VILLAGES

As regards the class division in the villages of Indonesia, facts have confirmed once again the evaluation that landlords, money-lenders, middlemen, bureaucrat capitalists and big farmers are the exploiters while the working peasantry consists of middle peasants, poor peasants and farm laborers.

In coastal areas, where the majority of the inhabitants are fishermen, fishing-vessel owners and employers are the exploiters. There are, too, the forms of exploitation found in the other villages. The small fishermen, the poor fishermen and the fishermen working for wages comprise the masses of working people.

Big *landowners* own hundreds and even thousands of hectares. There are, too, smallholders farming three or four hectares from which they obtain very big incomes. This is due to the high fertility of the land and to the brutal exploitation of the laborers. The research showed that smaller landlords exploit the peasants as cruelly as those farming large areas. It can even be said that just because of their smaller farms they practice a more cruel exploitation.

Facts in the villages show that there are also patriotic landlords. True, their number is small. The latter are not so obstinate in resisting implementation of the Crop-Sharing Agreement and the Basic Agrarian Law and take a more or less passive attitude towards the peasant movement. They were against the reactionary Dar-ul Islam terrorist gangs at the time when they held sway in the villages. It is the greedy landlords, mainly members of the officially banned reactionary Masjumi and Right-wing Socialist Party, who actively oppose the peasant movement and resist progressive policies of the government such as the implementation of the above-mentioned two laws, the anti-"Malaysia" campaign, etc.

To a certain extent *rich peasants* also participate in farm work, but they leave part of their land to be tilled by laborers whom they exploit. Part of the land of rich peasants is tilled under rent conditions. But the role of rich peasants is different from that of the landlords. Rich peasants are not openly hostile to the revolutionary peasant movement. They can even unite with the peasant move-

ment to attain certain aims. The rich peasants can be induced to take a neutral attitude in the struggle of the peasants against the landlords.

The practice of lending money at very high interest by *money-lenders* puts the peasants under a heavy burden of debts from which they cannot escape.

Another village exploiter is what is known in Indonesia as the *idjon-dealer*. He is a middleman who buys the products of the peasants at a low price before the crop is ripe ("Idjo" - green) and re-sells them for a price many times higher than he paid for them.

There are other *middlemen* who in addition to buying the products of the peasants sell them daily necessities brought from the towns. This brings them huge profits at the expense of the peasants.

Finally, among the village exploiters mention should also be made of the *bureaucrat capitalists*, who misuse state money to bring pressure to bear on the peasants to sell their products to their bureaucrat capitalist enterprises in the towns.

As mentioned above, among the working peasantry there are the *middle peasants*. They till their own land, and obtain from it just enough to meet the needs of the family. The top ranks of the middle peasants, small in number, become rich peasants. But the majority of the middle peasants are continuously threatened with bankruptcy by the middlemen and money-lenders.

The ranks of the middle peasants are replenished by agricultural laborers and poor peasants who have received land as a result of the victories of the peasant movement. The problem arises of organizing the middle peasants, old and new, in cooperatives capable of safeguarding their interests and keeping them within the ranks of the revolutionary peasant movement.

Then there are the *poor peasants* or the village semi-proletariat who own small plots which do not yield enough to meet their daily needs. They are forced to work for others or to do jobs on the side, such as handicrafts and petty trade. Many of them are compelled to leave their villages and go to the towns in search of work and return to their village at harvest time when there is work to be done.

Lastly, there are the *farm laborers* or *village proletariat*, who have no land and live only by selling their labor power. At times when there is no work in the fields, they work on the side gathering and selling fallen branches of trees. Not infrequently they eat leaves or whatever they find to hand. Laborers also leave their villages for the towns in

search of a livelihood and then return at harvest time. There are also those who become fishermen working for wages.

Apart from the above-mentioned categories, there are in the villages also *handicraftsmen* and *artisans*, *rural intellectuals*, mainly school-teachers and artists. In general these groups, too, live a poor life, and are victims of the money-lenders and other exploiters.

Then there are officials who misuse their functions in the local government on behalf of the village exploiters or who become exploiters themselves. And lastly, there are the *rural bandits*, hooligans, toughs, etc., hired by landlords, the bureaucrat capitalists and others to do their dirty work.

The significance of defining the class divisions on the basis of a concrete analysis of the realities in the villages is that the peasant movement can objectively see the target on which the actions must be concentrated. The research has demonstrated that the peasant movement in Indonesia at present must be spearheaded against: *the bad landlords, usurious money-lenders, dishonest middlemen, idjon-dealers, corrupt authorities, bureaucrat capitalists and village bandits* or, as they are called popularly among the peasants, the "seven devils."

By establishing the target against which the movement must be spearheaded, two erroneous trends which hitherto prevailed among the cadres of the peasant movement have been eradicated. The first trend was the recognition of the enemies of the peasants only in general terms, while the second was the endless search and talk about the specific features of the enemies. Neither trend can fix the concrete targets for the daily actions of the peasants.

With the eradication of the erroneous trends and the fixing of the targets, the struggle in the village has risen to higher levels.

As regards political rule in the villages, it can be said that there are villages where it is representative both of those for the people and those against the people, while in other villages it is completely in the hands of bad landlords and other "rural devils." In view of this, the attitude of the peasant movement is shaped in accordance with the concrete character of political rule in each village.

In quite a number of villages the reactionary rule of the "rural devils" has been overthrown and replaced by democrats. But rural administration is still based on the system inherited from the colonial regime and is colonial and feudal in character. This system provides the administrative officials with an income which is derived from feudal exploita-

tion. In other words, the landlords share part of their profits with the authorities. This explains why at times even democrats take the side of the "rural devils" and oppose the peasant movement. The Party and the revolutionary peasant movement are struggling to put an end to the colonial and feudal system of local government and to replace it with a democratic autonomous system of administration throughout Indonesia.

The research has confirmed the correctness of the evaluation of the Party that four features of feudalism still exist in Indonesia at present. These are: 1) landlord monopoly of land; 2) land rent paid in kind; 3) land rent in the form of labor for the landlord; 4) debts which heavily oppress the peasants.

The process of land concentration in the hands of landlords is still going on. This takes place through various kinds of land-mortgages, loans at high interest, etc. Inflation and the declining standard of living accelerate this process. Many big farmers become landlords in the process.

On the other hand, the standard of living of the farm laborers, poor peasants and other exploited villagers is continuously declining as the result of growing exploitation, the main form of which is land rent. Rent in kind has various forms. At first glance it may appear that under the system known as "dividing the products in two" one half goes to the landowner and the other half to the tiller. But in practice the tiller bears the burden of taxes, buying seed, and financial obligation to the local authorities. He even has to bear all the consequences of crop failure due to draught, flooding and plant disease. Therefore, in practice, the tiller derives precious little from his hard and diligent labor, whereas the landlord derives huge income for doing nothing.

Then there is the land rent in the form of labor for the landlord. If, for instance, the peasant tills eight squares of rice field, he must do the work on three squares on the basis of "dividing the products in two," while the entire crop from the five squares goes to the landlord. Thus, this form of land rent is even more shackling.

Besides, there are many other forms of exploitation of the peasants. They become the target of brutal exploitation by the "rural devils" from the sowing of the paddy until the crop is gathered, and further, when they sell the products in order to buy daily necessities. Thus, all production activity of the peasants is controlled by the village exploiters.

There are, moreover, all kinds of "duties" to be fulfilled by the peasants for the rural

authorities. Among these are: work ordered by the authorities, guarding the house of the village elder, serving as nightwatchman, presenting the best quality meat to the village elder when the peasant slaughters stock, presenting varieties of good food and other delicacies to the village elder whenever he holds a celebration or when the peasant himself seeks permission to hold a celebration — all this without receiving a single cent of pay.

Nor do the bureaucrat capitalists lag in cheating and exploiting the peasants. Controlling the state enterprises, they exhaust the land of state-owned plantations and forests. Among other things, they allow land-hungry peasants to till a part of the land on condition that the peasant pays a certain big amount of "key-money" for it. And there is always the danger that the peasant tilling plantation or forest lands can be evicted at whim.

Then there are the fake cooperatives, which in fact are controlled by the exploiters and through which they conduct various manipulations at the expense of the peasants. These include, for instance, the so-called "rural cooperatives" organized by the authorities. All the peasants living in the village are automatically made members. In practice, the peasant is forced to sell certain products only to the "cooperative" for prices lower than those on the free market. The "inspectors" of these cooperatives control the sale of products by the peasants, order peasants who have not sold their products to the "cooperative" to give the excess money they obtained from the sale on the side, and even beat them at whim.

All this shows the sharpening of the contradictions in the villages between exploiters and exploited. It shows also that the feudal elements, far from disappearing, are, on the contrary, intensifying their exploitation.

The decline in the standard of living of the classes constituting the basic productive forces in the villages has resulted in a decline in labor productivity, which in turn endangers agriculture as a whole.

The only way to release the productive forces in the villages and in the economy generally is to smash all "rural devils" by abolishing all survivals of feudalism and imperialism in order to build up an independent national economy.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEASANTS AGAINST THE VILLAGE EXPLOITERS

Despite the fact that political power in the villages is mainly in the hands of corrupt authorities acting on behalf of the landlords and other exploiters, the peasants are able to inflict hard blows on the village exploiters

in the economic as well as in the political field. This is due to the fact that the peasants have been aroused, organized and mobilized to fight under correct leadership.

The research confirms that the awakening of political consciousness among the peasants and fishermen is closely linked with the activity of the Party and the revolutionary movement in the villages. Wherever the Party is active, conducts revolutionary propaganda, helps the peasants to organize themselves and gives them leadership, the political consciousness of the peasants and fishermen develops very rapidly. This in turn signifies that the crimes of the exploiters are brought to light, while hypocrisy and superstition are exposed and discredited. Mentally the peasants are no longer slaves of the landlords, but feel themselves free human beings fighting for a better future.

In the course of the struggle the confidence of the peasants in their own strength deepens, and their belief in the concept that they must become their own liberators grows. Based on this consciousness, the actions of the peasants to carry out the Basic Agrarian Law and the Law on Crop-Sharing are extending and the "rural devils" are being cornered. And because they are being cornered, the bad landlords react against the peasant movement by using the bad elements in the village administration to sow strife and discord between the peasants and the armed forces, by engaging in terrorist actions against revolutionary cadres of the peasant movement.

But the peasants are beginning to act ever more skilfully. With the guidance of the Party they are setting their sights on concrete targets acting on a broad front.

Thanks to this, more and more patriotic and democratic forces, including civil and military officials, are coming to understand and to cooperate with the peasant movement, and even to uphold the interests of the peasants.

The deeper the political consciousness of the peasants the better are the conditions for strengthening the united national front based on the alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat. This is also the guarantee of the peasants' liberation from feudal oppression and exploitation.

The pattern of the village in Indonesia has changed. The political consciousness of the

masses of the peasants is growing due to the political, organizational and ideological consolidation of the Communist Party and the Peasant Front. This is manifested, for instance, in the peasants participating together with the workers in actions for taking over the British plantations and enterprises, in joining the solidarity campaign with the people of North Kalimantan, against the British neo-colonialist project of "Malaysia," in support of the people of Vietnam fighting against aggressive U.S. imperialism, against the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, for driving the U.S. "Peace Corps" out of Indonesia, etc.

An important feature is that the growth of peasant actions against feudal survivals in the villages is playing an important role in strengthening the anti-imperialist struggle of the nation.

The sharpening of the contradictions between the peasants and the rural exploiters and the intensified actions of the peasants directly influence the political development in the towns and in the capital. This is because the development of the revolutionary situation in the villages is being pushed ahead by the political forces in the towns, organized by the proletariat and other revolutionary forces. It is also because the "devils" in the villages maintain political and economic relations with the reactionaries in the towns and in the capital.

The revolutionary movement in the Indonesian countryside is on the upsurge. Everybody, every group and every political party is challenged by this fact to take a definite stand. One can choose between the stands of which Comrade Aidit spoke at the Second National Conference of Peasants: "Standing in front of the peasants and leading them, standing beside or behind the peasants and ridiculing them, or standing in front of the peasants and fighting them with fixed bayonet."

Indonesian Communists are determined to integrate their Marxist-Leninist Party with the peasants, to make the peasants the most reliable ally of the proletariat and a militant force in the struggle for the success of the national and democratic revolution in Indonesia, thus making their contribution to the advance of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the world.

Land reforms in the UAR, Syria and Iraq

AL-SALTI

WITH THE WINNING of political independence agrarian reform became the most important demand of the Arab national-liberation movement. This is understandable, for peasants comprise the bulk of the population in the Arab countries. From 62 to 68 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture in the UAR, Syria and Iraq, in Jordan 70 to 75 per cent, with agriculture accounting for 50 to 75 per cent of the national income.

The peasantry, forming the mass base of the national-liberation movement, is the chief ally of the working class. The attitude of the peasantry largely determines the development of the revolutionary movement in the Arab countries. Therefore an analysis of the relations and changes in the agriculture of these countries is of topical significance.

I

Until recently, big feudal and feudal-type landownership and small peasant farming predominated in the agriculture of the Arab countries. Prior to the land reform in the UAR 35.5 per cent of the cultivated area belonged to smallholders farming 2.1 hectares and less, and 64.5 per cent, to holders of bigger farms. About 12.1 million peasants had no land at all. Prior to the July revolution of 1958 in Iraq, only 3.5 per cent of the peasant families possessed land, and about 739,000 families were landless.

The level of development of agriculture was extremely low, and the peasants lived in misery. The cultivated area comprised 2.5 per cent of the total territory of the country in the UAR, 12 to 16 per cent in Iraq, and 37

per cent in Syria. Water resources are not adequately used.

Agrarian reform was an objective economic necessity in the Arab countries. Abolition of big landownership and deliverance of the peasants from the various forms of feudal and semi-feudal dependence are indispensable for progress and combating the poverty and ignorance of the peasant masses.

The UAR was the first to launch reforms in agriculture. The land reform of 1952 limited the maximum size of individual holdings to 200 feddans (about 84 hectares) and that of the holdings the owners were allowed to transmit to their children, to 100 feddans per family. In 1961 the maximum was reduced to 100 feddans per family. The land expropriated from the feudal owners became state property; it was sold to landless and land-hungry peasants with payments spread over 30 to 40 years.

In Syria, the agrarian reform law of 1958 fixed the maximum at 460 hectares on non-irrigated land and 120 hectares on irrigated land. In June 1963 another law reduced the per-man maximum to 100 and 15-50 hectares respectively. The law adopted in Iraq after the revolution of July 1958 limited the size of holdings to 500 hectares on non-irrigated land and 250 hectares on irrigated land.

This curbing of feudal land ownership not only undermined the system of feudal and feudal-type land tenure, it also promoted further changes in agriculture and concentrated the attention of the progressive forces on the need for a more radical solution of the agrarian problem. In the UAR, for instance, the land reform law of 1952 was followed by the more

radical decrees of 1961, which not only halved the maximum size of private holdings, but confiscated all lands held by foreign companies and reduced rent by 50 per cent. The use of land in excess of the law-established limit was prohibited. The right to lease land was given only to small peasants, who were exempted from half of their debt. All land expropriated after 1962 became the property of the state, which also took over all sequestered property and funds and the property of the feudal owners.

According to official data, 234,000 hectares of new land were brought under cultivation in the UAR. By the end of 1965 this area will have reached 265,400 hectares and by the end of 1970, 357,000. This land is being distributed among landless peasants. This is an impressive figure, especially when compared with the state of things prior to 1952. In all, 840,000 hectares are to be reclaimed. These plans are made feasible by the construction with Soviet help, of the Aswan Dam, which will be instrumental in developing large-scale mechanized farming. The project will generate 10,000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity annually. With its completion annual income from agriculture is expected to grow by 120 million Egyptian pounds.

These reforms have been accompanied by other important measures, such as the establishment of a ceiling for land rent, a three-year term of lease, and a seven-hour day and a minimum daily wage of 12 piasters for agricultural laborers. As a result, peasant incomes have risen. Many districts have acquired their first schools and medical aid centers and good drinking water.

Despite their positive significance, the land reforms in the UAR, Syria and Iraq were not free from serious shortcomings.

First, mention should be made of their limited character and exceedingly slow implementation.

In the UAR, despite a further reduction of the maximum size of landholdings in 1961, 546,000 hectares, or 21 per cent of the total sown area, remain in the hands of four per cent of the holders. Moreover, the terms of compensation have remained unchanged. According to official data, towards the middle of 1964 the state had expropriated 396,400 hectares and distributed 256,200 among 230,000 peasant families (approximately one million people). At present 95 per cent of the rural residents own about half of the cultivated area. At the same time, as the *Roz El Yusef* magazine pointed out, some landowners used their connections with the administration to retain 500 and more hectares each. Latent un-

employment still exists in the Egyptian countryside. The conditions of the peasants, hard as they are, are aggravated by the gap between the rate of growth of the cultivated area and that of growth of the rural population.

