

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

In this issue:

The perspective for peace

—Isabelle Blume

Greece in the battle for democracy

—L. Stringos

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May 1966 be a year of new victories of the forces of progress over the forces of reaction! May the liberation movements of peoples grow and triumph!

PEACE TO THE WORLD!
LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

- F. ANTON
A. FERRARI
V. SLAVIK
- 3 **Unity of action is a vital need of our time**
- 8 **For peace and democracy**
SPAIN: OPPOSITION TO THE DICTATORSHIP IS GROWING
AFTER THE BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS:
THE TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES
GREECE IN THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY
- S. CARRILLO
M. REIMANN
L. STRINGOS
- 26 **WMR interviews**
I. BLUME THE PERSPECTIVE FOR PEACE
- 30 **Theory and practice of building socialism**
N. FADDEYEV ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THE COUNCIL FOR
MUTUAL ECONOMIC AID
J. PAJESTKA CENTRAL PLANNING AND INDUSTRIAL
AMALGAMATIONS
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE CMEA COUNTRIES
AT THE PRESENT STAGE (SURVEY)
F. NASSAR JORDAN'S ROAD TO COMPLETE LIBERATION,
DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS
- 48 **The national-liberation movement today**
J. I. QUELLO
N. ISA CONDE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN THE DOMINICAN
REPUBLIC AND ITS LESSONS (Part II)
- 57 **Viewpoints on current problems**
A. RAMZI
A. LEVKOVSKY PETTY-BOURGEOIS MASSES IN THE REVOLUTIONARY
MOVEMENTS OF THE "THIRD WORLD"
- 64 **In the communist and workers' parties**
A. LEPPANEN SEMINAR OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES
OF THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES
P. ERIKSON CONGRESS OF DANISH COMMUNISTS
G. OEHRMAN SWEDEN: BUILDING A MASS PARTY
L. MARMIO FINLAND: A DISTRICT PARTY COMMITTEE
TACKLES ITS PROBLEMS
A. MORA COMMUNISTS OF PARAGUAY PREPARE
V. ALONSO FOR CONGRESS
PARTY LIFE IN BRIEF
- 79 **Communications and comment**
J. M. FORTUNI CONFERENCE OF THREE CONTINENTS
A. MARGULIES THE FIGHT FOR ECONOMIC CO-MANAGEMENT
M. AHMADI IN DEFENSE OF ALGERIAN PATRIOTS
- 84 **Heroes of the struggle for communism**
F. A. CONSTANTINA PEREZ
- 86 **Our diary**
JAN PRAZSKY THE IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE AND
THE FORCES OF PROGRESS

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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WMR

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Unity of action is a vital need of our time

F. ANTON, A. FERRARI, V. SLAVIK

NEVER IN HISTORY have the forces of progress on the international arena been as powerful as they are today and never before have they exerted such a decisive influence on the course of events; under the impact of their actions the general crisis of the old social system is becoming more acute. To arrest the march of these forces, a march which began with the October revolution and which gained momentum after the Second World War, the capitalist world is mustering vast material resources, to say nothing of its political and ideological arsenal. In speaking of the forces of progress we have in mind the community of socialist countries, those contingents of the working class which play such an important role in the life of the capitalist states, the diverse and militant national liberation movements and the many other movements working for peace and democracy. In a word, all those forces contributing to the further development of the revolutionary liberation process. The socialist world, which by its very existence greatly influences world developments, plays a particularly important role, as does the Communist world movement, the most influential political movement of our time.

Experience clearly shows that combined action by the motive forces of history (the world socialist system, the working-class and the national-liberation movement), based on mutual cooperation and support, are an earnest of social progress. In this respect the situation is a favorable one and inspires optimism.

At the same time, however, a critical

examination of the present world situation shows that progressives cannot but be concerned about certain complex issues and their solution. To mention some of these. Every day brings news of the escalation of aggression by imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, in Vietnam and in other areas of the world. And not only does this imperialism threaten the countries of Latin America, it resorts to armed intervention every time they take action to free themselves from dollar bondage. Santo Domingo is a case in point. Then there are the continual provocations against Cuba which is now building socialism. Neo-colonialist designs are implemented by means of economic pressure and military force as was the case in the Congo and other countries. In Europe, which twice in the space of half a century has been ravaged by war, voices are clamoring in West Germany for a revision of frontiers, expansion and revenge.

The military arsenal which already constitutes a threat to humanity is constantly being expanded. The present situation is fraught with the danger of yet another world war which is being kindled by imperialism, and which, should it break out, would be immeasurably more destructive than all previous wars taken together.

The struggle for peace, for a detente and against imperialist aggression is, therefore, intrinsically linked with the struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism.

These facts and trends are impelling people to pose the question: what is the reason for

the intensified aggression by imperialism? What should be done by those who are alive to the danger, who are determined to repel reaction, and what conclusions should the Communist movement draw in this connection?

The aggressiveness of imperialism derives from its very nature, and can be curbed only by the combined actions of all the revolutionary and progressive forces.

Imperialism has stepped up aggression because it wants to swing the balance on the world arena in its favor; it seeks not only to maintain a "status quo," unacceptable to freedom fighters, but by escalating war to "roll back" the liberation movement and socialism. Hence its ceaseless anti-Communist campaigns and its campaigns against the national liberation movement. Imperialism has been encouraged to step up its aggression because of the lack of unity among the progressive forces and the differences in the socialist camp and the Communist world movement. Hence its tactic of nuclear intimidation and bluff.

Communists have always taken into account the nature of imperialism, which engenders war; they have always critically examined the processes taking place in it and, accordingly, have mobilized the forces capable of combating it and restricting its sphere of activity. This is all the more important now that imperialism is engaged in export of counter-revolution and threatening a thermonuclear war. This policy can and must be defeated if the progressive forces are to make headway.

The slightest weakening of united action by the progressive forces, and particularly by their main support—the socialist countries—is to the advantage of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries. They are quick to exploit differences between the socialist states, in world Communism, the national liberation movement and in the democratic movement in their own countries.

There is no denying that the differences in the Communist world movement have adversely affected the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, the relations between some socialist countries, and the national liberation movement; these differences are hampering also the struggle of the working class in some of the capitalist countries and making this struggle less effective as a result. Would U.S. imperialism, for example, have been able to wage war in South Vietnam and use military force against a sovereign socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, if all the socialist countries had taken

concerted action in rendering aid to the Vietnamese people?

The stopping of U.S. aggression in Vietnam would not only help to lessen the danger of escalation of the war; it would also improve the international climate, would favorably affect the struggle of the working class, of progressive and democratic public opinion to resolve the crucial issues of our time. It could also spark a new upsurge in the activity of the peace forces. Other issues are prevention of any aggressive war, the carrying out of a consistent policy of peace, embargo on export of counter-revolution and of neo-colonialism in the newly-free countries. These are all issues on which progressives, and especially Communists, could not only reach understanding but also take joint action which would grow as they enriched their experience.

The international situation of today is perhaps more than ever before determining events and political developments in individual countries. The fact that the revolutionary forces in these countries may be faced with major and more diverse tasks does not rule out the need for united action on the international arena. The effort to solve the problems of their own countries will be all the more effective the more successful is the struggle on a world scale. The interconnection between national and international problems in our time is obvious; unity of action on a national and international scale is interdependent.

As in the past this unity derives from concrete political developments, from the given historical situation. Communists are anxious to contribute to this unity, and not solely from their own particular standpoint, but in the interests of the masses. Communists are aware of their great responsibility to the anti-imperialist and democratic movements, to the peace-loving peoples of the world; of the fact that they must help to unite all these forces if the aggression of the imperialists is to be stopped, if the outbreak of a third world war is to be prevented, world peace ensured, the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation advanced and if world imperialism is to be destroyed; that they must be the driving force of this unity at both national and international levels. This calls for the maximum unity, and first of all, unity in the Communist world movement itself.

Unity has always been a feature of the international Communist movement. Suffice to recall some of its finest traditions as, for example, the "Hands Off Russia!" movement at the time of the October Revolution, the

movements in defense of the Chinese revolution and in aid of republican Spain, the joint struggle of the progressive forces against fascism both before and during the Second World War, not to mention many other actions in which the Communist parties gave expression to the aspirations of the people. These actions engendered movements which brought the forces of peace, democracy and socialism new successes both on a national and international scale.

Unity of the Communist movement is not something static; it is a dynamic process. In our time it is expressed in a variety of forms, but for all that it can be achieved only through persistent effort by all its contingents and only if all Communists display common concern for the further progress of the Communist movement.

At a time when differences exist on general theoretical, strategic or tactical questions the best way to iron these out is through joint action on issues on which agreement is possible. One such vital issue which is the concern not only of Communists but also of the national liberation forces and of all who stand for peace and democracy, is concerted action to stop U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to secure for the people of South Vietnam the right to decide their destiny, and strict observance of the international agreements on this issue.

At the moment it is important to find ways of uniting, and in joint actions to test the soundness of our motives and aims. Some say that what divides the Communists far outweighs what unites them. This view is, in our opinion, a departure from Marxism. What we urge is not a pretense of unity, but a search for points of contact; to raise the question of further differentiation would only make it difficult for Communists to carry out the tasks that brook no delay. We put the issue in this way not for any purposes of controversy, but because we think it could be a way towards restoring unity, with due consideration, of course, for other viewpoints. The Moscow Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' parties, the fifth anniversary of which was recently observed, showed how co-operation between the fraternal parties should be furthered and differences resolved. Are the ways suggested no longer effective and acceptable to the parties that have differences?

Speaking of unity, and particularly unity of action, we proceed from the fact that in those cases when a number of Communist parties have met, the viewpoints have invariably *coincided* in such vital matters as immediate tasks.

Take, for example, the meeting of Communists of the countries of Maghreb and the Arab East, the meeting of the Communist parties of Latin America, of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, and the joint discussions and exchanges on specific problems of theory and history, as well as current problems.

As we know from experience, identity of views has expressed itself in effective joint actions by the parties. Thus, the last meeting of representatives of the parties and member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, which evoked a broad response, adopted resolutions which strengthen the unity of the Treaty states and on measures to repel imperialist aggression. Mention should also be made of the various bilateral meetings that have contributed to more effective economic cooperation of the socialist countries. Undoubtedly, the meeting of Communist parties of Latin America, held just over a year ago, helped toward greater understanding between these parties and gave new impetus to the anti-imperialist movement on the continent, as the campaign of solidarity with the Dominican people clearly showed.

Another fact is that the solidarity of the Communist parties with the Party of the Working People of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and with all the people of Vietnam — irrespective of whether this solidarity has reached the desired scope — is not confined to declarations.

Solidarity and united action against imperialism and for peace are not confined to the world Communist movement. Here it will be in place to mention the services rendered by this movement, its contribution to moulding the internationalist outlook of the working class and people all over the world. These services in their turn require of each Party a still greater sense of responsibility to the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement. It is not accidental that we are witnessing in recent times the expansion of contacts between the Communist parties of the socialist and capitalist countries with the parties and organizations in power in the countries that have won independence.

No Communist party should under-rate the accumulated experience of the world movement. On the contrary, a profound study should be made of this experience in various areas of the world to strengthen unity of action, and this experience should be creatively applied to promote international anti-imperialist solidarity.

The internationalist awareness of large sections of people is expressed in organized

forms and concrete actions. We see this in the cooperation of diverse progressive trends in organizations like the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. The last Congress of the World Peace Movement in Helsinki carried unanimously a number of resolutions calling for still greater efforts to safeguard peace. Besides these international forms of solidarity new forms are making their appearance.

These new forms have to contend with heavy odds. They have to battle against the imperialist propaganda apparatus; their supporters are subjected to discrimination and persecution by the authorities. There are also the internal problems in the various international organizations to be taken into account, especially when these concern political development, the affiliation of new trends, etc.

Mass actions in the liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America are acquiring a growing international significance. January witnessed a solidarity conference of three continents (Asia, Africa and Latin America) in Havana.

Of significance too is the emergence on the international arena of the Movement for Self-Determination and Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America. Last November this organization held a meeting in Buenos Aires of representatives of the trade unions and of the political groups (including Socialists, Christian Democrats and Communists) of several Latin American countries. The meeting gave a fitting rebuff to the Second Inter-American Conference held in Rio de Janeiro.

These and many other developments show that in speaking of the unity of these movements we are prompted not by abstract wishes but by what already exists and what should undoubtedly be consolidated and further developed.

In all these international organizations Communists play an active, unifying role. But as we know, the differences in Communist ranks are sometimes carried over into the mass movements. This creates difficulties, weakens unity and could injure the prestige and influence of the Communists.

Thus the harm caused by the differences is not to be underrated. Imperialism wants, first and foremost, to isolate the Communists on a national and international scale, to represent them as being incapable of tackling the crucial issues of our time.

A thing that is to be noted about the differences is that they are seized upon by the

anti-Communist propaganda and are used by the imperialists in their struggle against the revolutionary movement. In its effort to discredit communism, imperialism concentrates on falsifying and distorting things in the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular. The achievements of socialism, the active peace policy pursued by the socialist countries, a policy imbued with internationalism, give the lie to the fabrications of the enemy.

The Communists have always told the people that united action by forces adhering to different social viewpoints, to different ideologies and differing in ultimate aims, is both possible and essential, if joint action is to be taken against the common enemy. In the light of this, the people find it difficult to understand why Communists who have the same class base and are inspired by the same ideology have not been able to maintain solid unity in the struggle against imperialism. The people of Vietnam and Cuba, of the Congo and Venezuela, of Portugal and Colombia, the Negroes in the United States, and white and Indian in Peru, in a word, working people all over the world who are exploited by imperialism, who are the victims of its aggression and political persecution, judge of the Communists not by their words but by their actions. And it is only right to ask: what motives, other than those of ensuring peace, freedom and independence for the people, what motive other than social progress should determine the attitude of Communists?

Those who know the price of unity from bitter experience can understand appeals like the Communique of the Consultative Meeting, held in Moscow in March last year, to the effect that "in this situation it is more necessary than ever 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."

Unity of action, then, should be seen not as something that only Communists want, but as a component of the fight on behalf of all the people.

It is a matter of regret, however, that the differences in the world Communist movement have, if anything, become more pronounced. This does not mean that from the very beginning, and even more so of late, ways and means were not sought to heal the

split, to reach a better understanding of the common tasks facing the international Communist movement as a whole, and its individual contingents in particular. If all concerned were to approach this vital matter with a real feeling of responsibility progress could be made. Although most of the parties want unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, this does not mean that any of them has the right to impose its will on the other parties. However, while adhering to their views they are doing everything to restore unity.

The task is to so act as to end the imperialist aggression in all areas of the world. The most dangerous aggression at the moment is the U.S. aggression against the people of Vietnam. Ending this "dirty war" would signify not only the triumph of the just cause of the people of Vietnam and the opportunity for them to decide their own destiny; it would also avert the danger of the conflict escalating.

It is true that all the Communist and Workers' parties have publicly voiced their complete solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Vietnam. Valuable and effective material aid has been rendered, and is still being rendered by a number of parties. This aid, as the example of the USSR and other socialist countries shows, is in keeping with the corresponding agreements concluded with the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and is in line with the request of the latter. In the capitalist countries protest demonstrations are taking place demanding an end to U.S. aggression. Carrying forward the finest traditions of their people, progressives in the United States are courageously raising their voices in the citadel of imperialism in protest against the war. The call "Stop the Bombing of the DRV!" is heard throughout the country.

The need, however, is for united action on a broader scale in all parts of the world, and in particular in those countries where the governments support the U.S. aggression. This will give added impetus to the solidarity with Vietnam. It is likewise important to demonstrate that more effective forms of aid will be

given in the event of the U.S. imperialists venturing to escalate their aggression.

The parties must help by every means at their disposal to give effect to this unity of action.

This applies, first and foremost, to the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries. It is the socialist world system, the bulwark of all the revolutionary and progressive forces, that shoulders the weight of the struggle and extends aid to the peoples carrying it on. Every opportunity should be used to render the aid needed; the people of Vietnam, indeed, people everywhere in the world, expect this. Close unity of the socialist community would be a stimulus, a great power of attraction and mobilization of the masses in the capitalist world and of the peoples who have cast off the imperialist yoke, and would pave the way for joint action by the forces of progress.

This task concerns also the Communist and Workers' parties in the rest of the world. Most of them have considerable influence among the working class and other democratic forces in their countries. All these forces are opposed to the aggression of U.S. imperialism and support the people of Vietnam; they want to see aggression ended and have expressed this sentiment in different ways and on different occasions. Greater coordination of the policy and activity of these parties and organizations is essential if the actions by the working class and masses, generally, the trade unions and other organizations and democratic forces is to have an impact on a regional, continental and even world scale, actions with which U.S. aggressive circles and those supporting them will have to reckon.

Such are the demands of proletarian internationalism from which the Communists draw their strength. It is hoped that unity of action will be achieved, and the sooner, the better, for we should bear in mind that things might become worse, and this would make it even more difficult to advance along the path where the obstacles, although they exist, are not insuperable.

Ordinary people everywhere want peace and democracy. Hence slogans calling for effort towards these cherished aims are an effective weapon in the day-to-day class struggle. The collective experience of the Communist movement has helped to deepen and broaden the meaning of the fight for peace and democracy and to enlist entire peoples in it. The fight is a universal one, even though the tasks of the progressive forces in the various countries and the forms their actions take vary greatly. Assessing and summing up the results of the democratic and anti-monopoly struggle have become a tradition in the Communist movement. Continuing the publication of contributions on the fight for peace and democracy, we print below articles dealing with some specific aspects of the anti-monopoly and democratic struggle in a number of countries and the situation in the peace movement today.

Spain: opposition to the dictatorship is growing

SANTIAGO CARRILLO

THIS YEAR MARKS the thirtieth anniversary of the fascist insurrection in Spain which led to a war that culminated in the establishment of the Franco dictatorship. Today, despite the aid rendered it by the USA over the years, the Franco regime has grown decrepit and has completely lost prestige; it is now in the throes of a crisis the existence of which is conceded even by its supporters. In the course of 1965 the unity, degree of organization and militancy of the people, grew. The working class set the example by the great strikes and demonstrations in Madrid, the Asturias, Biscaya, Barcelona and elsewhere. The workers' committees elected in factories and mills, in towns and in rural areas as an answer to the pro-government and pro-employer orientation of the fascist trade unions are a sign of the emergence of a new independent, united workers' movement in which Communist,

Catholic and Socialist working men and women are taking an active part. In some cases it has been joined also by the so-called "Left Falangists," who are in opposition to the regime. This new workers' movement has put forward two political slogans: *freedom for the trade unions* and the *right to strike*. Workers' demonstrations advanced the slogans: "Democracy! Down with the Dictatorship!"

The significance and impact of the workers' committee movement is evident also from the reaction of the fascist trade union bosses, who arranged a meeting with representatives of these committees and offered them positions in the fascist-run union hierarchy. This attempt at bribery failed and the trade union officialdom are now trying to prevent the complete disintegration of their organizations by concluding an agreement with a group of

discredited Anarchist leaders. Attempts have also been made — true, in vain — to persuade some Socialist and Catholic leaders to join in this shameful surrender. In exchange for collaboration they have been given some vague promises that the “vertical” trade unions would be democratized and given more “independence” by excluding the employers from the union set-up.

These maneuvers have not the slightest chance of success. They testify, however, to the impossibility of preserving the fascist organizations in the face of the rising new working-class movement.

The workers’ example of unity and militancy was soon followed by the students. The year 1965 was marked by an unprecedented growth of democratic sentiment among the student youth. Supporting the slogans of the working-class movement, the students organized a vigorous struggle against compulsory membership in the fascist University Union and for a free, democratic students’ union. The fascist union suffered a fiasco. Its virtual demise was announced in a government decree abolishing its previous organizational forms. At the same time the purpose of the decree was to preserve government control over the student organizations. But the students unequivocally reject official control and are building up their own independent organization. This could hardly be possible were it not for the mass demonstrations, strikes and assemblies of students which have come to play an important part in the anti-Franco movement.

Some of the professors openly support the students. In point of fact, the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals are clearly anti-Franco. Last year over 1,000 intellectuals signed a manifesto setting forth the fundamental principles of a program for democratic freedoms. The opposition movement among the intelligentsia is becoming better organized and more united.

The actions of the students and intellectuals reflect not only their own mood but also the discontent among the middle classes due to the consequences of the fascist rule.

The casual observer of the Spanish scene can hardly conceive of the extent to which opposition to the regime has grown and how much the faith of even Franco’s supporters has been shaken.

Among the top bureaucracy realization of the need for change is gaining ground. Many officials barely conceal their opposition. Opposition trends are growing also in the army. And the press, once a staunch supporter of the regime, writes about the need for change and counsels the dictator to pave the way to

a constitutional system. The general question is: “After Franco what?”

The growth of the democratic trend among Catholics and their cooperation with the Communists in the opposition movement has had far-reaching consequences. The policy of modernizing the Church initiated by Pope John has strengthened the democratic wing in the Church and has weakened the hold of the integralists who until recently identified the Church with the regime.

With the advent of 1966, the people of Spain and their friends all over the world are asking: how much longer must Spain suffer under the dictatorship?

It is difficult to set time limits in politics. Yet it can be assumed that the regime, which was imposed by force and which has lost not only its mass support but also the confidence of former adherents, has entered upon its last phase. At present the task of the Spanish democrats is to unite, to organize their forces, to develop the mass struggle, to steadily enhance their militancy in order to put an end to the dictatorship and replace it with a regime of political freedom. The numerous and multiform actions in support of economic and political demands are creating an atmosphere favoring a political strike and a nationwide strike in the foreseeable future. We envisage this nationwide strike as the coalescence of a political strike of the workers with a strike by students, intellectuals and clerical workers, a protest campaign on the part of the followers of the Church and the clergy, the closing of commercial enterprises, and with public demonstrations demanding the resignation of the government. In other words, the general national strike is seen as a nationwide uprising of a predominantly peaceful nature.

Salient among the concrete demands of the struggle is the demand for an amnesty. Soon thirty years will have passed since the fascist insurrection, yet no amnesty has been proclaimed which would enable the republican fighters now scattered all over the world to be reinstated in their legal rights as citizens and to return home. A large share of the responsibility for this state of affairs rests with the Church, the hierarchy of which has opposed an amnesty. So long as the Church, for whom the fascist insurrection was a “crusade” and which had long been an ally of the dictatorship, does not openly support the call for an unconditional amnesty as a basic step towards eliminating the survivals of the Civil War, it will never justify its errors in the eyes of the people. The wiser and more far-sighted Catholics, both clergy and laymen, are aware of this and do not hide the fact.

The new workers' movement, the movement of the students and intellectuals and the peasant movement (which, though less organized, is charged with anger and indignation as was shown by the recent demonstrations in Lerida) are in themselves important steps towards anti-Franco unity. Within these movements, while striving for the specific aims of each, diverse opposition elements, in particular the Communists, Catholics and Socialists, have entered into contact with one another and are acting jointly.

As mentioned above, the coordinated actions at times extend to part of the "Falangist Left," the traditionalist students and even the religious and financial "Opus Dei" group.

It is imperative to bring the opposition forces together also at other levels. Things are moving precisely in this direction, notwithstanding the resistance of extremist anti-Communist and U.S.-oriented elements. Our Party has proposed the convening of what might be called a pre-parliament, i.e., an assembly of representatives of all the trends recognizing the need for democratic changes. Such an assembly, from which no one would be barred in advance, would make it possible to compare viewpoints in order to work out a minimum program pivoted on the people's right to order their own destiny by democratic means.

This is the method we propose, but we are prepared to examine and accept any other method capable of producing the same results. The decisive step for the opposition is to arrive at a general political agreement.

The approaching anniversary of the fascist insurrection should be made an occasion for reflection on the part of all opposition forces, all groups and all individuals who recognize the need for change. We can no longer reconcile ourselves to a regime that holds back the advance of Spain, a regime which serves the interests of the monopolies alone and robs Spaniards of their right to democratic self-government.

This anniversary must be marked by unequivocal demonstration by the political forces of the country of their resolve to do away with the survivals of the Civil War and to forge ahead towards democracy.

The fight for democracy in Spain is closely linked with the fight for peace. There is growing sentiment in favor of a policy of neutrality with regard to military blocs and active participation in the strengthening of world peace. No foreign bases must be allowed on Spanish territory. The growing ag-

gressiveness of U.S. imperialist policy is prompting groups formerly prone to vacillation and indifference, and even those which supported it, to come out for neutrality and peace. The U.S. provocations against Cuba, with whom the people of Spain are linked by bonds of history, language and kinship, evoked indignation even among people close to the regime. The military intervention in the Dominican Republic heightened anti-American feeling which is pronounced in all sections of Spanish society. The ruthless aggression against Vietnam, which the people of that country are so valiantly resisting, is causing indignation and alarm. There is no doubt that the new year will see a new upsurge of the movement for the abolition of U.S. bases and a policy of neutrality and peace.

The policy of the Johnson Administration has greatly increased international tension. Men, women and children are killed every day in Vietnam. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is the target of ruthless bombing; a socialist country has become the victim of imperialist aggression. We Communists, like the public generally, know that the Soviet Union has fully responded to all requests for help from the DRV. I take this opportunity to speak of what many comrades are saying among themselves: Why did Washington venture to launch a direct attack on one of the countries of the socialist world? Why is the response to this aggression not as challenging as it might have been?

These questions asked today by many Communists and also by many non-Communist workers are not difficult to answer. I believe that there is one answer to both: the trouble lies in the division in the international Communist movement. The differences between the Chinese People's Republic, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on the other, have, objectively, whetted the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and have encouraged it to engage in a reckless war against a socialist country. These differences impede efforts to reply more effectively to the aggressors inasmuch as China is the only socialist country bordering on Vietnam.

Whatever the reasons for these differences, one thing is clear: the present situation makes it imperative for Communists everywhere to redouble efforts to achieve unity in the international Communist movement. Those who think otherwise and threaten to deepen the rift are playing into the hands of imperialism. The year 1966 must be made a year of new and more vigorous effort for unity.

After the Bundestag elections: the tasks of the democratic forces

MAX REIMANN

THE FEDERAL German Bundestag elections last September took place against the background of a general aggravation of the situation in Germany and on the world arena. U.S. imperialism, the bulwark of international reaction, is continuing its criminal war in Vietnam. Bent on crushing the people's liberation movements by armed intervention, it has found active allies in the West German revenge-seekers and militarists. The men in the saddle in the Federal Republic are engaged in an unbridled chauvinistic and revanchist campaign, in a military build-up, and reaching out for nuclear weapons. They have rejected every proposal made by the German Democratic Republic to renounce nuclear weapons, to end the arms drive, and to normalize relations between the two German states. Clearly, they are out to revise the outcome of the Second World War in favor of West German imperialism. Owing to this aggressive policy, Federal Germany has become the focal point of war danger in Europe.

In order to remove the obstacles to achieving their revanchist foreign policy aims, the reactionaries are pressing for suspension of the Constitution and the establishment of a dictatorship in the guise of emergency laws designed to facilitate total preparation for war.

In view of the gravity of the situation the Communist Party made it its aim in the election campaign to conduct extensive political explanatory work and to promote and support mass action in order to help put an end to Bonn's anti-democratic policy, a policy threatening world peace. Our objective was to foil—together with the other peace-loving forces, the trade unions, the rank and file and functionaries of the Social Democratic Party, in-

tellectuals and the youth — the dangerous policy of the Christian Democrat and Christian Social unions and to ensure the triumph of a policy of peace, mutual understanding, democracy and social progress.