In Syria the reform applied to the land held by 3,240 feudals and other big landowners. But even if all this land (approximately 1.5 million hectares) were distributed, only 15 per cent of the peasants in need of land would get it. The area expropriated in 1962 amounted to 49,828 hectares. In 1963 another 38,933 hectares were expropriated and 14,686 hectares were distributed among 1,118 peasant families.

In Iraq, 1,750,000 hectares were expropriated in the first five years of the reform, but only 96,500 hectares were distributed. About 68.7 per cent of the peasant families remain landless. If expropriation proceeds at the same pace, it will be completed only in 1970 and the distribution of land, 216 years hence.

Second, the land reform laws allow big owners to retain large holdings and choose the land they wish to keep. Small wonder that some peasants refused to take the land due them under the reform, as unfit for cultivation. Besides, there were exceptions and ambiguous stipulations in the laws which enabled big owners to get round them.

Third, the agrarian reform laws provided for compensation to the big owners while establishing high prices for the land sold to the peasants. During the initial stage of the agrarian reform in the UAR the price of one feddan was 70 times higher than the land tax; the peasant had to pay from 140 to 280 Egyptian pounds for this patch. The price of a feddan of land with buildings reached £219E and the land bought directly from a feudal owner was priced at £200E per feddan. It was only after the decrees of 1961 and 1962 that the government exempted the peasants from paying part of the compensation and reduced the price of land.

In Syria the sum paid in compensation was ten times the average rent for the complete agricultural cycle of three years.

Compensation is not the only source of accumulation for the big owners; they are aided, directly and indirectly, by the state. They can lease land from the state, although the law gives this right only to small peasants, and they can use the means at their disposal to carry on modern capitalist farming on the fertile land retained by them.

II

What is the explanation for the fact that

the land reforms in the Arab countries have not been deep-going and that their implementation has been impeded? What is the attitude of the various classes to these reforms and how is the agrarian problem to be solved?

The revolutions in these countries were of a national-democratic character, elimination of colonial rule and feudalism being their chief purpose. They developed at a time when the world balance of forces had shifted in favor of socialism and the national-liberation movement, that of the Arab peoples included.

On the internal plane, these revolutions represent a new stage in the struggle of the peoples, a stage characterized by an aggravation of social contradictions. The attitude of the various classes, social strata and individuals to socio-economic changes, including agrarian reform, depends directly on their relationship to the means of production and on the place each occupies in the system of social production. The contradictions between their economic interests is expressed in political and ideological struggle, irrespective of whether waged consciously or not, directly or in camouflaged form.

In the development of Egypt and other Arab countries the big bourgeoisie succeeded in penetrating into the countryside despite the resistance initially put up by the feudal class, and its interests there gradually became interlinked with those of the feudals. This compelled it not only to refrain from effecting agrarian reform, but also to oppose any call for it. The pre-revolutionary history of the UAR and Iraq and even the history of Syria, the first Arab country to win political independence, furnishes an example of alliance between the big bourgeoisie and the feudal owners.

The military and the intellectuals, most of whom came from among the middle bourgeoisie and the small urban and rural bourgeoisie, played the main part in the Egyptian revolution of 1952 and the Iraqi revolution of 1958. They came to power and retained power thanks to the support of the working class, peasantry, small urban bourgeoisie and part of the national bourgeoisie, as well as the world forces of socialism and progress.

The leading revolutionaries and the working population realized that deliverance from the colonial yoke was only the first, though very important, step towards freedom from social oppression. Therefore upon coming to power, they delivered a heavy blow at the feudal class, depriving it of political influence. But the economic influence of this class was not completely eliminated, but only somewhat limited. The feudal class used this in-

fluence to bring pressure to bear on the government. It should be added that the big bourgeoisie continued to exert influence on the development of the country, relying on its economic strength and the support of the colonialists and imperialists. In the UAR this state of things lasted until 1961 and in Syria, till early 1965. In Iraq it is much in evidence now as well.

The attitude of the national bourgeoisie not connected with the monopolies, feudals and imperialism was somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, it sought to carry out the land reform within the limits which would enable it to abolish or reduce the absolute land rent paid to the feudal landowners. It wanted the surplus value to flow into its own hands as a result of free investment of capital into agriculture. On the other hand, the national bourgeoisie feared the struggle of the working people, who might deprive it of its property. Therefore it applied strong pressure in favor of a partial agrarian reform. Hence the fairly generous limits for property, the high compensation, the transfer or the leasing of state-owned property to the big landlords, and so on.

This contradictory attitude of the national bourgeoisie was supported by the neo-colonialists. Aware of the import of the social movement in the developing countries against the corrupt feudal system in the countryside and anxious to utilize this movement in their economic and ideological struggle, the neo-colonialists put forward the slogan of agrarian reform within the framework of capitalist relations and began to cooperate with the national bourgeoisie.

Two main trends are apparent in the attitude of the national bourgeoisie to agrarian reform. *The first* is represented by that part of the middle and small bourgeoisie which in most cases is directly engaged in production utilizing wage labor. It regards agrarian reform as a means of increasing the purchasing capacity of the peasants and thus promoting its business activity. It was the biggest gainer from the land reform, which strengthened the positions of the rich peasants. In the UAR, for instance, the share of the land owned by rich peasants grew from 10.9 per cent in 1952 to 13.4 per cent in 1962.

The second trend is represented by elements of the small and partly middle bourgeoisie whose experience tells them that semi-feudal and capitalist relations will only worsen their conditions. Their small shops and farms may be closed down at any moment, leading to their ruin.

Therefore this part of the bourgeoisie gra-

vitates towards the working classes fighting against social oppression. It can become their real ally given a flexible policy taking into account its interests. Correct political and ideological work can result in its giving up the wait-and-see attitude and joining in the struggle. The objective social position of these sections of the bourgeoisie explains their more resolute attitude to the reforms in the Arab countries, the land reform included. They have produced many revolutionaries who formed the core of progressive and democratic parties. These forces have not succumbed to the pressure of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie; they have changed or are changing in the process of changing their old hesitant and contradictory views.

III

To obstruct the land reform, the hostile and vacillating elements employed two chief means:

1) *restriction of democracy*. In this way the reactionaries prevented the peasants' active participation in the implementation of the land reform. At the same time the feudal owners continued plotting against the central authority. In resisting the land reform they staged rebellions (as was the case in Egypt), sabotaged agriculture, bullied peasants, drove them from the land given them by the reform, restored the old practices of crop distribution, etc. Remaining a reliable base of support of imperialism in the Arab countries, the feudals have not laid down arms and will not lay them down as long as the possibilities for restoration of their rule exist.

As can be seen from the example of the UAR, Iraq and Syria, in their struggle against democracy the feudals and the big bourgeoisie strove to prevent the masses from taking part in political life and, consequently, in running the country. Regrettably, democratic freedoms in the majority of the Arab countries remain limited.

The success that can be achieved in implementing land reform where the peasants enjoy democratic freedoms are illustrated by the experience not only of the socialist countries. For example, prior to the middle of 1959, when democratic freedoms existed in Iraq, the peasants had been able to hold their congress and formed organizations to uphold the gains of the July revolution and to fight for their economic demands. Within a short space of time 275,000 hectares were expropriated from the landlords thanks to the direct participation of the peasants;

2) *use of the administrative machinery*.

Despite certain reforms, the old reactionary and bureaucratic machinery inherited from the imperialist and feudal regime has remained largely intact. It is incapable of keeping up with the deep-going changes taking place in the Arab countries. It is infested with officials who use their high posts to obstruct economic and social changes, the land reform included. It is these people who, as is generally known, engineer all kinds of conspiracies against the government, taking advantage of the absence of genuine democracy. UAR President Nasser declared in his National Assembly speech on November 12, 1964, that the machinery of state remained essentially unchanged and that in the transitional period bureaucratic trends were a considerable force which employed all means to secure privileges. He noted that the utmost extension of democracy was the chief weapon against bureaucracy and the only guarantee for control by the people to gain ascendancy over the executive power.

To replace the reactionary bureaucratic apparatus by a popular apparatus is a difficult task which can be accomplished only through bold revolutionary measures. Encouraging signs of this, such as the guaranteeing of certain, though limited, democratic freedoms, steps to reorganize the administration, and others, have appeared in the UAR and Syria. It is to be hoped that these initial measures will be followed by more resolute and effective ones, and not only in the UAR and Syria, but also in Iraq and in the other Arab countries.

The agricultural laborers and peasants, the poor who make up the overwhelming majority of the rural population, are the main force vitally interested in a radical land reform carried through to the end, and they should unite in an independent democratic organization to be able to play their progressive role in the countryside.

The experience of the land reforms in the UAR, Syria and Iraq shows that partial restriction of big land ownership does not solve the agrarian problem, nor does it promote the rapid development of agriculture and improve the conditions of the peasants.

The Arab peasants and agriculture as a whole are beset by a host of difficulties originating from the very nature of individual peasant farming. There has appeared in the UAR a trend not to divide the land to be reclaimed thanks to the Aswan Dam, but to form state-owned cooperatives on it.

Unity of action of the poor peasants and the working class, on the one hand, and the revolutionary part of the urban and rural small bourgeoisie, on the other, is essential

for the consistent radical and democratic solution of the agrarian problem and for foiling the conspiracies of the imperialists and the home reactionaries.

The present favorable conditions for establishing this unity and the socio-economic changes in a number of Arab countries, including changes in agriculture, facilitate the struggle of the peasants in the other Arab countries, specifically in Jordan, where the agrarian problem has not been tackled yet.

Agrarian reform is acquiring increasing urgency in Jordan. This problem is bound to

confront any national government anxious to put an end to the backwardness of its country. It would be premature to speak about Jordan's future development, specifically the way the land reform will be carried out there. Whether Jordan will follow the path of the UAR, Algeria and Syria or whether its development will take a different course will be determined by the magnitude of the struggle, the cooperation of the revolutionary forces, and the correlation of forces in the country, in the Arab world and on a world scale.

Role of the Communist Parties in some developed capitalist countries

Recently World Marxist Review organized a round-table meeting in Prague on problems of the mass movement in some developed capitalist countries and the role of Communists in these movements. Speakers included: L. Aarons (Australia), E. Zucker-Schilling (Austria), W. Kashtan and N. Morgan (Canada), Ib Noerlund (Denmark), G. Oehman (Sweden), H. Lumer and M. Thomas (USA).

Below we print an abridged transcript of the exchange of views.

THE SUBJECT-MATTER of this meeting, said W. Kashtan, is of a nature that would be of concern to the small parties in the capitalist world. We are dealing here with complex problems and, obviously, there are no simple or easy solutions to them. From our standpoint, the essential question we need to focus attention on is, what are the obstacles, objective and subjective, standing in the way of the smaller parties becoming a major political force in their respective countries.

CAPITALIST REALITY: ITS CONTRADICTIONS AND PROBLEMS

In Canada and most other capitalist countries economic expansion and growth of the productive forces have been characteristic of the postwar. This has resulted in relatively high employment for the working class and has made it possible for the capitalists to make concessions to the working class and, in turn, has placed the working class in a more favorable position to wrest concessions from the capitalists. Characteristic of the workers' struggle in the postwar years is the striving for new gains, new advances. A consequence of this is a widespread reformist thinking, whether bourgeois reformism or social reformism. The desire for democratic reforms is the main characteristic of the level of thinking of the working class with a very small minority having a revolutionary outlook.

Within this context our Party and, I think, many other parties, are confronted with the problem: how does a revolutionary party work in a non-revolutionary situation when the masses do not yet realize the need for revolutionary changes? How do these parties in these conditions become mass parties? The answer is not only that we should work better, although that is important, but also try to estimate those objective factors that are operating today, their nature and the elements of contradiction within them.

The conditions in our country today are characterized by a very high level of fluidity in politics. That is why we are concerned with the need to grapple with these questions: how should the Communist parties work in present-day conditions and how to find the way to become a major political force in their respective countries? There are no short cuts here. What is needed is greater clarity with respect to perspective, both in terms of immediate and long-term aims, thus enabling Party members to see the path forward with a greater measure of confidence.

In the so-called boom period, said Ib Noerlund, capitalist profits, far from diminishing, have reached unprecedented levels. In this sense, we can speak about an intensified domination of the capitalist class. The processes that have taken place in these years are not reduced solely to "concessions" made by the monopolies. Concessions can be a means of

exploitation, "investments" on which solid interests can be raised. Thus, the policy of concessions is part of the general system of capitalist exploitation, under which the monopolies squeeze more and more out of the people while the latter, in their mass, have not tumbled to this.

In Denmark the working people are no longer demanding merely an elementary standard of living; they feel keenly the extreme fatigue brought about by the steady intensification of labor and a number of other factors. Therefore in their fight for better conditions they at times give preference to shorter working hours rather than to higher wages. Excessive nervous strain increases the need for recreation and relaxation. This lays an imprint on social life as a whole, including its cultural forms, on sports, the "entertainment industry," etc.

The maltreatment of the working man by capitalist society calls for a deeper study. It is necessary to examine more concretely the forms in which people experience capitalist exploitation and oppression, for therein lies the point of departure for present-day mass movements. We must express and formulate new requirements arising under modern capitalism.

Noerlund also spoke about the relationship between the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the socialist world. The successes of the socialist world in different spheres bring pressure to bear on the capitalists. In Denmark, for example, it was the impact of Soviet progress in education and science that sparked off a discussion on reform of the education system. Given the existence of the two world systems slander against socialism and belittling its role are one of the chief methods of the monopolies in the struggle against their own working class. The struggle for the correct assessment of the role of the socialist countries in the world today is a necessary link in the activity of each Communist party.

Noerlund's remarks about the new forms of exploitation can serve as a point of departure in analyzing the objective conditions in the United States, said *H. Lumer*. The relative prosperity of the United States economy throughout the postwar and the domination of policies of class collaboration in the labor movement have resulted in a long process of negotiating increases in wages at the price of working conditions. In return for these packages the large corporations were given greater freedom in setting standards of work. They have used this to intensify speed-up.

In the United States the working class has been affected by automation to a greater degree than in any other country. Automation has produced a considerable displacement of workers in basic industries. It has created a growing sense of insecurity and has made the problems of job security, conditions of labor and work rules the major issues in the struggle of the labor movement rather than the question of wages.

Speakers pointed out that the question of the

postwar economic struggle is a most important one. Communists were for a long time inclined to believe that a new economic catastrophe, like the 1929 crisis, would occur. Today they should make a thorough study of the situation in this respect, which would enable them to reach more definite and correct conclusions. Modern monopoly capitalism poses more than enough problems. It is important to concentrate on these real problems and discuss how the people's conditions are affected by the pressure of monopoly capitalism. Some say that the workers have become passive, too tied to the family; they have a refrigerator, TV, radio and heavens knows what. But in their contributions speakers demonstrated that the objective conditions in the capitalist countries impel the working class to fight, that the working class wants and continues to fight.

In fact, mass struggles in a number of capitalist countries have grown particularly during the boom. Hence it is particularly important to tackle the problems that modern monopoly capitalism, the so-called "affluent society" poses before the people. Speakers stressed the need to take up such issues as the distribution of industry, town-planning, traffic problems, etc., to carry out a great deal of work with a view to making a more profound study of capitalist reality on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and to developing an alternative program on every issue of vital concern to the people. This is the road for the Communists to take.

Much has been said here about the high level of business activity in some developed capitalist countries, said *N. Morgan*. And while we take this into account, it is but one side of the development, and unless we examine the others we shall be in danger of oversimplifying the problem. Economic activity in Canada is at the highest level in the past ten years, and corporation profits, too, are at the highest level in the history of the country.

While the economy is breaking records for production and for corporation profits, there are 250,000 workers still registered as "chronically unemployed." In the part of the country that I come from (where the trade union movement is strongest and where average wages are the highest in the country), the government welfare department recently reported that 15 to 17 per cent of the population live in conditions of "poverty." It is also undeniable that monopoly prices have forced the cost of living to an all time high.

NEW FEATURES OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

This state of affairs has prompted widespread action by the people against the monopolies. The workers have demonstrated that they are no longer satisfied with the usual demands for wages, fringe benefits and better conditions. They want shorter hours, longer holidays, better pensions, and now they are putting forward demands to obtain protection from the negative effects of automation.

I. Noerlund dwelt on the possibilities being opened up to the working-class movement by the growth of state regulation, when the economic and trade union struggle of necessity leads also to political demands. Are these possibilities utilized in full measure? Does the trade union struggle grow over into political struggle? In Denmark the working class still lags behind in promoting these forms of the class struggle. To a certain extent this is a result of syndicalist prejudices in the trade unions. Even among the Left in the trade union movement the view is held that unions should steer clear of politics. But a circumstance of even greater importance is the feeling of helplessness in the face of complex politico-economic problems associated with the policy of inflation, "incomes policy," etc.