I.

The peace-loving, democratic forces, let it be said, failed to achieve this aim.

Despite the upswing registered during the election campaign in the activity of the movement against nuclear armament, and against U.S. aggression in Vietnam as well as of the movement against the application of the statute of limitation to the Nazi criminals, and despite the resistance offered by the trade unions and intellectuals to the emergency laws, the forces of peace were unable to defeat the reactionaries at the polls. The leading Christian Democrat ruling party considerably increased its vote.

Out of the 87 per cent of the electorate who cast their ballots, 47.6 per cent voted for the Christian Democrats (as against 45.3 per cent in 1961). They polled the biggest vote of any single party — 15,300,000, or a million more than in 1961. Yet they failed to win an absolute majority. The Free Democratic Party, the Christian Democrat partner in the government coalition, lost a million votes.

The Social Democratic Party received 12,800,000 votes or 39.3 per cent of the total (as against 36.2 per cent in 1961). This was 1,300,000 more than in the previous election, but not enough for the Social Democrats to take first place and to form the government. The vote of the Peace Union, the only party which put forward realistic views in favor of a policy of peace and detente and in defense

of the Constitution, declined from 607,000 in 1961 to 434,000 (1.3 per cent of the total). Of the 496 seats in the New Bundestag 245 went to the Christian Democrats, 202 to the Social Democrats and 49 to the Free Democrats. As before, the new government is a coalition of the Christian Democrats and the Free Democrats.

Our Party takes a serious view of the election outcome, which shows that the Christian Democrats have managed to halt the decline manifested in the 1961 elections and actually to strengthen their hold on the electorate. What were the reasons for this?

The possibility of preventing the elections from resulting in an outcome fraught with dangers for the future no doubt existed. The Christian Democrats could have been defeated had a real alternative been put forward. This would have made it easier for many voters to see that it was in their own interests to cast their vote for a new policy and a new government. All the more so since the recent period had witnessed a growth of discontent with Christian Democrat policy.

It can by no means be said that the mass of the voters, especially the working people, voted for the Christian Democrats because they supported a policy which is jeopardizing peace.

Setting into motion a powerful machine of indoctrination ranging from the monopoly press and the state agencies for moulding public opinion to TV and other mass media, spending vast sums of money on the campaign, making skilful use of demagoguery and whipping up nationalism and anti-communism, the government parties were able to mislead the millions as to the real aims of their policy. What especially played into their hands was the fact that big sections of our people, including the working class, have not yet awakened to the danger emanating from revanchism and militarism.

The Christian Democrats harped on the threat allegedly presented by the Soviet Union. They made it appear as if they were prompted by apprehensions for the security of the Federal Republic, posing as a party "concerned with Germany's future," as a "national force." The Christian Democrats succeeded by insidious sleight-of-hand in taking the credit for the economic upswing and for the gains wrested by the working class from the monopolies.

The three per cent increase in the Social Democratic vote was the result of the selfless work of thousands of rank and file members and functionaries. As a matter of fact the Social Democratic Party was most suc-

cessful in areas where its organizations and functionaries backed the trade unions and offered an alternative to nuclear armament and the emergency laws, supporting the workers' demands for social justice and a share in management. This is evident from the election results in the big industrial centers, especially in the Ruhr, where the Social Democrats for the first time won an absolute majority.

This corroborates the thesis advanced in our election program that in order to defeat the Christian Democrats an alternative to their policies must be put forward. Our view was largely shared by many Social Democrats who wanted a vigorous election campaign which would have drawn a distinct demarcation line between Christian Democrats and Social Democrats.

The latter were unable to win the support of the majority because the policy of getting together with the Christian Democrats and the refusal to advance any alternative on the key issues, a policy specially advocated by Herbert Wehner and Fritz Erler, worked not for the Social Democrats but for the Christian Democrats. The refusal to pursue an independent working-class policy on the pretext that the vote of the middle strata could not be won in this way turned against the Social Democratic Party. The policy of "community" and conciliation played into the hands of the Christian Democrats.

The same effect was had by the fact that Wehner and Erler with their policy of "opening the door to the Right" brought the Social Democratic Party increasingly into conflict with the demands of the trade unions. Many Social Democrats saw the danger with which this was fraught. They realized that a rift between the Social Democratic Party, on the one hand, and the trade unions and all other progressive forces, on the other, could only have a negative effect on the SDP's showing at the polls and its further development.

The attempt made to vie with the Christian Democrat jingoists likewise played into the revanchists' hands. One can fully agree with the Social Democratic functionaries who said after the elections that "to sow nationalism is to sow something others will reap."

It is noteworthy that it was in the constituencies contested by those Social Democratic leaders who advocated a policy of "community" that the Christian Democrats made their biggest gains.

Some of the top Social Democrats, influenced by world events and by developments in Federal Germany, in particular the growing

isolation of the latter as a result of the nuclear armament and revenge policy of its rulers, and by the growing sentiment for an alternative policy showed some signs of realistic thinking. For example, Willi Brandt, Chairman of the SDP, declared in favor of a German peace treaty and voiced the positive view that West German prestige should not be seen as a matter of military power but should be based on peaceful endeavor.

Policy, however, was determined by the Wehner-Erler line. Many voters who sought a real alternative were misled and confused.

Only the Peace Union put forward views offering an alternative to Christian Democrat policy. It supported a policy of detente and disarmament, defense of democracy and opposition to the emergency laws, a policy which unquestionably found a sympathetic response. But in the existing situation its victory was ruled out for objective reasons. Many voters who agreed with the Union's political views nevertheless cast their ballots for the Social Democrats in the hope of bringing about a change in government. A part was also played by the undemocratic electoral system which closes the doors of parliament to parties polling less than five per cent of the vote. Hence, fearing that their votes would be lost, many potential Peace Union supporters refrained from voting for it. The limited campaign facilities which the Union enjoyed as compared with the parties of Big Business with their huge funds was another by no means insignificant factor.

II.

As a result of the elections the situation has taken a turn for the worse not only in Germany but also in Europe generally. There is no doubt that the German revenge-seekers and militarists, the chief allies of the aggressive imperialist elements in the USA, are out to take advantage of the aggravation of the international situation and to use the election results to further their own aims, to strengthen their authoritarian rule and to persist in the perilous policy of revanche. The economic progress of the Federal Republic, now the second biggest industrial power in the capitalist world, has whetted the expansionist appetites of monopoly capital to a point exceeding anything seen since the Second World War.

Clearly, the German imperialists are becoming too big for their boots. They feel that the time has come to insist on strengthening their economic, political and military positions of power. Three weeks after the elections, Adelbert Weinstein, reserve colonel

and one-time Hitler staff officer, outlined the demands of the top brass and the war industry concerns in an article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. "Our economic and industrial power is considerable," he wrote. "Owing to this we have acquired enough self-assurance to consider intolerable a situation where our friends would like to regard the German divisions merely as decorative trappings to be kept under foreign lock and key. We have invested nearly 100,000 million marks in the military machine. Our divisions are intended to act as a political counterweight to the Red Army in the overall system of the strategy of deterrence. More, our divisions and airforce squadrons were formed as cadres to be equipped with tactical nuclear weapons. Without a political task our operational units would be no more than treadclattering or flying scrap iron."

The feverish efforts of the militarists to lay their hands on nuclear weapons gravely endanger our people and peace in Europe generally. This demand is the main point in the program of the new government. The Bonn rulers consider possession of nuclear weapons to be the "basic issue of national survival." They have harnessed all their economic power to this end, resorting to sheer intimidation of other states in order to achieve it. Ministers have been threatening to make their own nuclear weapons if they are not allowed a finger on the nuclear trigger in the NATO system.

The Federal rulers believe that the best way to gain possession of nuclear armaments is through a Bonn-Washington nuclear axis. At the same time the groundwork is being laid for the production of nuclear weapons and missiles in the Federal Republic. For instance, the two nuclear centers, in Julich and Karlsruhe, are building reactors mainly for production of plutonium, while West-German-made missiles are already being delivered to Pakistan for testing in action against India.

The monopolies, their government and Chancellor are trying to persuade the public that the FRG needs nuclear weapons to safeguard its security. The fact is that the greatest danger threatening our people is that Hitler's former generals may be able to lay their hands on these weapons. They are out to unleash a conflict in the heart of Europe. Their demand for a share in the use of nuclear weapons or to have them wholly at their disposal is linked with the demand for revision of the outcome of the Second World War. They have never given thought to the future of Germany and the German nation, nor do they now. Their aim, clearly, is to

"incorporate" the German Democratic Republic in the FRG. They make territorial claims on Poland, Czechoslovakia and on the Soviet Union, while using their position in NATO and EEC as a lever to establish their domination over Western Europe.

The bulk of the population of our country is, unfortunately, unaware of the peril. On the contrary, big sections, including many workers, believe the Bonn rulers when they say that all they want is peace. The men in the saddle are still able to envelop their direct war preparations in secrecy and to present them to the public as something essential for Federal Germany's security.

The government is jeopardizing the interests of our people more and more by its policy of nuclear war. Warmongering on both the national and the international plane, it is working to prevent any relaxation of tension; this was glaringly manifest in its actions during the Geneva disarmament conference. While the GDR is prepared to adhere to a non-proliferation treaty provided the FRG does likewise, the Bonn government has ruled out any such move.

Peace and the security of the FRG depend not on possession of nuclear weapons but on a policy of detente, disarmament, mutual understanding and democracy. The most effective guarantee of the security of the German people would be the creation in Central Europe of a zone of disengagement, guaranteed by the Great Powers, and a European security system. Our Party holds that the NATO treaty must be allowed to expire and a collective security system embracing all the European countries established instead. Such a system would, apart from everything else, open new opportunities for realizing the national aspiration — the reunification of Germany.

Possession of nuclear weapons by the German imperialists would only tend to perpetuate the division of Germany. The prime condition for the solution of the German problem is a genuine policy of peace, and this is incompatible with the demand for nuclear weapons and revenge. To bring about the reunification of Germany it is imperative to conclude a peace treaty and to bring both German states into one confederation. There is no other way.

In their expansionist machinations the West German imperialists have reached a point where they are finding themselves in growing isolation, encountering increasing resistance not only from the GDR and other socialist countries but also from influential Western circles, including a number of gov-

ernments, whereas the GDR's international prestige is steadily mounting.

Bonn has suffered some telling defeats this year, especially in the sphere of foreign policy. The policy of revenge and nuclear war, the brazen claims to the right to represent all Germany, the Hallstein doctrine and the drive towards domination over Europe are boomeranging, for the peoples have no intention of accepting policies that spell war.

The aggressive aims of the German imperialists are one thing and their power to achieve these aims is another, for the world balance is in favor of peace and socialism, and this raises insurmountable barriers to the Bonn claims to political and military supremacy. But since they tenaciously cling to their utterly fallacious concept, their policy is becoming more and more adventuristic and dangerous. We consider it our task to prevent war from being let loose once again from German territory, for a third world war would mean devastation in Europe and the annihilation of our people.

The stepped-up expansionism of the Bonn government is also aggravating the contradictions in the FRG. The monopoly capitalists and their government and parties are engaged in the most vicious offensive since 1945 against the rights and living standard of the working people as a corollary of their direct war preparations. Rent and food prices are soaring, taxes and transport fares are going up, government spending on public welfare and education is being steadily whittled down, and farm subsidies are being cut. To pay for the armament drive the working people have to work more and consume less. On the other hand, the working class is demanding — witness the congresses of the leading trade unions held before or immediately after the elections — a change in policy towards detente and disarmament, democracy and a higher standard of living. The fight for higher wages is being stepped up. As a reply to the government's reactionary social policy the trade unions have already given notice of the termination of wage contracts affecting 5,600,000 factory and office workers.

The contradictions between the government, on the one hand, and the peasantry, intellectuals and the middle sections, on the other, are likewise growing sharper, extending even to the camp of the ruling circles, as could be seen during the formation of the government.

Both during the election campaign and after it became clear that the ruling circles were stepping up their offensive against the

trade unions. The monopolies are conducting a drive against the union's demands that the working people and their organizations be given a say in management, in the economy and in public life generally. Big business maintains, as the monopoly mouthpiece *Industriekurier* put it, that to demand a share in the management of the enterprises is as ludicrous as it would be to demand a share in running army barracks or prisons.

This offensive against the trade unions and the workers' rights is linked with the intensified drive towards dictatorship based on emergency legislation. Using the "established society" slogan, of which Chancellor Erhard is a zealous proponent, the Bonn rulers are seeking to subject the people to drill-ground regimentation and to harness all economic and social forces to their political and military power aspirations. Erhard, Strauss, Barzel and Christian Democrat politicians have frankly declared that it is necessary to create a "new quality in home policy" to facilitate the realization of their foreign policy and military-political aims.

With this in view, Erhard seeks a "reform of German democracy," meaning the annulment of the Constitution and fundamental democratic rights. The idea is to set up, by means of a so-called constitutional reform, a military state, the naked dictatorship of monopoly capital. The plans referred to in speaking of the "established society" include an electoral reform designed to ensure Christian Democrats the absolute majority in the Bundestag, a parliamentary reform and the promulgation of the emergency laws.

The monopolies are out to safeguard their power and their policy against opposition from the people, especially opposition from the working class, and to govern, if need be, by means of emergency legislation.

In this situation it is our duty to open the eyes of the working class and all other sections of the working people to what they can expect if the ruling circles have their way. The people must be rallied to safeguard their gains. As our Central Committee put it: "That which our people have created in the course of twenty years of persistent labor must be preserved and not allowed to be endangered by an adventuristic and suicidal military power policy. We need a policy which would uphold peace, safeguard democracy against all attacks and extend it, usher in a period of mutual understanding in Germany, ensure the working people the right to participate in management, overcome the crisis in education, and replace the military build-up with social development."