We can develop the class struggle by advancing concrete programs, concrete plans, suggesting solutions to current issues. It is necessary to see to it that these programs give rise to mass movements. One of the tasks arising in this connection is the fight for democracy in the enterprises. We maintain that this breaks the ground for deepening the consciousness of the workers. Our Party does not give priority to the demand for nationalization. While we do not belittle the significance of nationalization, we hold that the demand for democracy in the enterprises is more appropriate to the democratic traditions of the Danish people and contributes to their development.

Our experience shows that democratic mass movements can take place in conditions of high business activity. One could even say that these conditions are in a way more favorable, since the worker has less fear of victimization. Some of the years of the boom period were record years for the number of strikes in our country. True, there is another aspect to this question—attitudes of passivity and indifference. But all the experience teaches that we should not sit down in anticipation of a "crisis." On the contrary, we should steer the course towards developing mass movements also in conditions of high economic activity.

In Austria, said E. Zucker-Schilling, we regard the struggle for the right of workers to have a say in economic management as a lever for developing the mass movement. In essence, this is a matter of extending democracy. The scale of public ownership in Austria signifies more favorable conditions for the demand that the workers should have a say in determining the economic policy. The nationalized sector serves as the basis of and point of departure for the fight for co-management.

When we speak about the right to co-management, this naturally is not just a matter of our desire to reform capitalism. What we want is not consolidation of capitalism but its abolition—through basically peaceful development but not without struggle. It is here, in our opinion, that the opportunity arises to show the masses, through the experience of their own struggle, the difference between our policy of peaceful

advance to socialism and the Social Democratic line towards "social partnership" and embellishment of capitalism.

Another important lever is the struggle for a truly democratic franchise, for the freedom of public expression, and the freedom of radio and television. Today, at the present stage of technological progress and the development of mass communications media, the demand for democratic freedom of radio and television plays the same mobilizing role as was played in the earlier stages of the working-class movement by the slogan of freedom of speech, the press and assembly. This is the question of continuous political struggle, and an essential key to the development of a broad mass movement.

In the past we tended to sneer at the term "economic democracy," said W. Kashtan, condemning it as creating illusions about what could be won under capitalism. I think we should pick up that concept as the framework within which to advance the fight of the working class in terms of extending their rights with respect to production, and with respect to their right to be a factor in deciding the economic development of their countries. In our country the trade union movement is facing up to this question, the right to have a say with regard to economic development. We, of course, support that and try to stimulate and deepen it. And this is related to the necessity of having a democratic alternative to the policies of monopoly, sufficiently concrete to stimulate action around proposals that are rooted in reality and which the working class can resolve already at this stage.

Another aspect of the fight for democracy is the economic advance of the socialist world. In the same way as the historical struggle between capitalism and socialism in the economic field will be decisive in accelerating the process of socialist advance in the capitalist world, so too, in my view, the competition of socialist democracy versus the formal democracy in the capitalist world will be equally significant in quickening socialist thinking among the working people in the capitalist countries.

While posing some of these questions our Party is not sitting on its hands. The program of action adopted by its Eighteenth National Convention advances a working-class, democratic alternative to the policies of monopoly. We do not believe that we must first become a mass party in order to advance a correct policy and to fight for it. Even a small party, as we know from experience, can be an effective force if its policies are correct and if it tries to bring these policies to the working people. And this is exactly what we are striving to do. At the same time we feel the need for a greater degree of concreteness of approach in the development of our program that will help our Party to become an inalienable part of the broad movement of the people. Movements are developing continuously, sometimes spontane-

ously, and our Party is faced with the need to advance correct slogans which help to give a direction of perspective to these movements.

In the United States, too, mass movements are shaping up which promise to have very profound social consequences, said *H. Lumer*. The effects of automation have created new problems for the labor movement, problems of a type which have not existed before, and the labor movement has been compelled to seek new methods of meeting them. The displacement of workers by automation has been dealt with, in a growing number of cases, by negotiating so-called automation agreements. In these agreements the jobs of the workers employed in an enterprise are guaranteed in return for giving the owners of the enterprise the right to introduce new techniques freely. The best of these agreements, however, have proved unsatisfactory. What happens is that the company simply reduces its labor force not by discharging workers but by not hiring new workers to replace those who leave. On the other hand, the union ends by sacrificing its control over standards of work in many important respects. Hence the desire to find more satisfactory methods for dealing with this problem. This has compelled the unions to raise questions of a much deeper character, and has opened up questions which have not been seriously discussed in the American labor movement for a long time.

Among these is the question of nationalization. The railway unions recently called for nationalization of the railways. Mike Quill, President of the Transport Workers' Union, has gone farther and called for the nationalization of all big industries as a means of dealing with the problem of the destruction of the jobs of workers by new techniques. Thus, there has appeared the beginnings of a deeper probing among some sections of the labor movement and among some of its leaders, a search for solutions going beyond the usual types of contract negotiations that unions engage in.

The central issue in our country is the Negro freedom struggle which has developed to tremendous heights and is today at one of its crucial moments. The development of this fight has led to a deeper probing into the roots of the oppression of the Negro people, looking toward a more radical type of solution to this question. Among a number of Negro leaders and within some of the civil rights organizations the question of socialism and its relationship to this struggle has begun to be discussed in one form or other. The relationship of the civil rights struggle to the world struggle against imperialism is being recognized more clearly.

Accompanying these developments is the growth of the youth movement, and especially of the student movement. Under the influence of the civil rights struggle and the peace movement the youth movement has become a powerful force in the United States. And here, too, there has been a new upsurge of radical think-

ing and orientation of young people toward the Left.

New features have developed in the peace movement. In the past this movement was centered on the fight to ban nuclear tests. Now the fight against the war in Vietnam is becoming the center, and new actions, new organizational forms are increasingly appearing as the peace struggle achieves a higher level than in the past.

The result of all these developments has been the resurgence of a leftward orientation in the United States. There has been an increasing turn toward radical, socialist solutions to problems. This has been fostered also by the growing strength and successes of the socialist world. And this has led to a revival of the Left, which has gone through a long downhill movement during the period of cold war—a revival which has had very important effects on the Communist Party and the conditions of its work.

HOW THE MASSES SEE COMMUNISTS

I would like to speak in greater detail on the subjective side of the problem, said *W. Kashtan*, that is, how do the workers see our Party? How do they see the Social Democratic parties and how do they see the Communist parties? Unfortunately, monopoly has been able to build a false image of our parties in many countries, added to by our own mistakes, of Communist parties that do not base themselves on the national interests, on the interests of their people. Serious work is needed to break this image, without giving up our internationalism one inch. It suggests the need for us to find a better way of blending national interests and internationalism in a much deeper manner than we have yet been able to do. We need to start from the national interests and develop internationalism in relationship to that.

An important side of this problem is what we understand by national interests. If Communist parties wish to become, and our Party in Canada wishes to become, a major force in the country, even as small parties, it is possible to do that if we take up and develop a position on all questions which defend the real interests of the people and go beyond the issues facing the working class only. It has to do with the development of the movements of the people against monopoly and the formation of an anti-monopoly coalition.

But here, *Kashtan* went on, we face a number of difficulties which also call for examination. We have not got any monopoly in terms of advancing the demands of the masses. The reformists are in control of the trade union movement; they lead many of the struggles and strikes of the workers, and often raise demands fundamentally not different from the demands we raise. I am speaking in terms of reforms, not in terms of struggle for socialism. So, how do the masses see us and the reformists in terms of distinction? What specific role

do we play in this situation?

Take, for example, the operation of state-monopoly capitalism which strives to mitigate the contradictions in the capitalist system and to prevent deep-going economic crises. Some comrades may orientate on a severe economic crisis in the classical sense, but up to now state-monopoly capitalism has been able to influence the cycle and mitigate its effects. And it does create certain conditions and a climate in which the Communist parties have to work and develop their policies and programs.

The policy of state-monopoly capitalism is also calculated to spread and breed reformist thinking and check revolutionary thinking and action. Some people are of the opinion that the working class in the capitalist countries has been bribed and corrupted and is not likely to strive for basic social transformations. But this view is refuted every day by the actions of the working class in many capitalist countries.

In the struggle for unity in the working-class movement, in correcting a sectarian approach to Social Democracy, and carrying on the struggle for unity and cooperation, we need to find a correct way to develop ideological clarity between what our Party stands for and Social Democracy, seeing it as an integral part of the struggle for unity and not as a barrier to it.

The matter of strengthening and extending the mass base is still a big problem for our Party and, I feel, for many other parties. How can we begin to extend our influence among the young people? The fact is, of course, that if the Party does not revitalize itself with young forces, big problems confront it. It is not only from that standpoint that the question presents itself. It is also from the standpoint of winning over the young generation for progress, to prevent reaction from establishing a base among young people. What is needed is a better study of the problems of the young generation, to find the answer to them and create an image of the Party as the party of the youth.

These, then, are some of the key problems confronting our Party in Canada. What is significant in the recent period is that while anti-communism still influences many people, some changes have been noticeable in this respect, too. Whereas only recently it was common for anti-communists to be invited to air their views on communism, Communists are now, increasingly, being asked to explain their viewpoint and have it discussed. This is part of the process of change, a change of climate which does, perhaps, create the possibilities for an extension of the influence and organizational strengthening of our Party.

Without in any way minimizing the effects of the objective factors of which Comrade Kashtan spoke, said *N. Morgan*, I would like to mention the impact of the 18 years of cold war, the high level of economic activity, etc.—all have been used by the bourgeois press,

radio and TV to blur the image of our Party. Certainly, we are confronted with some very big problems and they should not be minimized for one minute.

The Eighteenth National Convention of our Party in the spring of last year and meetings of the National Committee since then have expressed very great concern about the contradiction that exists between the seemingly much more favorable conditions in which we have to work and the lack of growth in the circulation of our press and in the membership of our Party. We have taken steps to develop and deepen discussion among our membership on such important ideological questions as the relation of reforms and revolution, and our attitude to the Social Democratic movement in our country. We have launched a broad campaign around a three-point program: a program for peace and taking Canada out of the camp of U.S. imperialism onto the highway of peace, friendship and trade with all nations; the struggle for our own Canadian Constitution that would guarantee the constitutional rights and full equality for French- and English-speaking Canada; and, the struggle for a new economic policy that would provide an answer to some of the big problems facing the labor movement and thus help in bringing this movement into activity.

An expression of change in the situation that was effected last year was the municipal elections. We participated, and we had twice as many candidates across the country as in previous elections. Substantial increases were recorded in many cities and municipalities, and a number of our comrades were elected along with trade union and New Democratic Party candidates.

In our country, said *I. Noerlund* we have, in fact, seen a very considerable change in the relations between the Social Democratic workers and Communists. This also applies to the Socialist People's Party, formed as a result of a split in the Communist Party in 1958. The leadership of that Party headed by Aksel Larsen is against any form of united action with the Communists. But we have rather good relations with members and supporters of this Party.

WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST CONTRIBUTION?

But for all that it should be said that we do not show a sufficiently clear political face, if I may say so. That is to say, people do not always see our activity as indispensable. In saying this I am not implying that we have no supporters, but only that work should be done in such a way that we gain more and more followers. I think it would be right to pose the question in this way: what would be the most effective expression of the special contribution which Communists can and must make to the unity movement of the working class and the people? We should single out this question and try to answer it, proceeding not only from the

specific conditions in one or another country but also on the general plane.

Personally, I would mention three points. First, the Communist concept of democracy presupposes mass activity and is manifested above all through this activity. In Denmark, while much is said about democracy it is understood in a rather formal way. As regards the understanding of the essence of democracy we differ, both in practice and in political thinking, from Social Democracy which shows a certain fear of mass movements and whose leaders do all in their power to hinder these movements.

The second point I would like to mention is our emphasis on the role of the working class. This does not mean underrating the role of other sections of the community and, on the whole, of the policy of drawing the middle classes into the struggle. But in our country the other political parties do not want to or do not dare stress the fact that the working class has a special and leading role to play in all social development.

And, lastly, the third point is the role of the Communists who, in developing the political consciousness of the working class, help the masses to realize the socialist trend in the world today and the international role of the working class. This task is indispensable not only because it reflects our own socialist consciousness but also because without this consciousness the people and the working class will not be able to grasp either the situation in the modern world or their own problems.

In this connection, Noerlund went on, I have some remarks concerning what has been said here about the national and internationalist tasks of our parties. I think that in principle we all agree that these tasks are not contradictory but complementary. It is also quite clear that the development of our national policy is, and should be, decisive for overcoming the "nationalist discrimination" directed against us and instigated by the bourgeoisie. But this, in my view, does not exhaust the question.

I think we should draw the conclusion that international solidarity far from detracting from the national interests is beneficial, that solidarity, socialist development and the existence of the socialist camp, are decisive for defending the interests of our working class and our nation. We should also show that in the conditions of today socialism is the solution to the problems facing the working class of our countries.

Our discussion, said *E. Zucker-Schilling*, shows that despite the varying conditions in which the parties represented here carry on their work, they nevertheless have quite a few problems in common. Interesting views have been expressed here that make it possible to verify the policy and practical work of the Party. We have heard that anti-communism is beginning to lose its effectiveness. And while our adversaries have not abandoned their anti-communism, they have been forced to devise

new and more refined methods, less violent than those used in the past. We have been able to say unanimously that the power of attraction of our ideas and concepts has grown in the sense of their influence on the various sections of the working population.

Despite this, and this is also one of the common features, the bulk of the working people in Austria do not as yet see the Communist Party as an alternative, nor do they see it as a force capable of giving effect to its concept. But this by no means signifies that, as some people may believe, we are confronted with the danger of the Party withering away. The positive results of our policy are there for all to see. The political role of the Party is determined not only by the parliamentary election returns. It would be a very big mistake to think that if our political success is not reflected in election results, it has not had an impact on political life in the country.

There are many, and their numbers are growing, who agree with our policy and our viewpoint, and find that our views merit serious discussion. That is to say, these people give due credit to our ideas. True, they do not support our Party, fearing that this would weaken the Socialist Party, which, in turn, would bolster up the capitalists. The point is that the masses see more guarantees of reforms in the Socialist Party and the trade unions led by it rather than in the Communist Party.

Thus, they do not yet see the difference between the peaceful way to socialism which we advocate and the path of reformism and social partnership followed by the Socialist Party. They do not realize that we are fighting for a series of stage-by-stage goals aimed at curbing the power of capital, whereas Social Democratic policy boils down to reforms that strengthen capitalism. Hence the task is to explain this difference so that ever larger numbers see in the Communist policy an alternative to the present situation.

We are convinced that our policy will become the alternative, that it will open up the socialist perspective for the masses. We do not expect to do this alone; what we intend to do is to advance to socialism in cooperation with other parties. As a prerequisite for this we envisage certain changes taking place in these parties in the process of political and ideological struggle. This emphasizes the need for the Communist Party, for no upsurge of the political struggle is possible without this militant revolutionary vanguard. We can justify our existence only in the process of day-to-day political struggle for democratic alternatives, in defense of the economic interests of the working people.

Speakers stressed that many Communist parties are faced with the problems of increasing their membership, extending their influence and understanding the role of the Party. To build a mass Communist Party, it is necessary first of all to develop the understanding of the work-

ing class that it plays the leading role in the nation. A mass Communist Party can only be built by winning the leadership of the working class and the progressive forces in the course of class struggle not kept on the economic and political planes but also on the theoretical, ideological planes. Besides that, in our view the most important thing to make our Party a mass party is to prove in practice that its policy, propaganda, aims and organization are national in character. And this does not mean any retreat from internationalism.

THE FIGHT FOR UNITY IS THE MAIN TASK

The fight for unity of the working class also came in for special attention. The best way, clearly, to build a mass Communist Party is that of constant struggle for working class unity. It is no good, speakers pointed out, constantly to proclaim that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class, or that it is the most advanced Party, or that it alone has the answers to the problems of the people. What is necessary is to prove this in practice, and this means above all fighting for the united action of the working class and finding the ways to the correct relations with the Socialists.

Some Communists see only one aspect of the Socialist parties—that they are essentially capitalist in ideology. They see the complete support of capitalism by many, if not all, of the Socialist leaders. They see that Social-Democratic governments coming into office time and time again uphold capitalism and even help it to grow. But this is only one side of the question. The main side, of course, is the Socialist parties' influence among the masses, secondly, that within them there are to be found diverse views and, lastly, important is the growth of their Left-wing. This Left-wing, of course, has many gradations and shades but the most important thing is that it includes genuine Socialists, genuine defenders of the interests of the working class, people who in the trade union movement side by side with the Communists and non-party workers fight for the immediate interests of the working people. And Communists believe they should strengthen their ties with the Left in the course of joint action and at the same time engage in comradesly debate and discussion with them on theoretical and political issues.

In the discussion with the Left Social Democrats there arises the question of the perspective, of the need for an alliance or coalition of the Left forces in order to curb the power of monopoly and to advance to socialism. It was stressed that there are, of course, many problems and many difficulties; reformism and reformist ideology are still to be overcome. But the Communists see at least the beginnings of such development in quite important sectors of the Socialist parties.

The Communists believe that most important in their struggle for unity is to avoid any

appearance of having a monopoly of understanding or of having all the answers. We are convinced, speakers said, that our theory is correct and that in general our tactics are correct, but we can, and we do, make mistakes. What is needed is to discuss concretely the experience of the class struggle and, proceeding from that experience, verify the correctness of one or another viewpoint.

POSSIBILITIES AND PERSPECTIVES

H. Lumer pointed to a number of indications showing that the prestige of communism in the United States is growing. First, there is a considerable rise in the status of Marxism among American scholars and intellectuals. It is increasingly becoming recognized as a body of scientific theory which must be seriously viewed and seriously studied. This is in contrast to previous tendencies to dismiss it with contempt, as not worthy of consideration. There is a growing use, for instance, of Marxist works, both the classics and modern writings, in American colleges and universities. International Publishers, which has long been the central publisher of Marxist works in the United States, now is able to sell its books not only in a handful of progressive and Left-wing bookstores, but in leading bookstores throughout the country. One of the chief manifestations of the growing interest in Marxism is the formation in the United States of the American Institute of Marxist Studies headed by Dr. Herbert Aptheker, a leading Marxist scholar.

Secondly, there is a growing interest in American colleges and universities in hearing Communist speakers, in learning from the Communists themselves what they stand for. In a number of cases students have conducted mass struggles at large universities, for example, in California and Washington, against bans on the right of Communists to speak there and have won these struggles. The Communist Party has thus acquired a growing audience among this section of the youth.

Thirdly, there has been some opening up of the availability of mass media to the Communist Party. Comrade Gus Hall has received a number of invitations to speak on TV and radio. In Los Angeles a Party leader speaks regularly over the local radio. Our Party now has numerous press conferences. Some time ago the *New York Times* magazine published an article about the Communist Party based largely on discussions of the author with Party leaders, and attempting for the first time to describe the Party with some degree of objectivity.

The result of these developments is that the conditions of work for the Party have in certain respects improved. The Party has succeeded in stabilizing itself in face of all the attacks against it and is experiencing a certain influx of young people into its ranks in a number of parts of the country. It must be said, however, that the more favorable situation has not re-

flected itself in an actual organizational strengthening of the Party. This is due to a number of things, for one the semi-legal conditions under which the Party continues to operate which makes it difficult to be a Party member.

We will have to contend against the legal limitations on our functioning. But the struggles which are developing today give us reason to believe that it is possible not only to defeat the new imperialist adventures of the Johnson administration, but also to defeat their renewed attacks upon our Party, which are part of the same process. We believe that a more favorable climate can be achieved for our activities.

Capitalist propaganda, said *G. Oehman*, claims that in a highly developed capitalist country such as Sweden the Communist Party has no conditions for its activity. The success won by our Party in the September 1964 general election showed the groundlessness of these claims.

In the 'forties the Communist Party of Sweden was on the upsurge. In 1946, ten per cent of the electorate voted for us. But in the cold war period the position of the Party deteriorated. The number of our voters dropped from 370,000 in 1946 to 140,000 in 1948. One could say that throughout the 'fifties our Party was in a state of stagnation and, partially, on the retreat, losing part of its members. For us this was a difficult period.

At the Twentieth Congress held in January 1964, the Party made an important turn in its policy. The Congress was preceded by a broad discussion in the local organizations and in the press on the political line of the Party and the

organizational forms of its activity. The Congress was held in public, being open to the press, TV and radio.

The Congress advanced the slogan for a socialist reconstruction of society. Pride of place was given to the fight against monopoly. We posed this question in a concrete way, proceeding from the problems which agitate factory and office workers most of all. We drew up a program of struggle against rising prices and inflation, so as to prevent the monopolies from fixing prices arbitrarily. We also advanced programs of action for easing the tax burden, for expanding housing construction, for rent reduction and for shorter working hours. Among the new demands presented by the Party is the demand for greater democracy, primarily democracy in the enterprises. We also insist on a policy of proper allocation of industrial enterprises and development of the backward northern region, which would meet the interests of the whole country.

The presentation of these demands and the struggle for their realization secured a big success for the Party in the general election. The number of our voters rose from 160,000 in 1962 to 222,000 in 1964. We won another three seats in Parliament. This success opens up new possibilities for the Party to extend its influence among the masses.

In conclusion, *E. Zucker-Schilling*, *W. Kash-tan*, *Ib Noerlund* and others spoke in favor of continuing discussion on the basis of a deeper joint study of the problems of common interest and, for this purpose, agreed to form a number of research groups.

Conference in Brussels

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES of the capitalist countries of Europe have made another step in the direction of combining their efforts in the struggle against imperialism. Over June 1-3 a meeting in Brussels was attended by representatives of the Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (West Berlin), Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Progressive Party of Cyprus Working People (AKEL), Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, British Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' League, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of Norway, Communist Party of the Netherlands, Portuguese Communist Party and the Swiss Party of Labor.

The purpose of the meeting was to exchange views on the problems of the day and to reach common conclusions on joint actions against imperialism.

The meeting discussed steps to be taken to intensify the united struggle of the peoples against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and to define ways of safeguarding world peace.

Also discussed were problems of European security and, primarily, the struggle against German militarism, against the multilateral nuclear force, atomic strike force, Atlantic, European and other variants of nuclear armament. The public, it was noted, wanted nuclear-free zones and zones of limited armaments in Central Europe, Scandinavia, the Mediterranean and in Southern Europe, wanted steps towards general and controlled disarmament which would facilitate a detente in Europe.

To the cold-war policy and the U.S. interference through NATO in the internal affairs of the European countries, the meeting advanced the alternative, corresponding to the interests of all the nations of Europe and of world peace, of European collective security. The view was expressed that a non-aggression treaty between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization would be a big step in this direction.

The meeting paid due attention to the existence of foreign bases, expressed concern over the situation in Cyprus, and reaffirmed the de-

mand for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island, for ending outside interference, and securing the right to self-determination for the people.

Solidarity with peoples—victims of fascism (Spain, Portugal) or victims of other forms of oppression (Greece, Federal Germany) was also discussed.

The meeting examined the situation that has taken shape in Vietnam as a result of the naked and unprovoked aggression of the United States, and pointed out that the U.S. aggressive policy, fraught with the danger of another world war has engendered a growing protest movement which has already rallied important political and trade union forces as well as intellectuals and the youth, regardless of political convictions. The movement has embraced extremely large circles disquieted by the grave threat to peace created by the actions of the U.S. government. However, the scale of this movement, in the opinion of the meeting, does not measure up to the danger. The meeting called for still greater efforts to revitalize and extend this movement. Special efforts, it was said, should be made in Western Europe where most governments still continue in fact to support the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism.

An appeal was addressed to the working people of Western Europe, all workers in the sphere of culture, to women and the youth, to the Socialist and Christian masses and to all progressive and peace-loving forces to work for ending the brutal bombings and acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for ending the intervention and war of the Americans in South Vietnam and compelling them to withdraw their troops; to enable the people of South Vietnam freely to enjoy their right to independence and to secure conditions conducive to a peaceful settlement of all issues in Southeast Asia.

A message of solidarity with the people of the Dominican Republic denounced the criminal intervention of the U.S. imperialists in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic.

The meeting showed that the factor uniting the parties was the decisive one, that the trend towards unity prevails over all other trends. All the Communist parties have one enemy—imperialism—and this determines their atti-

tudes and inter-relations.

The parties reported in detail on the actions carried out, in the spirit of unity, by Communists in the different countries, on their participation in the peace campaigns. The actions of the progressive forces, it was noted, which have already contributed to the emergence of some new attitudes among the public and on the part of some governments, are meeting with an increasingly greater response.

The parties have developed the ideas of peaceful coexistence of the peoples and on the basis of these ideas have called for new relationships between all the nations of Europe, showing respect for national social systems and interests.

The view was expressed that the danger of conflict should be eliminated by normalizing the situation that has taken shape in the 20 years since the end of the war. Germany, it was said, should become a nuclear-free zone; the German Democratic Republic should be recognized; it is necessary to proclaim the inviolability of the present borders in Europe; West Berlin should be given the status of a free and demilitarized city; a peace treaty must be concluded with the two German states.

Views were exchanged on ways and means of reinforcing the common struggle and promoting united action by the working class and an alliance of the democratic forces in the struggle against the proliferation of nuclear weapons, for disarmament, European security and friendship among peoples.

The parties expressed solidarity with the people of Spain in their struggle for freedom and against the Franco regime. They affirmed

their readiness to work for the success of the proposals made at a recent conference of progressive forces in London.

The parties stressed the need widely to publicize the tragic conditions in which the people of Portugal are waging their struggle, and expressed wholehearted support for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea in their fight for national independence.

Noting the significant success won by the people of Greece in the fight for democracy, the meeting supported the legitimate demands for restoring legal status to the Communist Party of Greece.

A call was also made for restoring legality to the Communist Party of Germany. The communique stressed that the restoration of legal status is of special significance for the German Party in view of the forthcoming general election in the Federal Republic.

In the course of the discussion some of the parties suggested the possibility of holding a similar meeting in future on other issues of common interest.

The meeting showed that conditions are being created for joint actions by the Communist parties of Western Europe.

Speakers noted with satisfaction the convocation of this representative forum and the agreement reached in the course of its work on a number of points. They stressed their desire constantly to strengthen unity of action of the fraternal parties in the interests of the working class and the people of each country, in the interests of the entire Communist and working-class movement.

S. SOEDERSEN

Communist congress: Austria

A DEFINITE EVOLUTION of the political fronts which for many years now have shaped political life in Austria has been taking place for some time. Differences in the main political parties are growing, resulting in the crystallization of new concepts. In the past ten years the economic situation, apart from some temporary set-backs, has been good.

At the end of May the Communist Party held its Nineteenth Congress to determine the policy of the Party in keeping with the new conditions.

Comrade Franz Muhri, who submitted the main report, pointed out that "development since the previous Congress (1961) has been marked by some important gains in the policy of our Party and by changes due in large measure to the effort of the Communists. To-

day the Communist viewpoint on aspects of social life is widely echoed. Many of the demands originally advanced by us are now supported by the working people."

This point was supported by numerous examples, specifically that of successful action for higher wages, better holiday conditions and larger pensions, against the plans to return the nationalized enterprises to private enterprise or to close them. "Our insistence on certain demands," Comrade Muhri said, "made for greater pressure from below. It forced the Socialists to support these demands and compelled the employers to make concessions."

These struggles, it was stressed, revealed the possibility not only of cooperation between Socialists, Communists and non-party people,

but also of joint action with Catholic factory and office workers. Experience shows that unity of action is possible in the struggle not only for economic but also for political demands.

The past two years have seen a joint fight against neo-Nazi sorties in various parts of Austria. Anti-fascist unity found particularly strong expression in a large-scale protest movement against pan-German and neo-Nazi provocations in a Vienna college. Socialists, Communists and Catholics demonstrated together. The funeral of Comrade Kirchweyer, murdered by neo-fascists at the time of the demonstration, turned into a powerful manifestation of anti-fascist unity.

In this connection, Comrade Muhri pointed to the changed attitude of the Socialist Party, "which for the first time refrained from that fatal identification of Communists and neo-fascists — a practice suggested by anti-communism — which in the past years has split the democratic forces and enabled reaction to make headway." Typical of this changed attitude was an article in *Tagblatt*, the SPA newspaper in Upper Austria, containing the following passage: "That first victim of neo-Nazi terrorism aroused politically-conscious Austrians from the sweet, shallow drowsiness of a lifeless, pointless well-being. Austria realized that Ernst Kirchweyer's murder affected a vital aspect of the country's national and democratic life. Socialists, conservatives and Communists followed Kirchweyer's coffin just as, in the past, they had jointly laid the basis for the Second Republic."

In assessing the positive aspects of the development of political life in Austria, the Congress delegates were well aware, as the main report noted, that "relapses cannot be ruled out, development may continue to be contradictory, and will depend very much on the policy and activity of the Communist Party."

The report pointed to the contradictory development in the CPA, in the sense that "while our proposals and ideas have a growing impact . . . our efforts to regain seats in Parliament have failed, our membership has fallen and so has the number of our activists."

Comrade Muhri informed the Congress that the Party membership had dropped from over 42,000 in 1961 to 36,000 in 1964. Only 20 per cent of the members, he added, were under forty. He also spoke of the "growing contradiction between the opportunities and the declining activity."

Both the main report and most of the 109 contributions made by delegates analyzed the causes of this contradiction.

"Along with the difficulties which the Party encounters because of the political conditions in our country, its own shortcomings and mistakes have contributed to this contradictory development." "The main ideological weakness" of the leading Party bodies, for which the Party leadership is chiefly responsible, is, according to the definition of the Congress, that

political initiative on the basis of the new orientation has not been adequately encouraged so far. Old, outdated notions, views and working methods still act as a hindrance.

The report called attention to some of the obsolete notions which have to be overcome. For instance, the Party has not "systematically stressed its role in the attainment of progress and partial success" and has laid "too much emphasis on criticism, on what could not be achieved." The thesis that "capitalism necessarily leads to increasingly grave economic crises and to steady impoverishment every nine to eleven years" is no longer valid. In carrying on its work, the Party orientates itself "on the new opportunities for bringing about changes in distribution of income, co-management by workers, expansion of public investment in industry and social welfare, structural reforms. . . ."

This orientation, the speaker stressed, "has nothing in common with reformism, which is based on capitalism, for the task is to overcome capitalism." "It is a question of a revolutionary orientation to attain certain objectives by stages, curbing the power of big capital as a part of the struggle for the peaceful transition to socialism." "Modern capitalism," the speaker went on, "has not . . . cured its economic contradictions," on the contrary, "there is growing political instability, growing political contradictions and controversy, growing reactionary, authoritarian and neo-fascist trends, and a growing threat to democracy, even when the economic situation is highly favorable."

Today it is more important for our work than ever to remember that practically every economic struggle has its political aspect. "We have yet to understand this properly, and to muster adequate arguments proving that the capitalist economy, based on profit, has become more superfluous, more absurd and dangerous than ever in this age of atomic energy and automation."

The Congress sessions and decisions carefully analyzed changes in the Socialist Party and drew appropriate conclusions.

Many examples were cited illustrating the positive evolution of this party. Among them is the changed attitude to the socialist countries. The one-time hostility is giving way to what is on the whole a "more objective" approach. True, we should not overlook the fact that anti-communism, directed primarily against the German Democratic Republic, still largely determines the attitude of the SPA.

The changed attitude of the SPA to Austrian neutrality and to attempts to bind Austria to the EEC should be put on record. The same is true of the SPA attitude to the issue of the return of the Hapsburgs. The SPA stand on these questions has become more positive. The Socialists are compelled—largely as a result of the Communists' efforts—to renounce the dangerous and unprincipled policy of backing and cooperating with the pan-German Freedom

Party. They are compelled to lay greater emphasis on the need to defend the country against neo-fascist sorties and to consolidate the democratic forces in this struggle. "These positive changes and the growth of the Left in the SPA," Comrade Muhri said, "are inseparably linked with the activity of the Austrian Communists as an autonomous, Marxist party . . . with the Communists' duty . . . to work out a class point of view on every issue."

In line with this statement of principle, the Congress reaffirmed the Austrian Communists' resolve "to combat the ideology and policy of social partnership," which "paralyzes the working class, blunts the class point of view, and signifies renunciation of the socialist perspective." "We Communists," Comrade Muhri said, "are not against Socialist participation in the government. Participation can restrict the power of big capital and put at least some curbs on reaction. But we are against the policy of socialist partnership in the government. With this policy, no Socialist majority and not even a Socialist Federal Chancellor can achieve fundamental progress."

The Congress discussed the matter of amending the electoral system. The electoral system must be changed because of its undemocratic principles, which have led to the exclusion of Communists from Parliament and which generally speaking prevent the election of opposition members. Franz West, member of the Political Bureau of the Party, said it was "gratifying to see the positive attitude taken recently by the Socialist leaders on this matter." He welcomed—with the Congress delegates voicing their approval—the statement made by Bruno Pittermann concerning the need to revise the electoral system in such a way that no party should again get fewer seats after polling a big vote, and that the unfair treatment of the smaller parties be ended. Let no one, Comrade West added, imagine that the Communists can be gradually "absorbed" by means of an undemocratic electoral system. "Transient electoral reverses," he said, "will, no doubt make us think again and again of what we did not do well and how we could have done better. But they will never impel us to embark on a policy of surrender."