The paramount issues are, then, prevention of war, curbing the monopolies and the revenge-seekers, forcing them to give way in both economic and public life, and ensuring peaceful and democratic progress in the FRG. This is the conclusion drawn for the present by our Party from the lessons of the period which led to the rise of fascism in Germany and from the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

The men in the saddle in Bonn have seen for themselves that their difficulties, far from diminishing, have on the contrary increased in the post-election period. At the same time new possibilities are opening up for successful struggle on the part of the peace forces.

III.

One of the questions again raised by the elections is: how can the balance of forces in the FRG be changed in favor of peace, democracy and social progress? What should be the attitude of the peace-loving and democratic forces towards one another?

In order correctly to assess the election results and the correlation of political forces, it should be borne in mind that extra-parliamentary actions of the peace-loving, democratic forces have grown greatly in the course of the past year. This applies, in particular, to the struggle against nuclear armament, the culminating point of which was the Easter March for disarmament, renunciation of nuclear weapons and the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Europe, in which more than 100,000, mostly young people, trade union members and students, took part. The growing militancy is also evident from the movement against the application of the statute of limitation to Nazi criminals, and from the protests against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Above all it finds expression in the movement against the extraordinary laws which has been joined by trade unions, intellectuals and youth and student organizations, and which unquestionably is one of the most significant extra-parliamentary mass movements in West Germany since the Second World War.

The support voiced by many intellectuals for a new policy and the stand taken by important youth organizations in defense of the Constitution and for mutual understanding with the GDR are highly significant. A similar stand has been taken by many Christian groups, not only in the Church but also in the Christian Democratic Party, especially its working-class wing.

In the course of these actions forces have asserted themselves which, when they join for active effort, will be fully in a position to put an end to the fatal policy of the Christian Democrats and to ensure implementation of a new policy.

All these forces are now faced with the question of what the next step should be. We believe that there is only one way to bring about a serious shift in the balance of political forces in the FRG in favor of peace, democracy and social progress — to build the unity of all the peace-loving, democratic forces of our people.

The prerequisite of the success of the popular forces, the basis of their unity and the precondition of any real change in the political scene, is working-class united action.

From the outset our Party regarded the election campaign as a means of uniting the working class and the entire people through extra-parliamentary actions. In particular we placed the emphasis on cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats. This was the purpose of our proposals to Willi Brandt as Chairman of the Social Democratic Party that an agreement be concluded on joint struggle against the Christian Democrats. This was the object also of our election tactics, which included a call to the electorate to give their first vote* to Social Democratic candidates known to be opponents of nuclear armament and the emergency laws. The same can be said of the large number of talks the Communists conducted with the Social Democrats in the course of the election campaign.

The outcome of the elections and the reactionary policy of the government make a dialogue with the Social Democratic rank and file and functionaries more imperative than ever, all the more so since the election results have already initiated a political discussion in the SDP. This is a discussion concerning the future policy of the SDP, not merely tactical variations of the old policy. People are asking themselves: Is not the policy of adaptation to the Christian Democrats incorrect? Did not the failure to advance an alternative contribute to the Christian Democrat electoral victory? What should an independent, constructive Social Democratic policy be like?

The membership of the SDP is opposed to the policy of "community" with the Christian Democrats and demand accord with the trade unions instead. They want the SDP to criticize the undemocratic schemes of the government, to inform the public of the implications of the emergency laws and to per-

suade the Social Democratic Bundestag deputies to prevent the adoption of the state-of-emergency constitution. They want the SDP to pursue an independent policy and to put forward clear-cut alternatives, primarily as regards the German question and disarmament, and to work for detente and better relations with the East-European countries.

In order to conduct a real dialogue and to build close relations based on mutual trust with the Social Democrats, we Communists must eschew everything that might prevent us from getting a hearing. It is pointless to try to carry on a dialogue from inflexible positions. We want an understanding with our Social Democratic comrades to work towards the same goals and to fight for the same demands independently of each other.

We believe that we could come to an agreement with the Social Democrats and the organizations of the SDP as to the measures to be taken in the struggle against nuclear armament, for a nuclear-free zone, for a Federal German contribution to disarmament, and for a realistic policy on the German question. We also believe that we could work together on all social security issues. The struggle for higher wages and to defeat the anti-labor moves of the employers affords particularly favorable openings for joint action. Further, there is every possibility of promoting joint effort against the emergency laws and for the right of the trade unions to have a say in management. The views of the Social Democrats and Communists are in agreement, or drawing closer, also on such issues as the restoration of diplomatic relations and promotion of trade with socialist countries and negotiations with the German Democratic Republic.

The best way to build mutual trust between Communists and Social Democrats is through joint activities in the trade unions. The issues and demands on the basis of which joint actions are perfectly feasible crystallized at the trade union congresses held immediately after the elections.

The role of the unions has grown greatly not only in the social and economic but also in the political sphere. The technological revolution and its consequences, the growing polarization of class forces, the concentration of political power in the hands of the monopolies and the government's policy aimed at restoring the old Germany make it imperative for the unions to enter the political arena. This applies not only to extra-parliamentary actions against the emergency laws, for instance. The unions are stating their views on many other major political issues and events.

*Under the Federal German electoral law each voter has two votes, the first to be cast for the candidate in the given constituency and the second for the party ticket.

They are demanding, as the metalworkers' congress, for example, did recently, that the government make its contribution towards disarmament and renounce nuclear armament of the Bundeswehr. They take a positive attitude towards the Geneva disarmament conference and call for action to do away with explosive situations, for an East-West detente and an end to the war in Vietnam.

The metalworkers' congress declared that the trade unions would not allow themselves to be deprived of the right to intervene in political issues affecting the working class, that in this area they could not observe political neutrality.

In view of the technological revolution and the continued process of concentration in the economy, the fight for a bigger say in management is a matter of life and death for the workers and their unions. Since the elections they have advanced the demand that the workers' right to share in the management of enterprises be extended to the big concerns occupying the commanding heights in the economy. This gives a new impulse to the struggle for democracy which has already acquired considerable scope in the movement against the emergency laws. That the conflicts between monopoly capital and the working class are becoming sharper is evident from the violent reaction of Big Business and its press and the government to the unions' demand for a share in management, as well as from the anti-trade union measures taken by the reactionaries.

Clearly, the independence of the trade unions as militant working-class organizations against the growing offensive of the monopolies and their government is one of the most pressing problems in the fight for democracy and to curb the monopolies.

We Communists are in agreement with the trade union resolutions concerning the fight for peace, democracy, social security and workers' participation in management, and we carry on constructive work in the unions. We want to see their independence consolidated and are opposed to all attempts made by the government to fit them into a unified pattern.

The fact that more than 13 million voters, and above all the majority of the organized working class, broad sections of the intellectuals and the youth, came out against the Christian Democrats is highly significant from the standpoint of the continued shift in the balance of forces in favor of democracy and peace. If all these forces unite against the war party they can influence the development of future conflicts in their own interests and bring the growing pressure of the people, of

the peace-loving and democratic forces, to bear on future governments.

The election campaign underscored the importance of a legal Communist Party. It can be said without any danger of exaggerating our strength and influence that if the Communist Party could enter the arena legally, it would compel all other political forces to take a definite stand on the vital issues facing our people. Realization of this is gaining ground among the most diverse sections of the population. The elections showed once again that the ban on the Communist Party is an instrument used by the ruling circles to suppress all democratic movements and all opposition. Consequently, the legality of our Party is a question affecting Federal German political life as a whole, an issue of direct concern to all democrats. It goes without saying that we are waging a determined struggle to end the unlawful ban imposed on our Party, to win for it complete freedom of action.

The public debate on the need for a legal Communist Party is continuing. For the first time since the imposition of the ban, even the Home Minister has found it necessary to inform parliament of the Party's activities, conceding that in recent times it has made the biggest headway since it was outlawed. In particular he pointed to the fact that the Communists have succeeded in launching a public discussion of the question of legalizing the Party and in dispelling distrust of the GDR. It is noteworthy that thousands of citizens have petitioned the Bundestag to review and rescind the ban. Moreover, this question has been discussed at many public meetings by legal experts, journalists and progressives of all trends.

The issue has become a touchstone revealing the existence of contradictory opinions in all the parties represented in the Bundestag. While some politicians insist on maintaining the ban, others believe that now that the elections are over the government or parliament should review the question and see whether it is expedient to allow the Communist Party to function legally. Some hold that the ban should be lifted in the interests of national reconciliation and reunification.

There is a tangible danger that with the growing reaction the interdict against the Communist Party may be used to an even greater extent than hitherto to stifle the democratic and progressive forces. Legal status can be won for our Party only through resolute political struggle. I should like to take this opportunity to voice our Party's gratitude to all those who support us in our fight for the right to function legally.

Greece in the battle for democracy

LEONIDAS STRINGOS

In RECENT MONTHS European and world public opinion has been following with keen interest the fight waged by the Greek people in defense of constitutional and democratic freedoms and for democratic renewal.

After a dramatic struggle which passed through various stages, the forces of reaction succeeded in saddling the country with a government possessing a parliamentary majority of only two and heartily detested by the bulk of the population. This "solution" provides no way out of the profound political crisis of Greek society.

1. CAUSE OF THE CRISIS

What are the root causes of this crisis? What explains the truly nationwide scale of the popular movement, the determination of the people not to retreat but to defend democratic freedoms with all the means at their disposal?

As a country of average capitalist development, yet bearing the deep imprint of economic and social backwardness and largely dependent on foreign monopoly capital, Greece has long since felt the need for a deep-going renewal, for the solution of many problems, primarily that of freeing herself from dependence on foreign imperialism. The situation was aggravated by the fact that after the fascist invader had been driven out of the country, the National Resistance forces were dealt a crushing blow by foreign intervention, the collaborators were installed in power, and a neofascist regime was imposed on the country (the only instance of its kind in the history of postwar Europe).

Taking advantage of the defeat of the democratic movement in the Civil War of 1946-49 and backed by lavish American aid to the tune of 4,000 million dollars, the Rights unleashed savage reprisals against the Communist Party and the National Resistance.

Twenty years of almost uninterrupted neo-

fascist rule by the Rights enabled the reactionaries to build up a police regime based on anti-communism and relying on the support of the imperialists.

At the same time the reactionaries did everything in their power to turn the country into a military base of operations against the socialist countries, and against the countries of the Middle East. As far back as 1947 Walter Lippman, voicing official American opinion, wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune*; "We have chosen Turkey and Greece not because they need help, but because they serve us as a strategic gateway to the Black Sea and the Soviet Union." The reactionaries tied Greece to the aggressive NATO bloc. They involved her in the shackling agreement of October 12, 1953, which placed the communications, ports, airfields and air space of Greece at the disposal of the U.S. military. Further evidence of the unceasing efforts of the imperialists in this direction was the multilateral agreement of June 1964 concluded under NATO auspices providing for the establishment on Crete of a missile training center, which, on the admission of one West German general, has become a well-organized missile base spearheaded against the socialist countries. Another indication along the same lines was the reaffirmation by the NATO Council in June 1965 of adherence to the "forward strategy" which among other things implies using Greek territory for aggression against the socialist countries.

The penteration of foreign monopoly capital into Greece has acquired unprecedented proportions in recent years. The country's foreign debt exceeds 500 million dollars. Moreover Greece has been drawn into the Common Market system.

Thus, the main contradiction in Greek society, namely the contradiction between the foreign imperialists and the corrupt pluto-

cratic oligarchy which is bent on perpetuating the conditions of national enslavement, police rule, monopoly exploitation, and backwardness, on the one hand, and the *nation as a whole which is striving for national independence, democracy, free economic development and social progress*, on the other, was exacerbated by the years of Right domination and became more acute.

With the aid of its widely-ramified machine of repression, the neofascist "laws" and with the support of the U.S. imperialists and NATO, the local and foreign reaction engineered the election swindle of 1961 (based on the American "Pericles" plan) aimed at dealing a blow at the developing democratic movement and preparing the ground for a reactionary revision of the Constitution and a further shift to the Right. Blinded by their anti-communism, the leaders of the Center Union rejected the numerous proposals for joint action made at the time by the Left, and thus facilitated the electoral comeback of the Rights.

Under the impact of the mass movement, however, the neofascist regime with its policy of unconditional subordination to foreigners, cold war, ruthless exploitation of the workers and persecution of progressives began to show signs of cracking up. The movement reached its apex during the funeral of Lambrakis in May 1963 which developed into a demonstration of 500,000 people, and also during the parliamentary elections of November 3, 1963 and February 16, 1964. Of the greatest significance was the fact that the Center Union, under pressure from the people, from its own supporters and functionaries and despite the indecision of its leaders, turned against the Rights. Moreover thanks to the parallel actions of the United Democratic Left (EDA) and the Center Union, big sections of the population joined the movement.

The downfall of the Karamanlis government as a result of the popular struggle and the outcome of the elections of November 3, 1963 and February 16, 1964 was a heavy blow for the Rights. A new situation emerged. The road to democratic development was open. The advent to power of a Center Union government was a step towards democracy; the working class began to reorganize its forces, and the popular democratic movement made considerable progress, although owing to the wavering and conciliatory policy of the Center Union the process was a rather painful one. An idea of the scale of the popular movement may be gauged, for example, by the following data of the International Labor Office: in 1964 more workdays were lost as a result of strikes than in the previous years, and pro-

portionately more than in any other capitalist country. In addition, the popular struggle led to the removal of the former leadership of the General Confederation of Labor imposed by the Rights, and appointment by a legal injunction of a new leadership consisting mainly of Center Union officials. The EDA, too, made notable headway: mass organizations of the youth, known as the "Lambrakis Youth," sprang up in the towns and villages.

2. THE PALACE COUP—AN ATTEMPT TO CHECK DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS

The reactionary forces — the imperialists, the plutocracy, the royal court and the Rights — could not reconcile themselves to the new situation. The spectacle of Greece developing normally along democratic lines, the rapid advance of the democratic forces and the steady decline of the influence of the Rights filled them with dismay. Moreover, thanks to the popular struggle and to the measure of opposition offered by the Center Union, the Rights were finding it increasingly difficult to pursue their own policy through the Papandreou government. Encouraged by the growing aggressiveness of world imperialism and reaction, they were determined at all costs to create a situation in which they would be free to carry out their policy unimpeded.