Comrade West specified the Party's view on the issue of Communist candidates. To give up the idea of having independent candidates evidently was "not impossible from the standpoint of principle." This would depend on the actual situation. In the recent Presidential election, the Party supported the Socialist nominee and by doing so helped him to win. "But, generally speaking," he said, "the Communist Party aims, above all in elections to representative bodies, at having its own candidates because it believes that it represents the class alternative to a coalition based on social partnership."

While evaluating the changes taking place in the Socialist Party and its policy positively, the Congress did not overlook either the in-

stability of these changes or the "disquieting weaknesses" which socialist policy still shows. "Underestimation of West German militarism and revanchism," it said, "was the biggest weakness of the SPA." The policy of unity of action and objective criticism of the policy of the Socialist Party leadership, Comrade Muhri said, "do not contradict or preclude each other. They are two aspects of one and the same goal—establishing a new, militant unity of the working class."

The Congress resolution on home policy declared emphatically "against joining the EEC in any form." "As a neutral state," it said, "Austria can and should maintain and foster commercial relations with all countries." As for settling relations with the EEC countries, a trade agreement should suffice.

The Party's attitude to Austrian neutrality was stated by Friedl Fuernberg. "For our Party," he said, "the fight to safeguard Austria's neutrality is one of its paramount tasks." This position should not be mistaken for a short-term tactical maneuver. Our attitude "is prompted by an analysis of Austria's position since World War II." Posing the question whether a socialist Austria could also be neutral, Fuernberg said that "the status of a country in terms of international law is not predetermined by its social system." In the struggle between socialism and capitalism, he said, the Communists never could or would be neutral. But there was no contradiction between the struggle for the peaceful transition to socialism and resolute action in support of Austria's neutrality. "We even think," Fuernberg said, "that neutrality can be fully safeguarded only in a socialist Austria."

Fuernberg also posed the question whether the formula "dictatorship of the proletariat" is still valid in the changed conditions at a time when democracy of the people prevails in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries. He suggested that discussion on this issue should continue and that the Party could define its attitude later.

The Congress deliberations showed the close contact between the CPA and the world Communist movement. This found expression among other things, in the warm response of the delegates and visitors to the greetings conveyed by spokesmen for the fraternal parties.

Militant solidarity found expression in the denunciation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, in the demand that the Austrian government should "support, in the sense of Austrian neutrality, every initiative likely to make for peace in Vietnam." Solidarity found expression also in the decision to launch solidarity actions and thereby "to contribute to the assistance which the peace forces throughout the world are rendering to Vietnam."

Speaking of the situation in the world Communist movement, Comrade Muhri said: "The differences in the socialist world and in the international Communist movement are among the reasons for political and ideological

uncertainty in our ranks." The Austrian Party, he went on, welcomed "the steps taken by the CPSU leadership and the Soviet government, and the initiative displayed by them" since the autumn of 1964 "for better relations with the People's Republic of China at state level and for closer links between the two parties."

The Congress approved the decision of the Central Committee calling for bilateral and multilateral consultations between the Communist parties and for directing the debate on existing differences into channels of business-like discussions in order to achieve unity in the world Communist movement for the purpose of repelling the imperialist attacks, and furthering the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The Congress unanimously approved, with some amendments, the theses submitted by the Central Committee; another resolution headed "The Fight for Economic Co-Management by Factory and Office Workers" was adopted with two votes against and seven abstentions.

The Congress agenda was discussed in an atmosphere of a full and frank exchange of views. About 100 members contributed to the pre-Congress discussion. Different points of view were voiced in the debate. This, as many speakers pointed out, is understandable, in view of the situation in the Party and in the world Communist movement, and of the need to chart new roads for the struggle in the new conditions on a national as well as international scale. The decisions adopted by the Congress are "an important contribution to the establishment of a new ideological unity of the Party," as Comrade Muhri noted in summing up. The Congress was important, he said, also because it "explicitly rejected all factional activity and unanimously expressed the will for Party unity."

The cohesion of the Party became all the more evident during the balloting for the new Party leadership. The election led to a considerable rejuvenation and renovation of the Central Committee.

Comrade Koplenig, who for forty-one years had headed the Party, did not stand for reelection as Chairman because of ill health. He was unanimously elected member of the CC and Honorary Chairman of the Party. Franz Muhri, the new Chairman, forty-one years old, is a worker by profession. Elected alternate member of the CC in 1954 he became a member of the Political Bureau in 1961. Comrades Friedl Fuernberg and Erwin Scharf were elected secretaries of the CC.

Thirty-two members of the CC, or roughly half its members, were elected for the first time. Sixteen of them are members of work councils and trade union functionaries.

Supporting the proposal of the new CC to elect Comrade Koplenig Honorary Chairman of the Party, Fuernberg said that "we proceed from what has been accomplished under Comrade Koplenig's leadership during the past four decades. His election as Honorary Chairman should also express the unshakable resolve of the entire Party to uphold the unity of the Party, now and for ever."

Koplenig thanked the Congress for the confidence it reposed in him. He pledged to continue to devote all his energies to the Party. "At this Party Congress," he continued, "which opens a new chapter in the history of our Party, it is necessary to say: just as the comrades of the older generation must learn to understand the new, changed conditions of struggle in order not to trail behind developments, so the younger generation should learn from past experience, from history, because this experience will make it easier for them to cope with present-day problems."

"... In the changed conditions as well, the Party will, while underlining its sovereign and autonomous policy, maintain the traditions of solidarity and close bonds with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the ideas of the October Revolution, and will uphold them against all attacks. . . .

"The peaceful way, too, is not the way of non-struggle," Koplenig went on, "and I would like to stress that it is also the revolutionary way because it signifies in the spheres of the economy, machinery of state and in inculcating political consciousness the turn a new social system, i.e., to the socialist revolution, which the working class cannot and will not renounce, and which we hope to accomplish by peaceful, democratic means."

Appraising the significance of the Congress, Comrade Muhri said that the Congress was "a good beginning. We have found better ways and means of handling the difficulties."

The Congress can be justly described as a good beginning to the carrying out of its decisions. This is also borne out by the response it evoked among the public. No previous congress of the Party aroused such interest on the part of the press. The detailed reporting and the commentaries reflected the fact that the Communist Party is a factor in political life with which all political trends must reckon.

Erwin ZUCKER-SCHILLING

Communist Party conference: Bolivia

AT THE BEGINNING of April of this year the Communist Party of Bolivia held its Seventh National Conference. The purpose of the conference was to adjust the Party's policy to the new situation in the country and to discuss the problems arising from the organizational crisis in the Party. The members and alternate members of the Central Committee, as well as most of the first secretaries of the provincial Party committees, took part in the work of the conference.

The report submitted by the Political Commission and unanimously approved by the conference characterized the class nature of the Military Junta, assessed the correlation of political forces in the country and defined the tactical line of the Party accordingly.

The conference discussed the origins and reasons for the inner-Party crisis and took measures to overcome it.

The Central Committee reported on the results of the recent conference of fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of the countries of Latin America, and the decisions of this forum were unanimously approved. Agreement was also expressed with the conclusions of the Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, held in Moscow in March, and the delegates resolved to do everything to ensure that the policy of their Party corresponded to the content of these conclusions.

A special resolution expressed wholehearted solidarity with the people of Vietnam, and support for Cuba which is constantly threatened by the imperialists who have now launched an armed offensive against the national-liberation movement, especially in Latin America. The conference declared its support of the just struggle of the peoples of Venezuela, Guatemala and Colombia.

It was decided to reduce the number of Central Committee members by one-fifth. Comrade Mario Monje was re-elected General Secretary of the Party.

The conference dwelt on the social changes taking place in the country. The military coup of November 4, 1964, marked the beginning of a new stage in the *active offensive of the counter-revolution*, which has become typical of the situation in Bolivia in recent years. This process began after the national bourgeoisie, originally represented in power by ex-President

Estenssoro and his group, capitulated under the pressure of Washington.

The men connected with state capitalism (partners of the U.S. monopolies) gradually removed from leadership those of the bourgeoisie who came to power as a result of the insurrection in April 1952, and who over a period of twelve years had pursued first a policy of appeasing imperialism and ultimately of unconditional surrender to it. The International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the U.S. Embassy helped this "new bourgeoisie" to accumulate capital. Meanwhile, masses of the working people suffered increasing misery and unemployment. The nationalized companies went bankrupt. Economic and social chaos was rampant. The rising tide of the working-class struggle was therefore viewed with particular alarm by the reactionaries at home and in Washington. The way out "found" by them was hardly original; once again it was the U.S. Embassy and Military Mission that plotted and planned the military coup.

Estenssoro was sent to Peru and the Military Junta that replaced him represented—besides the "new bourgeoisie" associated with imperialism (who although they had lost their lead managed to retain most of their positions)—landowners and mineowners who had been ousted in 1952. Thus the new government is in essence a militarist counter-revolution.

In the last decade the peasantry has played quite an important role in the social life of the country. During the rule of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), the peasants were the standby of the ruling bourgeoisie. The fact that it was this party that introduced an agrarian reform, thus releasing the peasants from feudal forms of exploitation and cancelling their debts to the landlords, made a deep impression, naturally, on the peasants. And they supported the MNR right up to the time it was ousted by the coup.

After the coup when the instruments of state power which had enabled the MNR to control the peasants had been lost its monopoly was broken. New factors began to exert their influence. The National Revolutionary Left (the Left wing of the MNR) became active among the peasants, particularly in the lowlands. The Military Junta, too, particularly its leader Bar-

rientos, tried to entrench themselves in those areas where the Estenssoro influence was strong. They formed a stooge peasant organization which they finance out of the state budget. This organization, which now controls some important areas, is a force which should not be disregarded.

The role played by the peasantry in the life of the country becomes particularly evident when it is borne in mind that the proportion of the working class in most towns (with the exception of La Paz and Oruro) is practically nil, and that the mining villages—the centers of the proletariat—are hundreds of miles away from the three main cities.

At present there are five national parties in Bolivia. Some others manage to maintain a nominal existence. The five parties are:

The Revolutionary Left (its leader also heads the biggest trade union) with a fairly broad social base consisting chiefly of workers and peasants. Populist tendencies are strong in this party.

The Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, which was in power from 1952 to 1964, has some supporters among the non-proletarian urban strata and wields considerable influence among the peasants. The leadership of this party now consists of representatives of the capitulatory bourgeoisie associated with the imperialists.

The Socialist Falange, the party of the reactionaries, has its main support among the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie. It has influence also among students, teachers and women in the towns. It is supported by the Spanish clergy and especially by the Jesuits. The top leaders of the Falange are ex-landowners. This party is steeped in the tradition of classical fascism.

The Christian-Democratic Party a relatively new party, grew with the growth of Christian democratic trends in the country and is encouraged and supported by the Bonn Christian Democrats. Although it supported the Military Junta at the beginning, it has now broken with it and is trying to go its own way. Its main influence is among the student body and workers of the free professions.

The Communist Party the second most influential party among the working people, is particularly strong in the mining areas.

Of these organizations only the Socialist Falange supports the Military Junta, and the Communist Party is the only party which vigorously opposed it right from the beginning.

Proceeding from an analysis of the new alignment of forces the Seventh Conference confirmed the general line charted by the Party at its Second Congress: *our aim is to wage by every means a decisive struggle against imperialism and its internal agents; to create a broad front of struggle against imperialism and its agents in the country and to draw the masses into this movement, to campaign for the vital interests of the people, for*

higher wages, and for the rights and liberties of the working people and for national demands. We shall do our utmost to form an alliance with all progressives, and particularly with members of the Revolutionary Left Party and of the National Liberation Front which numbers in its ranks university students, journalists, engineers and technicians, and also some social and political organizations.

Utterly opposed to having anything to do with the Right parties, the conference noted: "Recent events have shown even the most obdurate (those who advocate such an agreement—*Ed.*), that the reactionaries cannot be trusted, and we must not have any illusions about them."

In conditions of a military dictatorship the immediate task is to launch a struggle for the conquest of power, to elaborate the concrete forms of this struggle.

The spirit that prevailed at the conference and the perspective that inspired its decisions, were aptly expressed by Comrade Reyes, a miners' leader: "The explosive situation in Bolivia is leading rapidly to the elimination of the obstacles in the way to the natural solution. The real revolution, whose social base will be the proletariat and the long-suffering peasantry, the progressive intelligentsia and a substantial part of the petty bourgeoisie, will pass through severe trials, but the time is not far distant when it will break through and triumph."

* * *

The conference reviewed the results of the struggle waged by the Party and endorsed the organizational line charted in the plan adopted on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Party.

The conference dwelt also on the internal crisis in the Party. A factionalist movement, joined by nine of the 44 members of the national leadership, led to the split. This movement has formed its own leading body and has its own functionaries. It prints and circulates literature and has set up parallel organizations in six of the 14 regions where there are regional committees of the Party.

The factionalist organizations in the La Paz, Santa Cruz and Cochabamba departments are but tiny groups with little or no influence. In the three other regions, however, this is not the case. Some time will be needed to get the considerable groups there who support the factionalists, to change their minds and return to the Party.

The CC report singled out the main reasons for this development:

the difficulty of critically assessing the rapidly changing political situation and a possible clash of opinions when working out new tactics;

the existence (due to poor political training) and specific social composition of the social-democratic trends in the Party and even in its Central Committee;

the differences in the international Commun-

ist movement, which provided the theoretical, objective and moral justification for a camouflaged factionalism;

and, lastly, the many mistakes and weaknesses (from outright conciliation to incorrect methods of work) characteristic of the activity of the Central Committee, the local committees and of the many functionaries.

Unfortunately, in our case the conflict of views in the Party did not acquire the character of a serious discussion of the problems. The factionalists mainly indulged in scandal-mongering, and making the most incredible charges. The polemic centered on the ways of developing the revolution. But, as was noted at the conference, there was no objective need to discuss this question at the present time. The Second Congress had adopted a decision that the Party should master all forms of the struggle, and this was the guiding principle in its practical activity. It has never said that any particular form of struggle should be regarded as the exclusive privilege of any one member of the Party, of any one group or of any one party. Speculating on this, the factionalists deliberately tried to disguise the real differences. No less ridiculous are their attempts to prove that our Party "co-exists with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists." In general

the method of the factionalists is loudly to proclaim certain slogans, while at the same time ascribing to the Party fictitious intentions and to conduct the polemic on this basis.

In their activity the factionalists indulge in ultra-Left terminology, but at the same time urge alliances with the "classic Right."

This state of affairs is most damaging to the revolutionary struggle. At this crucial moment when revolutionaries should be concentrating their efforts on combating the common enemy, the "guerrilla warfare" which the factionalists are trying to start in the Party threatens to divert its attention and its forces.

The conference, which noted that the main internal danger is not factionalism as such but the policy of conciliation with the reactionaries, stressed the imperative necessity of concentrating mainly on initiating a mass movement and political struggle, without wasting time on the factionalists. The course of the struggle will show that the Party is pursuing a correct line. At the same time it is the duty of the Communists to reduce to the utmost the damage which the split might cause to the Party and the people. Although we are bound to encounter big obstacles in our way, nothing can prevent us from achieving ultimate victory.

Jorge Colle QUETO

Syria: for unity of the left

IN JANUARY THE Syrian Government promulgated decrees nationalizing a number of branches of the economy.* Recently it nationalized cotton-ginning and established a state monopoly for exporting wheat, wheat flour, barley, malt, raw cotton and cotton seed. These developments met with a response not only in Syria but also in other Arab countries.

In Syria, the public enthusiastically hailed the nationalization measures as a step in the right direction. Satisfaction has been voiced especially by the workers, by the peasants in the countryside where survivals of feudalism still persist, by handicraftsmen and small shopkeepers.

Commenting on the nationalization the Communist Party declared that "by ending the economic domination of the reactionary forces, the decrees have deprived them of the possibility of plundering the people and ruling the country in the interests of their own class."

The nationalization measures were not fortuitous, the need for them being organically linked with the exacerbation of the class

struggle not only in Syria but throughout the Arab world. "The promulgation of these decrees," says the Communist Party statement, "is closely linked with the main direction of the struggle taking place today between the two basic trends in Syria and other Arab countries: the national trend providing for Syria's development along the non-capitalist path, and the reactionary trend favoring capitalist development which would mean profits for the imperialists, big capitalists and feudal lords at the expense of the people."