True, the policy of the Center Union government diverged in many respects from the popular mandate given it in the February 16, 1964 elections and from its election promises. The fascist legislation of the civil war period remained in force, and in deference to the wishes of the Palace and the U.S. imperialists, the Center Union leaders entrusted important ministerial portfolios to men closely associated with the plutocratic oligarchy, the Court and the imperialists, men who at the crucial moment sided with these forces, thereby betraying the popular mandate. Only a few minor reforms were introduced in the army and in the security organs, the key positions remaining in the hands of the reactionary officers' organization (IDEA). A few semi-state terrorist organizations were dissolved but the armed para-military detachments in the countryside (TEA) were kept intact. Thus, during the eighteen months of Center Union government, the legal setup of the civil war period and the Karamanlis dictatorship remained in force, while the leading positions in the state were occupied in most cases by those who had been there before. More than that, the Center Union government refused to legalize the Communist Party and to proclaim a general political amnesty, thereby prolonging the abnormal political situation, which of course

was exactly what the Rights wanted. As for the economy, the government, far from fulfilling its election promises to revise the shackling agreements with the Esso-Pappas and Pechiney monopolies, actually granted them additional concessions. It also granted substantial privileges to the local monopolies. The few initial concessions made to the working people shortly after its advent to power subsequently gave way to a policy of wage freeze and cuts in the purchase prices of such vital agricultural products as wheat and tobacco.

But this failed to satisfy Washington, NATO, the plutocratic oligarchy and the foreign monopolies. What alarmed them was the resistance, feeble though it was, of the Papandreou administration to the American solution for Cyprus (the "Acheson plan"), its efforts to normalize relations with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and to expand trade with the socialist countries, even though its foreign policy continued to remain within the bounds of NATO policy. The monopolies, foreign and local, were not satisfied with the concessions they had obtained, since, under pressure from the people and all the anti-monopoly forces plus many Center Union Party officials, the government had refused to recognize some of their claims. For example, it had not agreed to grant ESSO-Pappas the right to exploit the state-owned nitrogen plant in Ptolemais. Moreover it had granted, or was about to grant, a number of concessions to French, West German and British monopolies, particularly the Common Market monopolies, much to the chagrin of the U.S. monopolies. The reactionaries, both foreign and domestic, were especially perturbed by the fact that the Center Union government could *obviously not be relied upon as a force capable of barring the way to the people's demands and halting the rapidly growing democratic movement.*

Taking advantage of the inconsistency, the vacillation and the conciliatory policy of the government, the reactionaries regrouped their forces and prepared a counter-offensive. The preparations for a military coup began in July-August 1964, and it was only the timely exposure by the Communist Party and the EDA that frustrated these plans. Then, in November 1964, during the celebration of the twenty-second anniversary of the blowing up of the bridge on the Gorgopotomas by Greek guerrillas, a bomb was exploded, causing the death of 14 people. This monstrous provocation, engineered by the U.S. intelligence and known as "Operation Arrow-1" was to have precipitated a crisis that would facilitate the overthrow of the lawful government on the pretext of "repulsing anarchy" and upholding

the Constitution. But this attempt shared the fate of its predecessor. The next move came in February 1965 when Kanellopoulos, leader of the neo-fascist Rights, launched a campaign against the government demanding that Papandreou be removed from office. In May and June the military junta (IDEA) entered the political arena. Papandreou's indecisive policy, his reluctance to rely on the popular forces, to purge the administration, the army and the security organs of fascists, to extend democracy and strike at saboteurs in the Center Union Party, as urged by the EDA, gave the reactionaries time to muster their forces. The Palace, on the other hand, backed by the Rights in the Center Union, which for a year and a half had done everything to obstruct any move in the direction of democracy, proceeded with the conspiracy, in line with the U.S. "Cerberus" plan. The lawful government was forced to resign. This flagrant violation of the Constitution was accompanied by armed action (the seizure by the IDEA junta on the night of July 14 of the radio station and the KIP, office of Greek Intelligence).

The Palace coup, carried out on the demand of the U.S. imperialist circles, NATO, and the plutocratic oligarchy, was directly associated with the aggravation of the world situation, with the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism in various parts of the globe, and primarily in Vietnam. It was an example of the "Johnson doctrine" applied to Greece. The U.S. and British imperialists are aiding and abetting Greek reactionaries in order to strengthen their positions in Greece, to preserve it as a base for operations against the countries of people's democracy and the Middle East, to fortify the southeastern wing of NATO weakened by the national-liberation struggle of the Cyprus people and the peoples of the Middle East countries, and also by the Greco-Turkish conflict over Cyprus.

For several months the Palace, egged on by its principal mentor and sponsor, the United States, shamelessly violating the Constitution and wounding the national pride of the people, meddled in the affairs of the Center Union Party in an effort to dismember it, bribing deputies, speculating with ministerial portfolios, cooking up prime ministers and puppet governments. The court camarilla set out to split the parliamentary group of the Center Union Party in order to create a Right Center government consisting of deserters from the party, a government backed and controlled by the Rights. To this end three attempts were made by conspiratorial methods to form a government headed by Novas, Tsirimokos and Stephanopoulos, deserters from the Center Union Party. At the same

time terror was unleashed against the democratic forces ending in the shooting down of demonstrators. After endless maneuvering a government with a flimsy majority was finally formed headed by Stephanopoulos.

3. THE PEOPLE ARE UPHOLDING THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS

The Palace coup evoked an upsurge of the popular movement that has foiled the designs of the reactionaries. The Communist Party and the EDA (which includes Communists), as well as the Center Union, i.e., the parties with the biggest following, the General Confederation of Labor and nearly all public organizations condemned the coup and called upon the people to rise in defense of their threatened liberties. The Greek people, who suffered for so many years under the neo-fascist regime, eagerly responded to the call, firmly resolved to prevent any restoration of that regime. The conflict which began as a backstage maneuver shifted to the arena of open struggle—the streets. A feature of the present crisis is the participation of the people in political developments, their vigilance and militancy, the highest manifestation of which was the general strike (a novel phenomenon in post-war Greece).

Combined with the struggle of the democratic deputies in parliament, this sweeping mass movement distinguished by a persistence and fighting spirit that have caused the reactionaries to talk about the “mob” and “ochlocracy,” foiled a number of Palace schemes, provided support and inspiration to Center Union leaders, helped to overcome their hesitation, to cement the democratic forces and isolate the reactionaries.

Starting out as a movement in defense of democratic institutions and gains, it has gradually assumed a more clearly-defined anti-monarchy trend, a more pronounced anti-imperialist character. To the original slogans such as “114!”* “Fascism shall not pass!” “A democratic government!” and later “Elections!” — which had always been advanced to the fore, were added new ones: “Down with Frederika,”** “Curb the Court!” “Yankees, Clear Out of Greece!” “No to NATO!” In the course of the struggle the people have come to realize that the Court is the focal point for the reactionaries and a tool of the imperialists. They are beginning to see that behind the junta, behind the Rights and the

Palace lurk NATO and the U.S. imperialists, the nation's worst enemies. All this is an insult to the national dignity and pride of our people, and this explains the unprecedented national feeling now to be observed in Greece.

Notable changes have taken place in the sentiment of the masses. The influence of the Rights has declined, the prestige of the Communist Party and the Left generally, and also of the Center Union, is steadily rising as the masses see the soundness of their policies. At the same time the spirit of unity is stronger among the masses, their confidence has grown and with it the conviction that they have the power to cope with the foreign and domestic conspirators and to win the fight.

Nearly every day for three months hundreds of thousands, with industrial workers in the forefront, came out onto the streets to demonstrate their resolve to restore constitutional order and legality and to find a democratic way out of the crisis. Over 500 mass meetings were held in the main cities with the participation of tens of thousands. The biggest of these were the march of a million people in Athens in which Papandreou took part, the funeral attended by 300,000 people, of Petrulas, member of the Lambrakis Youth organization who was killed during a demonstration, and a rally of 200,000 in Salonika. Strikes were declared all over the country, and a 24-hour political strike on July 27 was joined by 350,000 workers and office employees in the leading industrial centers—Athens, Piraeus, Salonika, Elefsin. This strike, supported by the vast majority of the population, was the highest point of the democratic struggle. There were periodic outbursts of similar strike action by workers in other branches, viz., the strike of 120,000 workers in the building and woodworking trades, workers in Volos and Herakleion, 15,000 metal-workers, 5,000 chemical workers, printers and binders as well as boot and shoe operatives in Athens. The general strike demonstrated the political maturity of the working class. The leading role of the working class has become more marked. Its militant example promoted and continues to promote the united action of the masses.

4. UNITED ACTION—A BIG GAIN FOR THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The Palace coup had the effect of uniting the vast majority of the population under the banner of constitutional order and legality, under the banner of democracy. In the course of the struggle and thanks to the self-sacrifice

*An article of the Constitution which says that it is the duty of citizens to safeguard the Constitution.

**Mother of King Constantine prominent in all Palace intrigues.

and resolution of the working class and its Communist Party and the Left generally, the democratic forces achieved a unity of action without precedent in the postwar. This is an important victory for the democratic movement. The joint actions by the organizations at lower levels in some instances took the form of united action at the top.

The resurgence of the popular movement and the degree of national unity is reminiscent of the time of the national resistance.

In the conflict between the democratic and reactionary forces the role of the different classes stands out with particular clarity. The spirit and guiding force of this struggle was the working class headed by the Communists. In recent years the reactionaries did all in their power to weaken and disunite the working class. Makris and Feodoru, spokesmen of the Right in the leadership of the General Confederation of Labor, systematically sabotaged the working-class struggle and kept its forces divided. Organizations whose leadership included progressive elements had been refused membership in the Confederation or excluded from its ranks. In collaboration with the "trade union departments" of the Asphalia, they corrupted the rank and file of the GCL. But the working class with its revolutionary traditions reaching back to the struggle of the past 50 years and especially during the years of the Resistance, were able to overcome the division and to foil the maneuvers of certain leaders of the Center Union. This was possible thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party and the entire Left, and also because the working class has never been greatly influenced by reformist ideology. This is evident from the stand taken by the new leadership of the Confederation headed by supporters of the Center Union Party. Ever since the leadership took a militant stand against the Palace coup and even adopted the slogan of general political strikes, the Left and Center forces in effect established a united front, which began at lower levels and reached all the way to the top. This united working-class front has become the center of attraction for all working people, all democrats; it has helped and still helps other strata and classes to appreciate the democratic objectives and to fight more consistently and resolutely for these objectives. Of exceptional significance was the active role played by the working class and student youth. Thanks to the Lambrakis Youth organization, the youth who did not experience the civil war and whose minds were not poisoned by anti-communism quickly rallied and came to the fore in the struggle.

An increasingly active part in the struggle was played by the peasantry. The meetings, demonstrations and strikes were followed by similar actions in the countryside demanding return to constitutional order and legality and the satisfaction of the pressing economic demands of the agricultural workers. The peasants who have won some measure of freedom do not want a return of the hated regime of the gendarmerie.

The national bourgeoisie, too, played an energetic role in the recent events. A comparatively large class, but economically and politically weak and eternally vacillating, the national bourgeoisie is susceptible to anti-communist influences and has often in the past followed in the wake of the Rights. Faced today with the immediate threat of being squeezed out by foreign capital, and sensing the danger of reactionary rule, the national bourgeoisie is bestirring itself, taking part in one way or another in the struggle for constitutional order and legality. It is noteworthy that many merchants, small and medium-sized manufacturers, members of the free professions in the towns and in Athens took part in the general strike and the lesser strikes, closing their enterprises, offices and workshops. This explains the scope and nationwide character of the movement.

A prominent part in achieving united action was played by the EDA and Center Union parties, the Lambrakis Youth organization and the EDIN, the youth organization of the Center Union.

The credit for preparing the ground for unity goes to the Communist Party and the Left generally. For many years and under the arduous conditions of the Karamanlis tyranny, the Communists and all Left supporters carried on patient and persistent propaganda for unity, establishing contact with progressive workers, and all democratic people, overcoming the resistance of the Right and surmounting the obstacles created by the Center Union's policy of anti-communism and the fight "on two fronts." The role of the Communists and the Left generally in building the democratic front made itself felt particularly during the recent critical events. Many days before the Palace conspiracy was discovered, the EDA warned the public that a coup was being plotted and called upon the people to prevent it. On the initiative of the EDA, mass meetings were held in many cities, committees for the defense of democracy were set up which included Center Union supporters. When Papandreou was on the verge of resigning, the EDA urged him to refrain from taking this step. As soon as

the coup took place, the Communist Party and the EDA were the first to call the people onto the streets to force the resignation of the Palace government and demand the formation of a government corresponding to the results of the February 16 elections or the holding of new elections. When the crisis erupted, it was the Communists and the Left who were in the front ranks. Moreover it was thanks to the correct united front policy and actions of the Communist Party and the Left that the vacillation of the Center Union was to a large extent overcome and that the united action assumed such massive proportions.

It would, however, be wrong to underestimate the part played by the Center Union in establishing unity. While the leading and decisive role unquestionably belongs to the working class and its Party, the unity could never have assumed such nationwide proportions without the Center Union, which is supported by a substantial section of the national bourgeoisie and a large part of the peasantry, and whose ranks include many former Resistance fighters. True, under the influence of some of its leaders, the Center Union offered only feeble resistance to the Rights at first. But as the situation grew more tense and it became clear that the foreign imperialists and the Palace were plotting the overthrow of the Center Union government, and, on the other hand, as the Left grew stronger and pressure from the Center Union membership increased, the party's resistance stiffened and it finally decided to turn for support to the masses and to steer a course of national resistance.

The united action took the form of parallel and even joint action of various kinds, and was expressed in the establishment of a number of united action bodies. Particular mention should be made of the organizations of the Democratic Trade Union Cooperation, set up in the towns, the "coordinating committees in defence of democracy," which sprang up in residential areas, in towns and industries, and the coordinating committee of trade union, professional and student organizations and associations of scientists, writers and artists affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor. The League of municipalities and communes of Attica and the Confederation of Peasants Unions worked in close contact with this committee.

THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW PALACE GOVERNMENT

With the formation of the Stephanopoulos government — the third product of the Palace machinations — one phase of the profound

political crisis caused by the coup of July 15 ended and another began. As pointed out above, to say that this move provides any solution of the crisis would be far from the truth. The reactionaries have won a Pyrrhic victory, a "victory," moreover, achieved by throwing substantial reserves into the fray. In the face of the massive resistance the Palace stands revealed as the bulwark of reaction and willing tool of the imperialists. The role of the U.S. imperialists as the instigator and organizer of the coup is now obvious to everyone. And what is most important, in the course of the struggle the democratic front has become a powerful flesh-and-blood reality. The Stephanopoulos government, spawned in flagrant violation of the Constitution, product of political dishonor, of incredible machinations, intimidation and corruption, this government with its paltry majority and opposed by the vast majority of the people, is rent by deepgoing inner contradictions. The EDA and the Center Union launched a new campaign calling for immediate elections. Another wave of strikes and peasant actions swept the country demanding measures to improve the conditions of the workers, repeal of the decision to expel progressive trade unions from the GCL and the holding of elections.

Our Party does not underestimate the difficulties and dangers arising from the Palace coup. The Center Union government has been virtually overthrown. The present "solution" represents a *further decline towards a police state as expressed in the obvious tendency to impose a monarcho-fascist regime* on the country, relying on the military and the police. The new government consisting of deserters from the Center Union, plutocrats or persons closely linked with the plutocracy and the foreign monopolies in a *stepping stone to the full restoration of the rule of the Rights*. The new government's task will be to carry out the designs of those at home and abroad who seek to preserve the abnormal situation, namely, to refrain from holding elections on the pretext of maintaining "order" and "tranquillity," prepare the ground for a new election swindle, restore the police state of the fascists, smash the democratic movement and the progressive organizations, settle the Cyprus question in the interests of NATO, aggravate the situation in the Balkans, draw Greece into the "dirty war" in Vietnam, and pursue a policy of "stringent economy" at the expense of the working people.

The initial results of the new government's policy are already making themselves felt. The Greco-Turkish dialogue has been resumed and the imperialists and their henchmen in

Greece are exerting every effort to turn the Cyprus question over to NATO and settle it along the lines of the "Acheson plan" which would mean the establishment of NATO and Turkish military bases on the island and an end to Cyprus independence. Large-scale NATO military maneuvers aimed against the socialist countries and in support of the coup were held in Northern Greece under the command of Lemnitzer. A reshuffling of top personnel is taking place in the army and the security bodies, the purpose being to consolidate the military junta in the key positions in the administration. Fascist organizations are being revived. The TEA battalions are being reorganized and rearmed. On the pretext of "keeping the peace," the Rights have launched a violent campaign against workers' organizations and are demanding the disbanding of the Lambrakis Youth. With the cost of living rising steadily, collective agreements are being arbitrarily prolonged. An offensive against educational reforms has begun. And in the meantime, agents of the Rights in the GCL have embarked on far-reaching plans to prepare the ground for a split in the trade union movement by expelling progressive unions from the Federation and other trade union centers.

In the light of this situation, the Central Committee of the Communist Party has called upon the masses to be on their guard and to fight in defense of their gains, for the overthrow of the new Palace government and for elections, as the only democratic solution to the crisis.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

The recent events of momentous significance for the future of democracy in our country found our Party fully prepared ideologically and politically to meet the situation. As far back as 1956, the Party, proceeding from the realities of Greece, proclaimed its strategic objective to be the realization of far-reaching national-democratic reforms as the first stage in the transition to socialism. In the new conditions it posed the question of unity with broad sections of the working people and the national bourgeoisie not only at the present stage of the struggle for national-democratic reforms, but during the stage of building socialism as well. The Party pointed to the possibility of a peaceful transition to democratic and, subsequently, to socialist reforms. This policy gave added impetus to the democratic movement, it strengthened the Party's hand in the struggle to overthrow the Karamanlis government and steer the country onto a democratic course, cut the ground from under the feet of the reactionaries who had

accused our Party of being a factor of "disorder," and helped us to fight for the restoration of democracy. After the victory of the democratic forces in the February 16 election, our Party reacted to the new situation by advancing an immediate minimum program for the restoration of democracy, for economic and social progress, and urged the people, all democrats, to unite on this platform. The latest developments did not take our Party by surprise. At its meeting in February 1965 our Central Committee exposed the neo-fascist designs of the reactionaries, stressed the responsibility of the Center Union for its policy of conceding to the Rights, and noted the danger of a Center Right government being formed, pointing out that in order to foil these plans it was essential to launch a powerful movement for unity, utilizing all forms of struggle, from minor, partial actions to actions on a national scale. By rallying the popular forces and criticising the Center Union for its vacillation and inconsistencies, while at the same time supporting its positive actions, our Party made a valuable contribution to united action. This flexible policy of uniting the broadest possible democratic forces pursued by our Party and the EDA undoubtedly had its effect. In a situation marked by a sharp aggravation of the struggle the tact and restraint displayed by the Communist Party and the entire Left enabled them to resist the repeated provocations of the reactionaries.

While viewing with optimism the changes taking place in the world in favor of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, and also the powerful upsurge of the forces of democracy in our own country, our Party is keenly alive to the dangers inherent in the international situation and the peculiar conditions in which the democratic movement in Greece is developing.

The imperialists, and above all U.S. imperialism, the shock force of world reaction, are endeavoring by every possible means to prevent the development of the working-class, democratic and national-liberation movements. Local wars fraught with the danger of a new global holocaust are constantly breaking out now in one now in another area of the globe.

All this is clearly reflected in our country and throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. The reactionaries in Greece who have sold out to imperialism are doing everything in their power to fall in with its nefarious schemes. *Fascism is rearing its head: through the threadbare parliamentary curtain the evil face of dictatorial monarchy, bolstered by the military and the police, can be discerned.*

The U.S. imperialists and NATO want to use the Mediterranean as a base of operations, hence their attempts to find a NATO solution for the Cyprus problem. The penetration of American monopoly capital into our country and Greece's association with the Common Market are having disastrous consequences for our national economy.

All this makes it imperative to fight for democracy, for national independence and peace. Our Party is working persistently for a democratic way out of the crisis, for free elections, linking this struggle with defense of the vital economic and democratic gains of the working people.

As noted above, recent events have heightened the anti-monarchy sentiment of the masses and opened their eyes to the sinister role played by the royal family. This makes it all the more imperative to consolidate constitutional freedoms, to restrict, at least for the time being, the royal prerogative within the limits stipulated by the Constitution. At the same time, the palace coup turned the spotlight on one of the root causes of Greece's present troubles: the part played by U.S. imperialism. Therefore, while fighting primarily for economic and democratic gains, in defense of democracy, our Party explains to the masses the need to fight for *more far reaching democratic changes, for extending and developing democracy, for withdrawal from NATO and for a policy of neutrality, to deliver the country from foreign dependence* on the basis of the program of democratization adopted by the Central Committee of our Party in February 1965.

The notable advances made in the past three months, the realization by the masses of the disastrous consequences of anti-communism and the hostile propaganda against the socialist countries conducted for so many years by the reaction, and, last but not least, the achievement of united action among the mass following of the Left and the Center—all create favorable conditions for extending the front of democracy. An important contributing factor is the refusal by the Center Union (although its leadership also represents part of the plutocracy which is grouped around the newspaper *Vima* and is rather influential) to submit to the pressure of the Rights and oppose itself to the popular movement, the fact that it has toned down its anti-communism and is already speaking of "two opposing groups," in other words, is adopting a militant position in the fight to restore constitutional rights. *In these circumstances parallel actions of the Center Union and the Left could serve as the point of departure for*

closer cooperation among the democratic forces and for building a powerful movement capable of frustrating the plans of the reaction and opening the way to democratic development.

The struggle of the past few months underscores the role of the working class in the democratic movement. *In these conditions such potent weapons as the general strike and similar actions capable of uniting the peasants, the middle urban sections and the national bourgeoisie around the working class acquire particular timeliness and significance.*

During the recent events the prestige of the Communist Party has grown. The masses have become more convinced of the need to legalize the Party. The meeting of our Central Committee held in February 1965 posed this as one of the central issues closely linked with the normalization of political life and the need to enhance the leading role of the working class in the democratic movement. Examining the same problem, a later meeting of the Central Committee also raised the question of assigning contingents of active members to lead the working class and democratic movement at the present stage.

The democratic forces have a hard fight ahead of them. Although the reactionaries have lost considerable ground in the past few months as regards influence among the people, they still have substantial reserves to draw on. For one thing they can occupy the key positions in the army and security organs, they can depend on the unconditional moral and material support of the U.S. imperialists, and they hope to capitalize on the difficulties still encountered in achieving working-class unity. Many serious obstacles have yet to be overcome.

The Greek people are fighting today on the forward lines of the democratic front against the forces of European reaction. This explains the deep interest, the help and the solidarity toward our people displayed in recent months by the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe and the whole world, by working class and democratic movements in all countries.

We are deeply convinced that the struggle to restore constitutional rights, to abolish the "emergency legislation," to liberate the fighters for democracy, legalize the Communist Party and repatriate political emigres will continue to meet with the solidarity and support of the working class, of all democratic and progressive men and women everywhere. The victory of the Greek people will be at the same time a victory for the democratic forces of Europe over the forces of fascism and war, a victory for democracy and peace.

The perspective for peace

THE PEACE MOVEMENT and its prospects following the Congress of the World Peace Council in Helsinki were discussed in an interview granted to our correspondent by Isabelle Blume (Belgium), acting Executive President of the World Peace Council.

Q. What is your assessment of the Helsinki Congress, or is this question perhaps somewhat belated?

A. On the contrary, I consider the question most timely, and for two reasons.

In the first place because a certain perspective is necessary in order properly to assess the results of a congress of such magnitude. One is apt to be overwhelmed at first by the diversity of the discussions, the range of ideas, the passionate desire for peace expressed by the participants. It takes time to sort things out and to obtain a clear idea of the full significance of the Congress.

Secondly, because I personally would wish that our congresses, especially when they lead to greater unity as was the case in Helsinki, should continue to provide the groundwork for our activities in the interval between congresses or between sessions of the World Peace Council.

Q. Much press comment was evoked by the fact that despite various predictions, the Helsinki Congress did not witness a split in the peace movement, but on the contrary, turned out to be a Congress of unity. Why, in your opinion, was this so?

A. The unity which found expression in the two Congress resolutions — the resolution on Vietnam and the general resolution — was the result of the work done in preparation for the Congress, and of the method of work of the World Peace Council; but above all it was evidence of the deepseated desire for unity in working for peace. The successes achieved by the Council are due chiefly to the fact that it does not engage in ideological discussion, but, proceeding from principles accepted by all, examines and endeavors to solve each concrete problem as it arises.

One of the main issues at Helsinki and a test for all of us, was that of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. How could peace supporters fail to take a united stand on the question of aggression, on the fact that the war being waged by the United States in Vietnam is a

colonial war and an act of interference in the internal affairs of another country, just as was the case in Santo Domingo and the Congo? How could they fail to demonstrate their solidarity with a nation that is being annihilated by weapons condemned by international law, with a country constantly subjected to bombings that are taking a heavy toll of civilian lives?

There were, of course, people at the Congress who did not fully share the views expressed by some of the speakers during the discussion on the international situation, and they made their voices heard. Nevertheless, all were agreed concerning the need to isolate the United States, to combat the military pacts and bases which are designed to ensure the victory of U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism throughout the world.

The position adopted by the overwhelming majority at the Congress with regard to the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism was perfectly natural. Suffice it to reread the documents of the First Session of the World Peace Council in Warsaw held in December 1950 to see that from the very first day of its existence, the Council has regarded the independence of nations as an indispensable condition for preserving world peace, and accordingly adopted a decision to render help to all countries striving for their independence.

Q. Was the unity you speak of manifested only on the Vietnam question?

A. No, it was even more evident in the general resolution. In assessing the international situation the Congress took the same critical approach as it did to the Vietnam issue. Its participants pointed to the existence in one degree or another of outright intervention in the affairs of other countries by American and British imperialism, Belgian, Portuguese or other colonialism, either in the form of aggressive war, as in the case of Vietnam, or in the form of intervention as in the Congo, Angola, Santo Domingo, or in the form of a colonial system of economic oppression, as in Latin America.

The same critical approach to various events and concrete problems inevitably led to the same conclusion, namely, that each of us in his own country must combat imperialism and neo-colonialism, adapting his method of work

and struggle to the specific conditions of the life of his people.

Q. Is it true that on the issue of disarmament and on United Nations activity the views of some delegates on the Congress committees diverged?

A. Yes, it is quite true, and in the report of every committee you will find the points of disagreement enumerated along with the name of the delegations concerned. The debate in the committees did bring to light certain differences which might have led to a split in the Congress; some people believed that the main purpose of campaigning for peace was to support the armed struggle of the peoples for their independence, while others held that, besides rendering support, the peace movement should continue and even intensify the struggle for nuclear disarmament and for universal controlled disarmament. It is imperative to ease the tension caused by the rearming of Europe, which has revived the cold war in this part of the world and heightened the danger of war, since through the medium of the NATO multilateral nuclear force and other measures the nuclear weapon is being placed at the disposal of Federal Germany at the very moment when Bonn is voicing its solidarity with U.S. foreign policy (assisting the Americans in their war in Vietnam and intervention in Africa) and pursuing its revanchist policy of revising frontiers. Proliferation of atomic weapons constitutes a danger not only for Europe but for Southeast Asia as well.