The socio-economic changes already effected in Syria offer broad opportunities for the non-capitalist way. The workers, peasants and other sections of the population have a stake in deepening and extending the changes. The street fighting which broke out in Damascus in January was a sign of the determination of the masses to uphold their gains against the intrigues of foreign imperialists and the national big bourgeoisie.

Syrian Communists realize that in these conditions the imperative thing is unity of all progressive forces. Our Party suggested the building of a national front long before the

*See article by K. Bagdash in issue No. 3, 1965, of *World Marxist Review*.

January decrees. Some progress was made in this direction. But unity was not achieved at the time because of divergent views among the various political forces.

Defining its attitude to the issue of democracy and demanding democratic freedoms for the people, the Communists proposed more radical measures in this sphere. And they did so despite the apprehension that the formulation of a clear-cut program for the front might repel the national bourgeoisie. The political developments this year and the violent resistance put up by the big bourgeoisie and other reactionaries (including the use of armed force) have confirmed the soundness of our position.

Unity of the Left is needed to thwart the conspiracies hatched by the imperialists, Zionists and other reactionaries against Syria, and to defend and consolidate the gains of the working class and the peasantry. And the Communist Party "calls on all progressives standing for socialism, both in the government and outside, to unite in order to uphold the nationalization and other social and economic reforms."

The Party calls for unity not only because it wants to defend and strengthen the country's independence but also because it wants to consolidate the progressive forces to ensure Syria's advance along the non-capitalist road, along the road to socialism. In calling for unity the Communists take cognizance of the internal processes and the correlation of the political forces. For them the political and social gains won by the people were the logical consummation of the unity and cooperation of all national and progressive forces in the struggle against imperialist conspiracies in 1956-57, and in winning various laws and reforms of benefit to the working class and the peasantry.

We recall that recently some Ministers and other top officials reaffirmed their statements calling on the Left to cooperate, although without specifying the forms of the unity. We recall too that simultaneously official and semi-official persons have urged the people to support the existing regime and to join the Baath party. The form of unity proposed by the latter is unacceptable for our country; it has been rejected not only by the Communists but by other progressives as well.

The contradictory official statements derive from the fact that some people close their eyes to the objective situation in the country. They ignore the existence of progressive forces aspiring to socialism, which, despite the difficulties, are doing practical work and exert an influence on the masses.

The Baath party contradicts itself when in words it calls for cooperation of all the Left forces and at the same time continues to deprive their representatives of democratic freedoms, subjects them to arrest and compulsory confinement. Responsibility for the practical realization of Left unity devolves today on the Baath party and the government. The

proposals they have made so far are obviously inadequate.

The Communist Party lays stress on the points which can promote unity of the Left. Its proposals are:

- 1) recognize the existing progressive forces and work for their unity and cooperation;

- 2) grant these forces democratic rights and the freedom of assembly and speech;

- 3) formulate points on which agreement could be reached by all these forces after signing a national agreement which would be binding on all its signatories in carrying out national and social policies;

- 4) find the best form of cooperation and unity; unity can be achieved either by bringing together the various organizations and groups or by forming a national front.

Many progressives favor the idea of a front. On our part, we maintain that its formation would be the best and most effective form of unity.

Widely representative sections of progressive public opinion took part in the struggle for national independence and social progress. Hence there can be no question of ignoring them and rejecting the idea of a national front which some government officials, judging by their statements, intend to do. Communists, like the representatives of other progressive forces, realize the dangers to which the country is exposed. They are prepared to cooperate with the government and, in so doing, they ask no privileges for themselves. They will continue to work for the elimination of the obstacles standing in the way of forming a national front.

Some government spokesmen maintain that the Left movements and groups should in all cases support every action of the government. But the Left representatives cannot agree to this. While ready to cooperate with all genuinely progressive organizations, they will not cooperate with the Baath party, are fighting against it and, especially, against all the negative elements it personifies. We hold that at the present stage of our country's development the task is to build and strengthen unity, not to engage in a fight for state power. Singlehanded, no party, no matter how strong, is in a position to lead the country along the path of social progress.

The resistance of the big bourgeoisie supported from without by imperialists, and the role played by the masses in combating the subversive activity of the big bourgeoisie, clearly indicate that today it is not a question of which progressive organization holds power. Today it is rather a question of supporting the progressive trends and individuals who want to deepen the reforms recently carried out in the country.

Our call for Left unity and our daily work have met with a wide response among the masses. They realize the importance of the role our Party is called upon to play in the life of the country. At its recent meetings the

Political Bureau of the Party pointed out that in the circumstances of the day propaganda and popularization of the socialist ideology are not enough. The level of economic development attained so far and the political awakening of the people have impelled our Party to propose concrete and rapid solutions of the country's economic, social and political problems.

The experience of recent years has shown that many of our views on problems of Arab unity and its content have affected the further development of the very idea of this unity. In drafting the agrarian reform law and amending it, much was borrowed from the agrarian program of our Party.

The present situation in the country and its immediate and more distant perspectives are objectively linked with the further heightening of the role of our Party. The resolution of the January meeting of the Central Committee said: "Various groups have made and are still making desperate attempts to minimize the role of the Communist Party in the life of the country and distort its attitude in the common Arab struggle. The imperialists and the ultra-reactionaries do not conceal their desire to destroy the Communist Party. Despite this, the Party is stepping up its struggle on behalf of the workers, peasants and all progressives in Syria."

Ahmad CHAGOURI

Carrying on the revolutionary traditions in Lebanon

A RECENT MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Lebanon outlined the tasks of the Party and the perspectives of the country's economic and political development.

The political situation in the Lebanon, it was said, is characterized by a sharp exacerbation of socio-economic contradictions. A polarization of wealth on one side and of poverty on the other is taking place. Prices are soaring, and the conditions of the absolute majority of the population are deteriorating. This is a consequence of the crippling one-sided development determined by the formula: "The Lebanon is a country of services."

In recent years the non-harmonious development of the economy and the one-sided character of its structure based mainly on trade, services and, especially, imports, have been keenly felt. These imbalances are the result not of the geographic position of the Lebanon nor of the way of life of the people, as some claim, but of the manipulations of foreign-owned capital which have become even more pronounced since the proclamation of independence in 1943. Some fifty foreign-owned banks control finance operations and import-export deals, and exert every effort "to promote or give advantages to the commercial sector of the economy, transit and various banking operations and channeling investments into non-productive branches of the economy."

The economy, and primarily industry, is subordinated to the banking and commercial oligarchy which, in turn, is controlled by foreign capital. As a result, difficulties are ex-

perienced with regard to procuring equipment, manufacturing and marketing output. National enterprises are of secondary importance in the economy. Official statistics show that the share of industry and agriculture in the national income does not exceed 30-32 per cent. Over 30 per cent of the income accrues from non-productive branches as trade, banking and services.

This lopsided development takes place in a country where, according to the manufacturers' association, there are 6,000 national enterprises (one-third of them big and medium-sized) employing over 60,000 workers. The resolution of the Central Committee stressed that "by virtue of its present structure the national economy, in which non-productive sectors prevail, is not in a position to develop the mineral resources of the country, its economic potential or the national technological cadres."

The present capitalist development is of the kind imposed by imperialism on the new countries, facilitating penetration by neo-colonialism and its domination in various spheres by virtue of its economic and financial power.

The discontent of the working people is growing. More strikes are taking place in the main branches of industry—power, oil and tobacco. The recent strike of 4,000 tobacco workers, which developed into a major political event, was supported by the public in Tripoli, Saida and other cities.

Pointing to the processes taking place among the working people, the CC meeting de-

clared that "the situation in the country is characterized by strikes and other actions fought by the workers and their trade unions and supported by the small farmers and office workers."

The Lebanese working class has revolutionary traditions and not little experience of strike struggle. Although numerically small, already in the first years of independence it forced the adoption of labor legislation providing for social insurance and collective bargaining. Presently the workers are pressing insistently for higher wages.

"The striving of the organized and unorganized workers for unity," the resolution pointed out, "is stronger today than ever before. More and more united actions are fought by workers belonging to different unions."

The Central Committee also pointed to the backwardness of the main agricultural areas of the country. The fight for social demands waged by the peasants and other residents in these areas forced the government, in its time, to study the situation and effect at least some reforms. While these half-hearted measures should not be overestimated, they represent a step forward.

The CC meeting called for extending and strengthening the public sector. Urging effective aid by the state to the public sector, the Communist Party calls for "a law on industry and the establishment of a Ministry of the Economy"; the government should encourage national industry and "draw up a general program of independent and harmonious economic development." The time has come for the state to concentrate on "consolidating and expanding the public sector." To begin with, the government should immediately take over the manufacture and sale of tobacco. The public sector should also include the Beirut Port Company, Radio Orient and the TV companies.

In order to secure greater budgetary revenue and improve the management of the public sector the government, the Central Committee stressed, should levy a higher toll on the Iraq Petroleum and Aramco Oil pipelines which pass through Lebanese territory, should tax rapidly growing incomes and abolish the secrecy of bank accounts. This would prevent the outflow of capital and rule out tax evasion.

The meeting called for far-reaching reforms in agriculture, noting that "radical changes and progress in agriculture and in the countryside as a whole necessitate an agrarian reform in the interests of the peasant masses to put an end to the survivals of feudalism and impose a limit on private landed property."

Noting that the success of the revolutionary

forces on a world scale does not leave the slightest doubt as to the necessity and possibility of Lebanon taking the road of progress, the meeting pointed out that "Lebanese revolutionaries and progressives are fighting for the transition of our country to the non-capitalist way of development."

The meeting outlined the measures which, in the Communist view, are necessary for the change-over to the non-capitalist way:

- adoption of a foreign policy of resolute struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for peace and peaceful coexistence, for genuine non-alignment;

- ending the rule of monopoly capital and nationalization of the property held by imperialist monopolies, banking, insurance and export-import concerns;

- industrialization based on a developed public sector;

- a radical solution of the agrarian problem, abolition of the feudal survivals;

- establishment of a national democratic state based on genuine social and political democracy;

- consolidation of fraternal relations and solidarity with all the Arab peoples based on joint struggle for independence, democracy and progress, against world imperialism and its main forces—the imperialists of the United States, Britain and West Germany, against Zionism;

- promotion of relations with the Soviet Union and all other countries of the socialist community, establishment of diplomatic relations with all the socialist countries.

The meeting pointed to the growing role of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, and noted with satisfaction the consolidation of the revolutionary forces and the important gains of the Arab national-liberation movement in the UAR, Syria and the Sudan.

"The rise of the revolutionary movement in the Arab countries and the prospects of the advance towards socialism in some of them confront all revolutionaries, Communists and non-Communists alike, with new tasks and enhance their responsibility to their peoples. It is their duty to build and strengthen the unity of all revolutionaries and display initiative to this end," the meeting declared. "All revolutionaries should realize that unity of the revolutionary forces in each Arab country calls for joint efforts to eliminate the hangovers of old disagreements which have been exploited and fomented by the imperialists and reactionaries. It is essential to overcome mutual distrust and suspicion and, above all, the factors giving rise to anti-Communist and isolationist trends."

Ali BASHIR

"FRIENDSHIP" OIL PIPELINE***Fruits of fraternal cooperation***

"THE PIPELINE" IS the title of a recent documentary on the "Friendship" oil pipeline filmed by the Moscow Central Studio of Documentary Films in cooperation with documentary studios in Warsaw, Prague, Bratislava, Budapest and Berlin.

The film was shot on the long construction site which stretched across five countries of the socialist community—Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

What is briefly known as the "Friendship Pipeline" consists of a whole complex of pipelines delivering oil to the refineries in Schwedt (GDR), Plock (Poland), Bratislava (Czechoslovakia) and Szaszhalmabatta (Hungary).

Without this line, oil transportation would require over 50,000 railroad tank-cars and 1,000 locomotives. The line is the biggest system of its kind in the world and is a truly unique installation.

Symbolically, the line is called "Friendship." And every aspect of this film story is an attempt to give a truthful and strictly factual account of this fine example of fraternal relations between socialist countries.

Not everything is perfect in the film or equally valuable. But it moves by its attempt to show the international team of builders, men of labor marching toward the same objective under the banner of Lenin.

The film begins by showing how the great oil stream comes into being—a tractor caravan tugs a gigantic derrick across the trans-Volga plains of Tataria.

And far away from the Volga, on the banks of the Danube in Hungary, the buildings of a plant brought into existence by the "Friendship" line are rising up.

We see the 1,405th kilometer of pipe being laid in the depths of the Bryansk forest. And at this same hour in the Carpathian mountains, the most difficult sector of the line—the 2,395th kilometer—is being laid in bitter struggle against the raging elements. And thus all along the route—in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR. The builders advance towards each other, battling for every kilometer.

The film reproduces not only the biographies and lives of men, but also the specific portraits of the towns whose mode and usual rhythm of life and image change before our eyes with the laying of the line.

The screen shows Plock, a small town in Poland. Many of the tourists who come here are painters, attracted by the ancient temples, the cathedral, the stained-glass panels. . . . It seems that time stands still in the town. But all of a sudden its silence is broken by the entry of workers; the construction site of a petrochemical plant spreads out. A woman painter portrays an industrial landscape, and in the exhibition of children's drawings in the town the choice of theme is the morrow—that of a city busy with heavy traffic.

Sector after sector is completed. The time comes when at the national boundaries the branch lines meet up with the main line. Thousands flock to the state borders for the meeting. Coming together are workers from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR. Welders, after joining the last pipe, embrace each other and we realize that this joyful meeting of builders who have completed their work is a meeting of the peoples.

"The Pipeline" is a manifestation of friendship of the peoples of the socialist countries.

K. SLAVIN

Socialism and the scientific and technological revolution

SPECIAL ATTENTION is being paid in the German Democratic Republic to problems of the scientific and technological revolution. These problems, the subject of articles in the press, are being tackled by engineers, by economists and scientists.

Last spring a Philosophers' Congress in Berlin discussed the social and methodological aspects of the scientific and technological revolution. Its results were utilized in a report made by Walter Ulbricht to a meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party.

"The basic economic law and the economic law of constant growth of labor productivity demand of us," Ulbricht said, "consistent implementation of the technological revolution. The working people in the GDR are vitally interested in this, for they know that this is the way to raise the standard of living."

The question at issue is no longer technological progress in general but something qualitatively new. The Congress pointed out that big changes are taking place in entire branches of production because computers transform and add greatly to the effectiveness of economic management, production control and administrative activity, and also because modern industry is unthinkable without automation, cybernetics, chemicalization and nuclear power.

The paper read by H. Heydn emphasized that a feature of the technological revolution is that the development of technology is *directly* determined by science. German Marxists are anxious to ensure *priority* development of science. By this they understand not a methodological aspect of research and development but an urgent demand in research and technology whose realization will eventually give them the edge in the economic competition.

The concept of priority implies only such results of research and development which are advanced compared with what already exists, which project into the future. This applies to both theoretical research and the practical application of the results of research in launching new lines of production and organizing

highly effective production processes.

It goes without saying that long-term research involves certain risks, for results cannot be foretold with any degree of precision. Risk, however, can be lessened by making full use of the advantages of socialist forms of collective work and scientific comparison of views. Utilizing all the possibilities and advantages of the socialist production relations, we should concentrate, in accordance with a special plan, on lines of research in the natural sciences in keeping with the prospects and requirements of economic development.

The feature of the technological revolution, speakers pointed out, is that it changes man's position in production. He is no longer a cog in the wheel, but the organizer and master of the production process, which is of great importance for the development of the individual. The new position of man implies that his place in production is being taken over by the machines which he creates to imitate particular functions of his manual and mental activity.

Automation releases man increasingly from direct participation in the production cycle, enabling growing numbers of people to engage in experimental and theoretical work. It greatly increases labor productivity and reduces working time. But, giving rise to creative endeavor and scientifically grounded forms of labor, it at the same time requires that an increasingly greater part of leisure time should be used for raising the cultural level of the working people. The moulding of a new kind of producer for whom scientific and technical endeavor is an essential and necessary element of his daily work, is decisive both for production and for science.

Unable to resolve this problem, capitalism finds itself in conflict with the objective logic of development of modern production and science, with the interests of the majority of the people, with their needs. In socialist society, in which public education has acquired an unprecedentedly massive scale, millions of working people are being drawn into research and development.

The Congress examined in detail the rela-

tionship between man and technology, and the social aspects of the technological revolution in socialist society. Note was taken, in particular, of the unity of the technological revolution and the socialist cultural revolution leading to the development of the creative faculties of the individual and to the moulding of a comprehensively developed individual of the communist society. Not robots are the driving force of the technological revolution but men with their individual leanings, with their cooperation, which they should consciously organize in keeping with the requirements of the technological revolution. The latter should be understood as the cause of the working people, as activity by the mass of people. It is a revolutionary practical process initiated by the masses led by the party of the working class and in which the changes in the technological and social conditions, in the entire practical activity of people and, hence, in the people themselves, merge in a common stream. It thus represents the process of both education and self-education of the socialist man.

German Marxists closely link the technological revolution in the GDR with the new economic system of planning and management,* with the development of socialist democracy and the creative initiative of the working people. The new system makes it possible to improve economic planning and management in keeping with the requirements of the technological revolution, to eliminate or lessen the existing or newly-arising contradictions and disproportions, to attain that level of the productive forces and of labor productivity necessary for an advanced socialist society.

Special attention was paid to this aspect of the technological revolution under socialism. In contrast to the capitalist countries, where the technological revolution degrades millions of working people or expels them from the sphere of productive labor, the new economic system in the GDR creates the most favorable opportunities for drawing the masses into the solution of production problems. As a result of enlisting the working people in planning and management, of creating and operating the system of incentives, it becomes possible to bring the personal interests of the working people into keeping with the interests of society and thereby to give effect to the principal motive force of socialist development.

"The technological revolution and the new economic system," W. Ulbricht pointed out in his report to the Central Committee meeting, "are connected with the further *development of socialist democracy*. Modern production processes demand strict order and high discipline. But at the same time, the working people of a socialist state take a direct hand in drafting production plans and carrying them out. . . .

*See article by W. Berger, "The New Economic System in the GDR—Its Essence and Problems," in issue No. 2, 1965, of *World Marxist Review*.

Hence the growing importance of production conferences, production committees, and socialist emulation. The art of organizing the production process consists, among other things, in being able to combine the workers' conviction in the importance of their work for themselves and for society with the movement of socialist labor teams, with socialist emulation, and with the use of incentives."

Creative participation by the people in building socialism is the correct way to eliminate bureaucracy and inertness, to ensure the realization of the technological revolution, and to expand the productive forces of socialist society. "Elimination of dogmatic forms of economic management and bureaucratic impediments," Ulbricht said, "is for us of fundamental significance, for this is part of our struggle for the technological revolution."

Giving free rein to initiative, socialism lays a firm foundation for scientific and technological advance. Lenin stressed repeatedly that the scientific character of any organizational method is the yardstick of its harmony with the needs of the socialist economy, that any work in the field of labor organization can be "continued . . . only if it follows the high level of modern science and gives us all its benefits." It is from these Leninist positions that the Communists in the GDR approach the task of evolving the science of leadership in socialist society. For a long time they have been developing the science of economic management and state leadership for, as experience has shown, the new tasks cannot be solved by old forms and methods of management.

After making a critical analysis of the theory of managing capitalist enterprises, they intend to develop a theory of managing socialist industrial enterprises and amalgamations. This theory will make it possible fully to utilize all the advantages of the socialist system. It will comprise modern methods of management, implementation of the decisions of the collective, decision-making, the most effective methods of guiding labor collectives, and utilization of the latest organizational and technological means in the process of guidance.

The idea is to work out the basic concepts of collective labor under socialism and to apply them to all aspects of administrative activity as well as to work in the Party and in public organizations.

In this connection the question is being raised of the need to take account, in the process of guiding socialist society, of the changes that have taken place in the economy and in the outlook of the people, changes that have led to a new form of dialectical relationship between society as a whole and a body of working people or the individual worker, between centralism and democracy, between leaders and those led, between discipline and independence, between duties and personal responsibility. Of especial significance is the problem of executives measuring up to the

modern level of world science and technology, closely linked with the people, having an ability to give guidance in conditions of broadening socialist democracy, to apply Marxist-Leninist theory creatively and take decisions collectively, while retaining personal responsibility and initiative. The report stresses the

importance of educating executives with the help of the collective but relying on the theoretical and practical training of the executives themselves.

These are some of the problems now being GDR.

J. GRINBERG

SPAIN

By virtue of tradition the working-class and democratic forces have always found the way to cooperation in the fight for freedom. The anti-Franco struggle has acquired new scope as a result of the growth of mass actions by workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals. In the interests of solidarity with the people, Communists, Socialists, Christians, trade unionists and other democrats are uniting in joint actions both in individual countries and internationally. . . .

Communique of the Meeting of the Communist Parties of the Capitalist Countries of Europe

The fight for democracy goes on

AT THE BEGINNING of 1963 Franco put Julian Grimau to death. Early in 1965 he prepared the same fate for Justo Lopez de la Fuente, but things have changed so much since Grimau's execution that the regime had to give up the idea of another legal murder. The case against Justo Lopez was dropped.

This was a big victory for men of goodwill everywhere and primarily for the democratic forces in Spain, a victory which demonstrated our strength and the enemy's weakness, revealing the trend of public sentiment and confirming the correctness of the line of struggle urged by the Communist Party, a line which holds the promise of bigger victories to come.

To appreciate fully the significance of this victory and the correctness of the Party's orientation on national harmony, it is necessary to look at the policy of fascism, to see the motives which have impelled Franco and his associates to resort to the foul method of political murder. If we understand this, we shall also see why, after killing Grimau in 1963, they did not risk killing Justo Lopez in

1965 although it seemed that the stage had been set for this deed.

It has dawned on the supporters of the dictatorship that they have no future, that they are simply the ballast which the people in their fight for freedom and peace will cast overboard. They have no political capital to draw on, and no one is any longer taken in by their demagogy. As for the dictator and his immediate entourage, although they brag about the "Europeanism" of the regime and its "liberalization," they know that they have reached an impasse, the point of no return, and that they will be able to put off the inevitable denouement only if they manage to crush the struggle of the masses.

This explains the murder of Grimau in 1963 and the plan to murder Justo Lopez in 1965. The object was not only to take political revenge, but to intimidate the masses, to re-seal in blood the compact with the supporters of the regime and to widen the gulf of hatred dividing Spaniard from Spaniard.

But to try to intimidate the masses by

means of terror is like trying to keep out the tide with a pitchfork. The march of events has shown the utter futility of this *idée fixe*.

People are moving into action all over the country. Neither the blows aimed at the Communist Party, marching in the forefront, neither the killings of thousands of its leaders and rank-and-file members, nor the suppression of hundreds of its organizations in the past 25 years has succeeded in destroying it or changing its policy, which is steadily gaining support not only among the working people but among other sections of society as well.

But the murder of Grimau and the attempt to kill Justo Lopez had another objective. Franco sought by political murder to strengthen his hold on many of his former allies who are irked by this alliance and secretly hope to break away from it. At one time Franco was able to involve a considerable number of Spaniards in his repressions, to make them accomplices in his crimes. Now he is playing on their fears for the future. For the repressions were carried out not only by the special police and courts. Franco made a point of compromising many Spaniards, and to some extent succeeded in doing so. He fostered a system of informing and eavesdropping, fanning hatred and a spirit of revenge, at times provoking massacres. Especially was this practised in the first three or four years after the Civil War.

Today many of Franco's willing or unwilling allies have been disappointed, have withdrawn their support or joined the opposition. But although they are no longer a party to his manipulations, the memory of the past and uncertainty about the future still lurk in the recesses of their minds.

The murder of Grimau and the foiled attempt on the life of Justo Lopez were designed to revive and prolong this evil complicity, to magnify the accomplices' fears of being called to account for the past and thereby keep them shackled to the machine of terror. But many of those who remained silent during the Grimau case joined the protest campaign in defense of Justo Lopez. Today they are refusing to be even passive accomplices in the crimes of the regime. More and more people are coming to realize that the Grimau case was not an exception but the expression of a deliberate policy designed to sustain in "nationalist Spain" the spirit of revenge against "republican Spain." Today groups which formerly capitalized on the legacy of hatred left from the Civil War find themselves isolated. Spain yearns for peace and security.

This universal desire was clearly evident in the recent trials of Catholics, monarchists, Communists and Socialists and adherents of other political and religious trends. It can also be seen in the demonstrations of workers, students and the clergy.

We Communists have reaffirmed time and again our resolve to fight for a free, democratic Spain in which all could live in peace and

freedom from fear. When Angela Grimau said nearly two years ago that her wish was that "the blood of Julian Grimau might be the last blood shed in Spain" she was not thinking only of the republicans. She was thinking also of all those who, though they once stood on the other side of the barricades, are now yearning for a Spain without hatred, a Spain at peace—peace for all Spaniards who have left the past behind, for all but the guilty ones and those who tenaciously seek to preserve the divisions and hatred of the Civil War and who would block the road to freedom by intimidating people with the spectre of revenge.

When Spain learned that Justo Lopez was to be condemned to death for alleged acts of twenty-seven or twenty-eight years ago, most Spaniards, both old and young, asked themselves in alarm:

How long will the accounts of the Civil War remain open?

Must Spain forever wade in her own blood, tearing her own children from her breast? Are Spaniards to be doomed eternally to a life without peace, a life of fear and uncertainty, never knowing what new act of vengeance tomorrow will bring?

Spaniards of both the older and younger generation, Spaniards living at home and abroad, Communists and Catholics alike, have answered: No!

The account of the Civil War must be closed once and for all, they say. This sentiment is gaining ground, inevitably leading to the conclusion that only by putting an end to the dictatorship can thought be demilitarized, hatred disarmed and a period of security and freedom ushered in for Spain.

That is why, alongside the popular campaign in defense of Justo Lopez headed by the Communists and the working class generally, steps were also taken officially and unofficially by private individuals. Take, for example, the sermon delivered by the Bishop of Salamanca opposing the execution of Lopez. The fact that Don Mariano Robles, an officer of Franco's army and who fought against the Republic during the Civil War, acted as defense counsel for Lopez, is highly indicative of the conciliatory mood that has gripped divided Spain.

Justo Lopez owes his life primarily to the Asturian miners, to the Basque and Catalan working people, the Madrid metalworkers and builders, the priests who took part in demonstrations, the students and professors who have been fighting in the universities and on the streets, and to other political groups and sections of society, men and women of diverse political convictions who want to see an end to the bloodshed and who do not want Spain to go on living on the verge of fratricidal war.

Powerful forces have been brought into motion in Spain and beyond its borders. We have hammered ceaselessly at the fascist wall. And if in twenty days we were able to break down part of that wall, this shows that Franco is a colossus with feet of clay who can no

longer impose, in defiance of reason, his policy of intolerance. That we were able by rallying the forces in Spain and the rest of the world in twenty days to compel the authorities to drop the prosecution of Justo Lopez, prominent Communist and workers' leader, is an indication of the deep-going changes that have taken place and are still taking place in Spain today.

These changes were already visible—though not so clearly as today—two years ago when Grimau was murdered. At that time the Asturian miners' strikes were still fresh in everyone's memory. But whether the mass struggle would continue, whether it could reach a higher level of organization and development was not clear to many, least of all to Franco and his men. At any rate, the adherents of the Franco "tough line," their hand strengthened by the absence of resistance on the part of the advocates of a "soft line," fearing that the struggle might spread to other sections of the population and lead to a polarization of forces in the country, decided to bar the way to this struggle with blood, the blood of Julian Grimau, Communist blood. They decided to kill Grimau to intimidate the nation.

At that time, despite the worldwide indignation, they were able to commit the crime. But the blood of Julian Grimau, far from intimidating the masses, intensified their struggle. That crime did much to open the eyes of those who yesterday supported Franco, making them realize that resumption of the Civil War would be a disaster for Spain. Julian Grimau, dead but immortal, did much to save the life of Justo Lopez. Dead, he won the battle together with his people and with the world.

Among those who fought for the life of Lopez were not only the Communists and workers defending their Party comrade and fellow-worker, but also other groups and individuals who realized that by defending him they were defending themselves, defending the life and future of Spain. The victory, then, had implications far greater than the saving of one man's life. It was above all a victory for the policy of national accord over the spirit of the Civil War. In the final analysis it was Spain's victory over the dictatorship.

Nor was it the only victory. The quashing of the indictment against the Burgos 38 awaiting trial by military tribunal; dissolution of the court conducting the Levante trial on the grounds of incompetence; the decision of the Military Supreme Court in favor of political prisoners, and the application of the statute of limitations to Justo Lopez—all are clear indications that the dictatorship has been forced onto the defensive, a symptom of the contradictions within the army itself. It is a retreat by Franco and the Civil War men. Following the killing of Grimau they were forced by both world public opinion and pressure from within the country to remove the sinister Colonel Eymar from the scene and replace the military tribunals with a "public order" court.

The subsequent efforts of the ultras to restore special jurisdiction and re-establish the military tribunals were foiled by popular struggle, by the position taken by lawyers, and the joint efforts of all who want to see Spain a country governed by law.

It would, however, be a mistake to assume that victory in the Lopez case means that the enemy has been defeated, that there will be no more repressions, or that no one will be persecuted any more. Now that the dictatorship is retreating, when the world has again shown that it is with us, when the watchword "freedom and democracy for Spain!" is proclaimed in the streets, factories and universities, it is essential to carry on the fight to turn the retreat into total rout.

The application of 20 years' statute of limitations to Justo Lopez amounts to an official admission that the execution of Grimau was a political murder. Lawyers are insisting on a review of the case against Grimau and all others who have been unlawfully convicted. The nationwide struggle against repressions and the use of fascist methods in political life, alongside the workers' fight for the right to strike and for trade union freedoms, can open the way to democracy in Spain.

The life of Justo Lopez has been saved. Now his release from prison must be secured. The Valencia trial and all other trials of patriots must be stopped. An immediate and general amnesty must be won for political prisoners and repressions ended in Spain.

The victory over fascism which saved Justo Lopez from the hangman shows that the winds of change are making themselves felt in Spain, that change itself is not far off. And the stronger the international solidarity, which supports and activates the process of renovation, the sooner the change will come.

Two years ago when the fascists first planned to murder Grimau, few believed that they would dare to carry out their design. It ran counter to political logic and the logic of humanity. The storm of indignation aroused by the frame-up and the death sentence reached proportions that seemed powerful enough to break down the prison walls. Yet Julian Grimau was killed.

When it happened the world stood aghast. Now in 1965 when the plot against Justo Lopez was hatched, the world knew that Franco and his camarilla were capable of any crime, that they were ready to kill and would kill, unless we, the people, took action. And the world acted while there was still time.

It is impossible fully to assess the scope of the campaign in defense of Lopez in Europe and the Americas. Organizations, private individuals and even members of governments took official and unofficial action. The mass demonstrations held in many places were marked, as for instance in Belgium and West Germany, by a high degree of militancy. A deep impression was made by the hundreds of protest meetings and the thousands of peti-

tions, letters and telegrams that poured into Spain, the actions by the clergy and the obvious anxiety of the Vatican. Large delegations in many countries knocked at the doors of Spanish embassies and consulates. Progressive international organizations protested to the Franco government. Interpellations were made in the parliaments of Italy, Venezuela, Uruguay and other countries. Countless meetings and demonstrations took place in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, in Greece, Denmark, France, Holland, Switzerland, Britain and Germany.

Spaniards living in exile, and especially the large number of young Spanish emigrants, made a signal contribution to this international campaign. Exposing themselves to no small risk, young Spaniards demonstrated before Franco's embassies and consulates. They displayed tireless energy, printing leaflets and protest postcards and organizing meetings and other measures to acquaint the public with the Lopez case. Many of them were arrested and many are still held in West German prisons.

And while this mounting wave of protest inundated Spain, the memorable press conference given by Dolores Ibarruri, the Chairman of our Party, where she announced her readiness to

appear at the trial of Justo Lopez as a witness for the defense, came as a final blow to the fascists, forcing them to beat a retreat.

All these actions beyond the bounds of Spain—the actions of a world determined to prevent another crime—played an important part in saving the life of Lopez.

Although the outcome of our present and future struggles depends above all on how we prepare the conditions within the country, the active solidarity of all people of good will, the support of all progressives and democrats, is essential for the success of this struggle. For the democratic and progressive forces solidarity with the people of Spain is not merely a matter of sentiment, but a contribution to their own struggle for rights. The winning of freedom and democracy in Spain will not only be a blessing for us Spaniards; it will be a victory for democracy the world over. From the standpoint of the overall strategy of democracy and socialism, the abolition of the Franco dictatorship will create more favorable conditions for the struggle waged by the forces of peace and democracy throughout the world, and primarily for the fight against neo-fascism and the danger of war in Europe.

Marcos ANA

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The people in revolt

THE REVOLUTIONARY explosion in the Dominican Republic followed by the popular revolt against the aggression of U.S. imperialism have made our small country one of the focal points of the world struggle for freedom and independence.

In order correctly to understand the character of the events taking place and what led to them, it is necessary to recapitulate some facts of the recent past.

When the dictator Trujillo was assassinated on May 30, 1961, the Dominican Republic was practically isolated from the rest of the Latin American countries. That was a result of the diplomatic, political and economic sanctions taken against it in the summer of 1960 by all Latin American countries on the recommendation of the Organization of American States. These sanctions could not but hurt the foreign investments in the Republic and specifically

U.S. investments in the Central Romana sugar refinery.