Hence even those who hold that the spread of atomic weapons would create a certain world equilibrium favorable to peace (!) tend to hesitate when it comes to giving nuclear weapons to the FRG, or to Japan which is also partly linked with the United States and whose territory serves as a base for the military adventures of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.

After the Helsinki Congress we must give serious thought to the question of how the peace partisans are to carry on their work on two fronts. These are not two different fronts, they complement each other; which of them comes to the fore depends on the time and the country. Imperialism and neo-colonialism doom the peoples to hunger, deprive them of their freedom and their future. What can the people of Vietnam do but fight to the end for their independence and their right to existence? What can the peoples of the Congo, Rhodesia, Aden, Angola or the Dominican Republic do but rise up in revolt against oppression and foreign interference? But this bitter struggle should remind all who adhere to the World Peace Council of the need for constant effort to ensure that every avenue be explored and every opportunity taken to replace destruction and bloodshed by negotiations that would guarantee genuine independence and equality for the peoples. The movement initiated in the West for withdrawal from military pacts, against proliferation of atomic weapons and for the abolition of military bases is one aspect of this struggle.

And while public indignation at the inertia of the disarmament conference and the negligible results of 500 or 5,000 meetings is understandable, one could wish that this indignation could be channelled in the right direction and thus lead to positive actions to halt the headlong race to destruction in which mankind is being involved. Yet, while the world shudders at the very thought of nuclear war, the country that was its first victim is the scene of conferences at which delegates and official statements call for stockpiling and proliferating nuclear weapons on the pretext of honoring the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The answer to the savage war now raging in Vietnam, to the insane provocations of U.S. imperialism, is to be found not in inflaming nationalist sentiment but in strengthening the resolve of the nations to preserve the peace.

If genuine patriotism is the motive force of peoples compelled to take up arms against a policy of unbridled violence and oppression it should not be allowed to become the pretext for a new arms race or for insisting that the whole world must possess nuclear weapons. When this happens, patriotism turns into nationalism, into militarism, and in the face of a resurgent militarism in Europe, and on other continents, the peace partisans should draw strength and courage from the decisions of the Helsinki Congress and from the unanimity displayed during the free discussion conducted there on the basis of respect for the opinions of others.

Let me conclude this appraisal of the Congress by saying that still greater courage will be required of the peace supporters to reply to the arms race, to the orgy of militarism, by repeated affirmation of the principles of the World Peace Council, Pancha-Shila and Bandung, which provides for equality in the relations among peoples, for mutually advantageous intercourse and peaceful coexistence.

It has been suggested that the United Nations should be reorganized. For even if tomorrow all the countries were to win independence and live in economic and political equality, it would still be necessary to have a place where they could meet and settle their disputes, a place from which one quarter of the earth's population would no longer be absent.

It is not necessary to dissolve the United Nations, what is needed is that it should be adapted to the international situation and its international character restored by including People's China, Vietnam and the GDR and other states; it should be wrested from United States influence so that it would cease to be a tool of U.S. imperialism; it should be turned into an instrument of deliverance from colonialism, a place where states, meeting as equals, should be able to order their lives on the basis of genuine peaceful coexistence. This is by no means an easy task, but I feel confident that the peoples will be able to cope with it. The peace supporters want to do their share.

Q. The Press has had much to say about the crisis of the peace movement. What is your view on this?

A. The Council knows only one crisis, the "crisis" of growth. This was strikingly demonstrated by the Helsinki Congress. Our "well-wishers" hoped that we would split on the basic issues on which our very existence hinges. They were disappointed. The truth is simple and we have no cause to hide it. The Council represents 51 national peace movements; however 99 countries were represented at the Helsinki Congress. Many of them had only recently gained independence, some of them were "non-aligned" countries, others belonged to the "third world."

These new countries should be represented not only in the World Peace Council itself, but also in its leading bodies. This involves certain difficulties.

The meetings were attended by 18 international organizations. And while these included some with whom we maintain permanent contacts, there were others who voiced the desire to establish closer ties with us and to act jointly as far as possible. We will have to define our attitude to them and explore ways and means of maintaining more regular contact with them with a view to more fruitful cooperation. The Catholic Church is one example. In many countries its fight for peace is coming closer to our own on a number of issues. Then there is the peace movement in the United States, the students' and women's movements which do not belong to our organization but would like to cooperate with us on the international plane and which rely on us to impart an international character to their own movement. It is along these lines that we propose to reorganize the peace movement.

We do not deny that in the movement there are various other difficulties which must be tackled one by one, just as we tackle the peace problems. And here again Helsinki can serve as an encouraging example: only by united action in the name of the common goal shall we be able to prevent a split. If we succeed by joint efforts in ending the aggression against Vietnam we shall win the battle, for we shall have learned that if each in his own way strives for the common goal, this will be a victory for all, and our unity will thus be cemented.

Q. Do you think that the unity of the peace supporters can be strengthened by drawing large sections of the working class into the movement?

A. Certainly. Workers' participation in our movement is a guarantee not only of its success, but of its very existence. The peace movement must develop into a mass movement on a growing scale or it will cease to exist.

And indeed can it be otherwise? Where was the idea of proletarian solidarity born? Where did the idea that "the alliance of working people will establish world peace," originate if not in the doctrine of socialism and in its in-

itial organizations? Who showed the close connection between capitalism and war if not that great Socialist Jaures? Who signed the decree on Peace, and carried the socialist doctrine into life for the first time in history if not Lenin? In that case, one might ask, why have all the trade unions not yet joined our movement, why has the alliance of all trade unions in the fight for peace yet to be established? More, why is it that in some trade unions the fight for peace does not occupy, or has not occupied since the war, the place it deserves?

This, of course, does not apply to the socialist countries where the trade unions, voicing the will of the people, take an active part in the peace movement and where all the citizens of the given country participate in the peace policy of their government. For them the fight for peace has become as customary as their daily work. They believe that socialism cannot be built without peace, that war, even a war in which they are not directly involved, hinders the building of socialism or threatens the preservation of what has already been built.

If the trade unions and the working class parties paid as much attention to action for peace as they should, the threat of war would not be so great as it is today. But, unfortunately, this is so far not the case. The most glaring example in this respect is that of the United States. Whereas the women, students and intellectuals in that country are uniting to oppose the policy of war in Vietnam, some of the most influential trade unions support Johnson on this score. In the countries of "little Europe" we have to fight every step of the way to win over the organized workers and draw them into the concrete struggle for peace.

Had we been able to enlist the working class organizations in the struggle against the rearmament of West Germany we would not only have prevented that rearmament, but would have made notable progress toward disarmament; we would not now be faced with the threat of nuclear rearmament or surrounded by a ring of U.S. military bases, and we could force the United States tomorrow to end its aggressive "dirty war" in Vietnam.

This passive attitude on the part of many labor organizations toward the concrete struggle for peace was (I say *was*) further complicated by the split in the working class organizations. It led to the disruption of ties not only between the trade unions of East and West, but of ties which should have united the working class within the respective countries and which have not yet been restored. The approach of the Christian trade unions to the fight for peace was (and again I repeat *was*) quite different from that of the Social Democratic unions, as different as their concepts of the class struggle.

Space does not permit me to dwell at any length on the reasons for this. But let us examine briefly the first and main reason. To recall the idea advanced by Jaures and the influence it exerted on the position of the work-

ing class is to see how closely it was linked with the class struggle. For the working people prior to the second world war the fight for peace and the fight for their daily bread, for better conditions, were one and the same thing. They were two aspects of the class struggle. The cannon kings were more dangerous than the other capitalists although they all belonged to the same class. The fight against militarism and war was synonymous with the fight against capitalism. There was one enemy, an enemy everyone could see. Today in the West things are quite different. The workers, who have won a certain standard of life, who own a car, a TV set, a house or flat (50 per cent of the workers in my country own their own homes) have a different approach to the class struggle than those who worked 10 or 12 hours a day for a miserable pittance. In boom periods when there is no unemployment they think only of how to utilize the advantages they have won to date. The 45-hour week means a weekend in the country, paid vacations, trips to France, Italy and to the socialist countries. That the workers have obtained decent living conditions is all to the good. But until they are the masters of their own destiny there is no guarantee that these conditions will endure. The class struggle and the connection between capitalism and war have not disappeared. They have only changed their guise. The working class is beginning to see through this new guise and to adapt their struggle accordingly.

What are the Coal and Steel Community, the Common Market, or Euratom but monopoly associations which oppress new strata of the population and engender class struggle? This is capitalist concentration on a colossal scale, a new way of defending capitalism, a way which finds expression in imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, i.e., in war or preparation for war. It is precisely on the basis of NATO in the West and SEATO in the East, on the plea that the old world must be defended, that the huge financial and industrial monopolies have taken shape and are now plotting and waging wars. It is thanks to the war in Vietnam and other areas, thanks to the arms race, that the United States is solving its unemployment problem. And the working class is beginning to realize this. It is awakening to the truth, despite the attempts that have been made to persuade it that peace can be assured through the "nuclear equilibrium."

Yes, the truth is asserting itself not only in the trade unions affiliated to the ICFTU but in the Christian trade unions as well. Very many members of the Christian Socialist Party are joining the movement for peace at the very moment when Socialist and Communist workers are uniting to defend their common interests. There is nothing surprising in this: the Church has been obliged to modify its doctrine in face of the threat of nuclear annihilation.

A particular place in our plans for organizational reforms and cooperation is allotted to the trade unions. And when we speak of working-

class organizations we also mean the peasant organizations which are so numerous in many European countries. They too are evincing a growing concern for peace as they awaken to the class struggle and the need to defend themselves not only against the big landowners but also against the Common Market monopolies whom they rightly regard as an international exploiter.

The problem of drawing the working class and peasantry into the fight for peace requires deeper and more detailed study. But we can already say that the road to working-class unity in the different countries often lies through accord on questions relating to action for peace.

In Belgium accord between workers and peasants is realized in the May Eighth movement which unites five million of the country's nine million population.

Q. On November 21-22 the Presidium of the World Peace Council met in Sofia. Could you say to what extent it contributed to a solution of the problems posed in Helsinki?

A. In Sofia the Presidium was confronted with two new serious developments: British repressions in Aden and Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence. There was little difficulty in pin-pointing the new seat of war danger created in South Africa by the efforts of the entire colonialist reaction: Salazar in Angola and Mozambique, Verwoerd in the South African Republic and Ian Smith in Rhodesia. The stand taken by the OAU states lent added force to the Presidium's resolution on Rhodesia and its criticism of the inadequate measures taken by Britain.

And if the Rhodesian issue is clear, the case of Vietnam is clearer still. The report of the Vietnamese comrades brought home to us once more the mounting horror of the war in Vietnam, the indomitable courage of its people who for so many years have carried the burden of struggle against colonialism and U.S. imperialism.

A new note was struck by the resolution on Vietnam, which, on the insistence of the Vietnamese themselves, links the struggle of the American people against their government with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. It reaffirmed once again all the demands advanced by the North and South for a peaceful solution of the Vietnamese problem.

The communique, couched in the spirit of the general resolution adopted by the Helsinki Congress, is at the same time our program of action for 1966.

Q. What are the prospects of the fight for peace in the coming year?

A. This question might perhaps best be answered by citing our slogans for the latter part of 1965. On November 27 all our national movements rallied to the support of the March on Washington of the American peace supporters in protest against the war in Vietnam; this was followed by a Vietnam solidarity week held on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the National Liberation Front (December 20).

A resolution was adopted in support of a solidarity conference of three continents with the participation of a delegation from the World Peace Council.

We are convening a conference of African peace movements to be held in Africa prior to the World Peace Council Session, and a meeting of the national secretaries on the eve of the Session. In order to speed up the organizational reform of the peace movement we plan to hold the World Peace Council session early in March.

At the same time we intend to establish the broadest possible contacts with other peace forces and to recommend to the national committees to do likewise.

This activity should serve to give fresh impetus to the struggle that must be constantly carried on in solidarity with the people of Vietnam and the South African countries. As you see, the war-mongers are keeping us busy, especially since the nuclear arms race makes it

incumbent on us to concern ourselves more actively with problems of European security.

The meeting of the Presidium in Sofia was overshadowed by the absence of our Chinese and Japanese friends, and also by the fact that the Indonesian representative was unable to attend. We still have no news of our Indonesian friend or of the peace committee in Djakarta.

We regret the absence of our Chinese and Japanese friends all the more because the important questions discussed in Sofia concern them as well. The unity we achieved in Helsinki on the question of Vietnam and Rhodesia was further cemented in Sofia. We are united in our struggle against U.S. imperialism and against colonialism in general.

We shall meet again, I hope, to reorganize the World Peace Council, to infuse it with new blood and strengthen our unity in the face of the common enemy—imperialism, colonialism and war.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BUILDING SOCIALISM

Economic relations in the council for mutual economic aid

NIKOLAI FADDEYEV

EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN that the rise and development of international economic relations of the new, socialist type is a complex, many-sided, and, to a certain extent, contradictory process.

Economic cooperation between socialist countries began to take shape immediately after the establishment of people's power. It was conditioned—and still is conditioned—by the objective trends in modern production, the need to build and consolidate the material and technological base of socialism and to win in the economic competition with capitalism.

The principles of capitalist integration, which boils down to the strong oppressing and exploiting the weak and the big monopolies devouring the smaller, are invalid for socialist countries. A new approach had to be found

to economic problems, and new principles of cooperation and new methods of shaping the economic relationships stemming from the nature of the new social system had to be worked out.

The paramount principle of our international cooperation is socialist internationalism, which presupposes harmonious combination of the basic national, political and economic interests and the sovereignty of each socialist country with the common interests of all the countries affiliated to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, the interests of the socialist world system as a whole. Other principles following from this fundamental premise are the complete equality and independence of each country, fraternal cooperation and mutual aid.