Furthermore, Washington realized that in the conditions of the rapidly mounting revolutionary tide in Latin America, within such close proximity to revolutionary Cuba, the continued existence of the most odious dictator in the Western hemisphere was fraught with political complications. They decided that the best thing was to remove the tyrant who had become a hindrance to them.

The removal of Trujillo started a chain reaction of highly important developments, which afforded various sections of the population the opportunity to voice their interests and to uphold these interests. Each group, of course, availed itself of these opportunities differently.

The death of the dictator did not spell the end of the dictatorship. For months his son,

Ramfis Trujillo, ruled through Joaquin Balaguer, a puppet whom the dictator had put in the presidential chair shortly before his assassination.

During this period significant changes took place in the social, economic and political life of the country. Some of the political emigrants returned and a number of political parties were formed. The popular movement began to revive. New forms of struggle crystallized. But as long as members of the Trujillo family remained in the country the United States refused to lift its economic sanctions, fearing that such a step would have repercussions both inside and outside the country. Meanwhile the U.S. Consulate, through Vice-Consul Hill, was maneuvering behind the scenes creating a favorable atmosphere for restoring U.S. economic control.

These maneuvers eventually yielded fruit: in November 1961 a coup d'état was effected and the members of the overthrown dictator's family were expelled from the country. The way was clear to remove the economic sanctions.

Balaguer, however, who had the backing of Washington, continued as president. Pursuing a demagogic policy he was able for a time to delude some sections of the population. He abolished some of the taxes imposed by Trujillo in the closing years of his government and allocated benefits for the needy.

Before long, however, Balaguer's demagoguery clashed with the interests of some of the bourgeoisie, headed by the reactionary National Civil Union which was straining to capture power. At the time there was no effective revolutionary force to counter the struggle for power among the ruling clique. The Left was still very weak. Its leaders, including the entire leadership of the Popular Socialist Party (the party of Dominican Communists) were barred from returning to the country. The only active progressive force in the republic was the Revolutionary Movement of June 14, but it too was not strong enough. The other Left group—the Dominican People's Movement—lacked a clearly-defined program of action. The result was that a considerable part of the people were disorientated and supported the Right or liberal parties.

Towards the end of 1961 the National Civil Union organized a general strike. The principal aim was to overthrow Balaguer. Although this was not achieved the strike compelled the government to make certain concessions to the bourgeoisie and to form a State Council of seven members which was to share the power with it. A month later another general strike forced Balaguer to resign and with him General Echavarria who after the November 1961 coup d'état had become Balaguer's "strong man."

The State Council, in which reactionaries dominated, existed until February 27, 1963. On that day, for the first time after thirty years of dictatorship, the constitutional government

of Juan Bosch came to power. This was the first government in the history of the Dominican Republic to be elected by the people in a general election.

Juan Bosch was one of the political emigrants who had returned to the country during the government of Ramfis Trujillo-Balaguer. His political career was a chequered one. He was the intimate friend and counsellor of many Latin American ex-presidents, among them Carlos Prío of Cuba, Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, Jose Figueres of Costa Rica. Bosch was also closely connected with Luis Munos Marin, ex-governor of Puerto Rico. It was therefore generally believed that his government would follow the path of his old friends, namely, that of total subordination to North American imperialism. The Latin American strategists in the State Department thought the same. It is interesting to note that when Bosch was inaugurated President, Lyndon Johnson, then U.S. Vice-President, attended the ceremony.

However, in his inaugural speech Bosch announced that as long as he remained in power freedom would not die in the Dominican Republic. Unlike Betancourt and Co. he sincerely tried to fulfil this promise.

One of Bosch's first measures was to annul the inequitable agreement concluded by the State Council with Standard Oil of New Jersey on the construction and exploitation of an oil refinery in the Dominican Republic.

When U.S. companies offered their services to build a hydro-electric station Bosch preferred to conclude an agreement with a Swiss firm. When the price of sugar on the world market went up and the various sugar companies hoped to pocket the additional profits of several million dollars, Bosch forestalled this by fixing a maximum price so that the excess profits received by the companies went to the state treasury.

The Constitution adopted in April 1963 by the Legislative Assembly in which Bosch's party had a big majority, was one of the most liberal and democratic constitutions in Latin America. It gave all political parties legal status, prohibited the existence of latifundia and the sale of land to foreigners. The Bosch government never openly attacked the Cuban revolution or its leader Fidel Castro.

These facts explain why the Bosch Government was ousted in September 1963 by a military coup in which as usual the U.S. Embassy, the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency had a direct hand.

The reactionary U.S. policy-makers could not forgive Bosch for "departing" from the Prío-Betancourt-Figueres-Munos-Marin line. His "crime" is one which the imperialists do not forgive: he gave the people certain liberties, cut the profits of the imperialist companies and created the prerequisites for raising living standards.

It was therefore also not surprising that when a group of young officers, headed by

Colonel Fransisco Caamano tried to restore the Constitutional government and ex-President Bosch, President Johnson dispatched marines to occupy Dominican territory.

But the diehards in Washington least of all expected that the swift and easy military operation they had banked on would develop into a long-drawn-out conflict which has had worldwide repercussions.

By putting arms into the hands of the people to defend democracy, sovereignty and the right to self-determination, Colonel Caamano created a situation which the Pentagon strategists could not foresee and in the face of which they find themselves helpless. The indignation of world public opinion at their crime has gravely undermined the international position

of the United States, and even more so the prestige of the Organization of American States which has lent itself to this crime. The cynicism of the Washington puppets in this organization has once again shown the world that it is the "colonial office" of the United States.

But what worries President Johnson most of all is the outcry that has gone up throughout Latin America against the U.S. intervention. Like the exploit of our brothers in Cuba, the struggle of our people, their great sacrifices are yet another torch which will kindle new flames of the liberation struggle in the mountains and valleys of Latin America.

Pedro DURAN

INDIA

Free the political prisoners!

THE PERSECUTION OF "Left" Communists and other democrats continues in India, and their detention without trial is widely practised. Obdurately disregarding the protests of Indian and world opinion, the authorities recently carried out new arrests of democrats in Tripura, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Assam and other States. The number has risen from 1,000 to 1,200.

The conditions in which the political prisoners are kept are worsening day by day. They are denied even the elementary needs. For example, Comrade Parab, a well-known trade union leader, died recently in a Bombay prison where he was denied proper medical attention. His complaints were ignored by the prison administration.

Also gravely ill in a Bombay prison is S. S. Mirajkar, President of the All-India Trade Union Congress and ex-Lord Mayor of the city of Bombay. All requests for his release, at least on parole for medical treatment, have been rejected by the government. Susheela Gopalan (wife of A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist group in Parliament) with her 8-year-old child is kept in a Trivandrum hospital under heavy police guard.

Over 400 of the political prisoners have been taken ill as a consequence of bad food, lack of fresh air, and solitary confinement.

The government's refusal to try the prisoners, to observe the laws of the country, its

denial of facilities for legal advice—these are facts of the flagrant violation of the Constitution.

These actions and the maintenance of the emergency law are seen as a concession to the reactionaries. The public demand for the release of the prisoners is ignored by the government, despite the fact that even the White Paper which Home Minister Nanda submitted to Parliament does not contain the slightest proof of any guilt on the part of the arrested men.

The arrest of these men and women was resolutely condemned by the electorate in Kerala who elected 29 imprisoned candidates to the State legislature, defeating the candidates of the Congress Party. The government, however, has refused to release the elected deputies. Again in violation of the Constitution it dissolved the legislature and imposed so-called president's rule on the State, sending one of the Congress leaders as Governor there.

The Communist Party demands the immediate and unconditional release of all the political prisoners, and repeal of the emergency laws and the Defense of India Rules which, in the opinion of the supreme legal authorities of the country, grossly violate the Constitution. The Party has called for an end to president's rule in Kerala and for the restoration of democracy.

A resolution adopted at a meeting of the

National Council of the Party in April declared that "a campaign for these demands is a campaign for democratic liberties and for defense of parliamentary democracy, which must be organized jointly by all Left forces and other democrats . . . The National Council resolves to initiate such a campaign in cooperation with all Left and democratic forces which are prepared to act together with our Party."

The campaign is now under way. Civil liberties conventions have been held in Bombay,

Calcutta, Delhi and other cities. Another recent development was the formation of an All-India Civil Liberties Union.

International protests have also been made against the repressions in India.

Indian Communists and democrats call on people of good will everywhere for greater solidarity with the struggle of Indian patriots for the release of their comrades now behind bars.

P. S. SINGH

GUINEA

On the road to social progress

ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1958, Guinea became an independent country. Responding to the call of the Democratic Party the overwhelming majority of the population rejected de Gaulle's proposal for a so-called Franco-Afro "community," designed as a screen for continued exploitation of the people.

The winning of independence was aided by the activity of the Democratic Party which had united the patriotic forces. The Party leaders pointed out that the institute of tribal chiefs was being used as an instrument to keep the people in subjection. The Party abolished the prerogatives of the venal social system and placed social life on a broad democratic foundation. This work, carried out in 1956 and 1957, served as the basis for consolidating national unity and was decisive for winning independence.

The situation in which the young Republic embarked on the path of independence was characterized by the following main features:

- its economy, based on monoculture (bananas) was controlled by foreign monopolies;

- a single railway line served mainly for transporting the banana crop to the port of Conakry;

- the port installations were used solely by the overseas companies;

- apart from a few small processing plants industry was practically non-existent;

- trained African personnel were few, consisting mainly of the handful of people whom the Democratic Party had been able to train in six-month courses.

At the time of French rule Guinea was torn

by inter-tribal strife. Whatever political organizations that existed before the formation of the Democratic Party were based on the ethnical principle. Altogether there are 17 ethnical groups in the country.

The success of the Democratic Party in uniting the people spiked the colonialist intrigues designed to divide the national-liberation front.

Guinea has taken bold measures in the economic sphere. ". . . Political independence," said Sekou Toure in October 1963, "is but a means, and not an end in itself. . . . It can be consolidated only by economic development. . . ."

Because of the sabotage of the French bourgeoisie and its NATO allies, who dreamed of strangling the Guinean revolution, the young Republic was forced to sever its old economic ties. Guinea has found a reliable support in the socialist countries. The socialist countries have helped Guinea with credits and technical know-how.

In July 1960 a development plan was adopted. Among other things, the plan provided for the setting up of a national administrative apparatus, the building of a printing plant capable of satisfying the requirements of several African states, a polytechnical institute for 1,500 students and a radio station.

In agriculture provisions were made for producer cooperatives, for model state farms, and for greater output of cash products (bananas, coffee, palm kernels, etc.).

Good progress has been made in fulfilling the plan. True, early idealization of the perspectives of Africa's development resulted in funds being invested in projects and under-

takings which so far have not yielded the needed economic effect.

Cooperative development encountered a number of difficulties, the primitive agriculture inherited from colonialism being one of them.

Problems of trade, too, arose with great acuteness before the young Republic. Immediately after gaining independence, a monopoly of foreign trade was introduced. The reorganization of home trade carried out at the same time was designed to ensure an equitable distribution of imported goods among consumers.

On March 1, 1960, an independent currency zone was formed in the Republic, following which the subsidiaries of colonial banks left the country. Guinea established its own national insurance company. The Home Trade Board with its centre in Conakry opened state shops throughout the country, even in the smallest villages. But this undertaking, designed to service the rural population in an effective manner, proved to be cumbersome. It suffered too from the shortage of trained personnel, and ultimately had to be decentralized.

Guinea has reformed the colonial education system, making it genuinely democratic. Public schools have been opened in all villages. In the 1966/67 school year all children of school age will be able to go to school. The Polytechnical Institute opened three years ago trains mining engineers, geologists, mechanical engineers, builders and agronomists.

Other new developments include a national school for training administrative personnel, two teacher training colleges, two general schools, a technical school and a number of technical colleges.

We have described only some of the aspects of the development of Guinea which, as Sekou Toure has said, "has chosen the road of difficulties." And the difficulties are many. But they are being overcome. Guinea, determined to put an end to the inherited backwardness and to achieve economic independence, is boldly stepping out along the highway of social progress.

Gara TESSEN

AUSTRALIA

Against complicity in the aggression

IN AUSTRALIA AS elsewhere people have been shocked by the United States bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. To this feeling was added concern for peace and the future of their country when it was learned that the Menzies Government had decided to send a battalion of 800 men to South Vietnam.

This action reflects the foreign policy of the Australian rulers, which for years has been directed against the people. It has led the country into the camp of extreme international reaction, and turned it into an ally of the most zealous defenders of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Southeast Asia.

The Australian government was one of the first to support the U.S. military in the Korean War and sent troops to Korea. A member of two aggressive blocs — ANZUS and SEATO — formed to combat the national-liberation movement in Southeast Asia, Australia has invariably taken the side of the colonialists: the Dutch in the issue of West Irian, and the British in the struggle against the national-liberation movement in Malaya. It supported the British-French-Israeli aggression in Egypt in

the autumn of 1956 and the U.S. intervention in the Lebanon in 1958.

Declaring its solidarity with U.S. imperialist policy in Vietnam already three years ago, the Menzies government started preparations for direct participation in the aggression against the Vietnamese people. Last November, not without pressure from the Pentagon, it approved a new three-year military program providing for a nearly 50 per cent increase in the armed forces by 1968. For the first time conscription is being introduced in peacetime. In February when Defense Minister Paltridge, then in Washington, obtained a pledge from McNamara to help Australia with its rearmament program, the U.S. undertook to bring its arms deliveries to \$350 million. Simultaneously, the demand was made that Australia do something concrete in Vietnam. Hence the departure of 800 soldiers.

The Communist Party has vigorously denounced this policy which is enmeshing the country in a dangerous colonial venture. A statement issued by the Party pointed out that Australia's interference in this colonial gamble

"is a flagrant breach of international law and morality, of solemn international agreements and of the United Nations Charter. It exposes present and future generations of Australians to condemnation by Asian and world opinion for complicity in the American war against an Asian people by mass bombings, use of napalm, gas and chemical warfare. Not one important Asian nation supports the U.S. war or Australian intervention." The Party has called for a "genuinely Australian foreign policy, built on peace and friendship with Asia."

A meeting of the Central Committee held in June decided to campaign against Australia's involvement in the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Speaking at the meeting, R. Dixon, Chairman of the Party, rebuffed the attempts of the capitalist press to denigrate the attitude of the Communist Party on the Vietnam question. This attitude, he said, is in keeping with the interests of the Australian people.

A nationwide movement against the government's reckless actions in Vietnam is developing all over the country, embracing factory and office workers, students, women's organizations and church leaders.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions has protested against sending troops to Vietnam. Many work stoppages took place in protest against complicity in the aggression. Particularly active are the Seamen's Union and the Waterside Workers' Federation. Their members were the first to boycott U.S. warships by refusing to man tugs to take them to the port of Melbourne. The WWF Federal Council has called for resolute opposition to the war in Vietnam, for a mass movement of trade unionists and all people of goodwill "to protest to their members of Parliament by deputation, telegram and industrial action." Transport workers too and workers in other industries have protested.

"End selling Australian lives for dollars," they say.

The universities in Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra and other cities have become centers of

the young people's struggle against the undeclared war into which the country is being drawn by its rulers. The government's actions have also been denounced by the Anglican, Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox clergy. "End the Vietnam War!" was the main theme of the May Day demonstration in Sydney in which about 5,000 people participated, representing 40 trade unions and other organizations.

The government's action in sending troops to Vietnam has been censured by the Labor Party. Speaking in Parliament A. A. Calwell, Federal Labor leader, said that Menzies' interference in Vietnam would but add to the sufferings of the Vietnamese people for whom the very name of Australia would become a dirty word.

The ruling circles are alarmed by the resistance to their aggressive foreign policy. So much so that they have launched an attack against the labor movement and are threatening the democratic rights of the people. The aim of the government, a statement of the Communist Party stresses, is "to whip up a jingo atmosphere for an attack on the whole labor movement, on academic freedom, freedom of the press and free speech."

Extremist elements are calling for sanctions against critics of the war policy.

Arrests were made of leaders of demonstrations in Sydney early in May to protest against the involvement in the Vietnam war. Said S. Barrett, a leading trade unionist: "Were we wrong with our opposition to German fascism, troops to Korea, non-intervention in Suez and South African apartheid? Millions of people throughout the world are in agreement with us in our opposition . . ." Mass sentiment was expressed by W. J. Brown, Communist Party Central Committee member, who was arrested for taking part in the Sydney demonstration. Questioned how he pleaded, Brown said: "We consider the Menzies government guilty, not us. We took our stand for peace and we plead not guilty."

L. SALLY

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