These new principles found embodiment in the Council when it was formed in 1949.

The cooperation is based on the "Basic Principles of International Socialist Division of Labor," adopted by a conference of First Secretaries of the Communist parties and Heads of Government of the member countries in June 1962. This document contains a theoretical generalization of the experience gained over the years and reflects the general laws governing the development of the socialist world system.

In the socialist world fruitfulness of the cooperation is directly dependent on how the purposeful planning of economic relations is correlated with the objective economic processes.

The purpose of the economic cooperation between the socialist countries is to ensure harmonious development of the economy of each and of the system as a whole by drawing on the achievements of science and technology, and to accelerate the victory of socialism over capitalism in the decisive sphere—the sphere of material production.

The difficulties involved are, however, extremely great. Some of them have already been overcome, others still remain to be removed. They are due partly to the war, partly to subjective factors, but basically these difficulties are part of the onerous legacy which we inherited from capitalism.

When the member-countries of the Council first stepped out on the socialist road their economic and technological levels greatly differed. Some were industrial countries, others were somewhere half way to industrialization, and a third group had been doomed to extreme backwardness by capitalism, with production indices below the world average.

Structurally the economy of most of the countries suffered from imbalances. In some a backward agriculture predominated. In Poland, for instance, two-thirds of the population obtained their livelihood from the soil, in Rumania three-quarters, and in Bulgaria four-fifths. The GDR inherited an extremely adverse legacy in the disproportions caused by the division of Germany. In 1936 the territory now constituting the GDR accounted for 2.9 per cent of the coal output of Germany, 4.3 per cent of its iron ore, 1.6 per cent of its pig iron, 7.7 per cent of its steel, and 53 per cent of its textile machinery output. In Czechoslovakia, one of the more highly developed industrial countries, the share of textile, clothing, footwear, glass and haberdashery manufacture was inordinately great.

Moreover, the economy of most of the member countries bore the imprint of their former subordination to the interests of the big imperialist powers.

These were some of the factors which accounted for the specific nature of the immediate economic tasks confronting the various countries. In some cases the key task was to eliminate the disproportions and thus ensure a more balanced economic structure. In others it was necessary to raise the general economic

level, to embark on industrialization, ensure full employment and meet the most pressing demand for manufactures.

Clearly, this diversity of tasks greatly influenced economic relationships within the system as a whole.

The Council takes full cognizance of the diversity of national-economic tasks. At times measures which at first glance would seem to accord with the common interests are found on closer examination to be detrimental to the national socio-economic interests of one or another country or group of countries and, hence, not conducive to overall progress. Hence the need to take care of both the national interests and the common aims.

Sometimes economic relations are affected by errors and miscalculations in the economic policies pursued in the various countries and also on the scale of the socialist system as a whole largely because of inexperience and because of the novelty of the processes involved. For one thing, cooperation has been hampered by subjective approaches to problems and by failure to take a realistic view of things as they are.

Sometimes economists fail to see the difficulties involved and take an oversimplified view of how the economies of the socialist countries can be brought closer together. Some of the writing on this subject suffers from a somewhat primitive approach to developing the economic links between countries without due regard to the multifariousness of historical, economic, national and other conditions.

The key to success lies in thorough investigation of the difficulties. This is a basic consideration of the Council. However, much remains to be done in the sphere of scientific elaboration of the problems of economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

Alongside the established forms of economic cooperation and mutual aid which are being steadily improved, new forms are taking shape such as coordinated planning, specialization and coordination of production, foreign trade, credits, technical aid, scientific and technological cooperation, joint construction projects and cooperation in the production of some key items of output.

COORDINATED PLANNING—THE DECISIVE FORM OF COOPERATION

It is mainly through coordinated planning that the international socialist division of labor can be developed further. And the Council is the collective organizer of joint effort in this area.

Voluntary coordinated planning is a new form of international economic intercourse stemming from the very nature of socialism. It represents a qualitatively new stage in cooperation and is the principal instrument for developing international socialist division of labor; it is an instance of conscious utilization of the economic laws of socialism, primarily of the law of planned, proportional develop-

ment on the scale of the socialist world system.

Coordination makes for the observance of the objectively necessary proportions in the economy of each country and of the entire community; it promotes effective international division of labor ensuring the rapid growth of production and the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the people in each country with the minimum expenditure of social labor; and it makes it possible to combine international specialization in production with the all-round development of the national economies, with a view to the full and purposeful use by all the member countries of their natural and economic factors of production, including manpower.

Coordinated planning within the framework of the Council makes it possible to maintain a steady balance between the growing and changing social requirements and the development of production in each country and on the scale of the entire community.

Recommendations in this area are made only with the agreement of all the countries concerned. The national sovereignty of each and the principles of non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and reciprocal aid, are strictly observed. No member country can dispose of the material or financial resources of another or enjoy any other advantages. Each of the countries independently plans its economic development, guided above all by its own interests and proceeding from its internal conditions and specific economic and political tasks. But at the same time coordinated planning enables each country to provide for the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the other countries as well as its own import needs, all in keeping with the principles of mutual advantage and mutual aid.

Some capitalist economists interpret coordinated planning as a matter of compilation by a single center of a single program obligatory for all. As we have seen, this is not the case.

By dovetailing their plans the various countries can determine their payments relations in advance and in this way balance their economy and foreign trade.

As a result, each country is in a position to make the maximum use of its resources to build up its economy. Economic endeavor is placed on a solid footing and protected from the blind forces and instability of the capitalist market. In this way the interests of the countries concerned are brought into harmony, and this tends to accelerate the advance of each as well as of the community as a whole.

Coordination is effected both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. The two forms are mutually complementary.

The agencies of the Council have been conducting extensive work in plan coordination since 1954 and it is now a basic aspect of its functions.

In 1960 these agencies completed the correlating of plans up to 1965 and, on this basis, the member-countries signed long-term trade

agreements for the 1961-65 period covering deliveries of fuel, raw materials, machines and other industrial equipment. The fact that the agreements were concluded a year in advance provided a firm foundation for the national plans up to 1965.

Work to coordinate plans for 1966-70 is now nearing completion. And the recommendation of the Sixteenth Session of the Council that the national plans, too, should be drawn up with an eye to their dovetailing is being followed. Two series of consultations have taken place, the planners meeting on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Each country was thus able to find solutions to a number of problems already in the process of drawing up the long-term plans, in particular problems relating to fuel and power, industrial raw materials and types of machines and other industrial equipment in short supply.

Thanks to bilateral consultations, national production and consumption estimates covering the basic types of output, and the revising and summarizing of the estimates by the Council agencies, the member countries have been able roughly to establish the volume of mutual deliveries of fuel, electric power, raw materials, machines and industrial equipment, needed to ensure the projected rates of growth. This extensive preliminary work has also pointed up problems requiring further examination and elaboration in the particular countries and in the Council agencies.

In keeping with the recommendations of the Council and on the basis of the work done to coordinate plans, member countries are now concluding trade agreements for 1966-70.

With these agreements plan coordination up to 1970 will be completed in the main. The different countries and Council agencies will, of course, continue to work on recommendations facilitating fulfilment of agreements as well as the economic development plans.

In this connection it will be necessary in 1966 to sum up the work done on plan coordination for 1966-70 and to chart ways and means of perfecting this form of cooperation which has already proved its value. In our opinion attention should be concentrated even more than hitherto on spotlighting the problems requiring joint effort on the part of the member countries, on evolving forms and methods of solving these problems in keeping with the interests of both the more developed and the less developed countries.

The growth of production and the growing complexity of the economic relations make it necessary to place plan coordination on a more scientific footing. The need is felt for scientific forecasts by Council agencies for the various branches of the economy in the light of the anticipated advance of science and technology. These forecasts would help the countries to take advantage of new opportunities for extending cooperation and effecting a maximum saving in social labor, accelerating technological and all-round economic progress. They would also facilitate rational solution of prob-

lems by the joint efforts of the countries concerned.

SPECIALIZATION AND COORDINATION— THE MAIN AVENUE OF PROGRESS IN PRODUCTION

The Council considers the drafting of recommendations concerning specialization and coordination in many areas of the engineering, metallurgical, chemical and other industries to be one of its main functions.

The technological revolution imperatively requires thorough modernization in industry, and this in turn calls for unflagging effort to promote international specialization and coordination of production.

The recommendations made for the engineering industry covering 1,600 specialized items envisage the manufacture of about three-quarters of these items in one or two countries. They amount to 20 per cent of the total volume of production of chemical-industry equipment, more than 90 per cent of the sheet finishing equipment, 85 per cent of the rolling mill equipment, over 90 per cent of the ball and roller-bearing output and 75 per cent of the oil-refinery equipment.

Practically each session of the Council's executive examines specialization proposals. At the Eighteenth Session held last June, for instance, such proposals were endorsed for more than 200 types of textile machines and equipment and over 30 types of forestry and lumbering machines. Inter-state specialization is practised in the manufacture of machines previously not made by the member-countries (some types of hoisting and transport equipment, self-propelled cranes with a capacity from 63 to 160 tons, new types of universal single-scoop excavators, multi-scoop loaders, etc.).

This, undoubtedly, promotes the technological advance and general growth of the engineering industries of the member countries. But so far international specialization and coordination of production are not decisive in the economic development of these countries. Only a comparatively small part of the industrial goods produced in the community are exported and imported—4.7 per cent in the case of metal-working machine tools, grain-harvesting combines 5.9 per cent, trucks 4.7 per cent, motor buses 9 per cent, and tractors 6.7 per cent. In other words, engineering output goes mainly for home consumption.

Clearly, it will take time—a few years, perhaps—for the specialization recommendations to produce more tangible results, since they often involve expansion of production capacity, modernization of designs, etc. Besides, there are also certain objective difficulties, chief of which are the differences in national levels of development.

At times it is difficult to harmonize the varying interests even though in principle they not only are not contradictory but should facilitate successful solution of common problems.

The foregoing by no means exhausts the complexities involved. The "Basic Principles of

International Socialist Division of Labor" point out that specialization and coordination should be tackled with a view to comprehensive development of the economy of the countries, taking into account their manpower resources, their payments potential and other essential factors. From this it follows that national requirements and potential should be examined on a bilateral or multilateral basis. Consequently, specialization and coordination should be integrally linked with long-term coordination of plans.

The balance method of elaborating recommendations now practised by the Council agencies is a step forward; yet it provides only a partial solution since the point of departure is balances for separate groups of products or individual items of output without cost evaluation. This method does not throw full light on the effect the recommendations are likely to have on the development of the industry concerned in the given country or on the national balance of payments.

Nor does the present method solve the problem of prices of specialized output in a way advantageous to both the producer country and the buyer. This, too, has an adverse effect on the drawing up of recommendations and on their realization.

Inter-state specialization and coordination, as the most advanced forms of international division of labor, are an objectively-conditioned process, and hence difficulties encountered on the way cannot be removed by administrative measures. Consequently, the Council countries are searching for economic stimuli and solutions meeting the interests of all parties to the specialization.

The Nineteenth Session of the Council and the Sixteenth Session of its Executive Committee, attaching particular importance to specialization and coordination, took steps towards a profound study of the question and the elaboration of ways and means of accelerating progress in this sphere.

Tapping the reserves latent in the economy of the member countries through specialization and coordination is an urgent task facing each of the countries and the Council as such.

There is no doubt that as the less developed countries press ahead with industrialization and economic levels are gradually equalized, the process of specialization and coordination will gain momentum and many of the present difficulties will be removed.

Socialist cooperation presupposes the economic advance of all the countries concerned and improvement of the well-being of their people without jeopardizing the interests of third countries. As experience shows, the Council countries, despite the difficulties, are finding mutually advantageous solutions based on understanding of one another's interests.

COOPERATION IN PROMOTING BASIC BRANCHES OF PRODUCTION

The Council is chiefly concerned with solving the basic problems of economic development.

As mentioned above, the fuel and power problem looms large in most Council countries, even though output in these industries has grown rapidly. In 1950-64 gross output of power increased in all these countries taken together 5.3-fold and the output of fuel 2.9-fold. Progress in these branches has been faster than in industry generally.

In recent years steps have been taken towards a more rational use of power. On the basis of Council recommendations, the power systems of Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, the West Ukrainian part of the USSR and Czechoslovakia have been linked up. Soon the Bulgarian power system will be included.

The integrated power systems are making a commendable showing.

The overall volume of electric power supplied by one country to another was more than 3,000 million kwh. in 1963 and nearly 4,500 million in 1964. The 1965 target was 5,000 million kwh. Already in 1963 the integrated grid effected an estimated 500,000 kw.-economy in generating capacity.

Oil and gas output has been growing rapidly. In all the Council countries taken together oil extraction increased from 44 million tons in 1950 to 239 million in 1964, or 5.4-fold, the bulk of the increase being accounted for by the Soviet Union. A highly important development was the construction of the Friendship Oil Pipeline, which not only increased the supply to countries lacking sufficient oil of their own, but also enabled them to modernize their fuel and power structure. A petrochemical industry using Soviet crude oil is being expanded in these countries.

New chemical plants already partly in operation in Plock, Schwedt, Bratislava and Szaszhombat produce besides fuel hundreds of different types of chemicals for industry and the consumer market. It will not be an exaggeration to say that this impressive array of petrochemical plants could be built only thanks to close cooperation between Council countries.

It should be noted, however, that the fuel and power problem remains a pressing one. To solve it many difficulties will have to be overcome, especially the heavy capital outlay needed and the time required to build new capacities (from 5 to 7 years).

In the course of coordinating plans for 1966-70 ways of solving these problems were worked out, but it should be borne in mind that the demand for fuel, electric power and raw materials for the petro-chemical industry will increase considerably after 1970. And unless corresponding measures are taken in good time the countries may find themselves in a quandary. In this connection it is noteworthy that at the Session of the Executive Committee last June representatives of some of the countries invited proposals for a joint solution. The countries have acquired valuable experience in dealing with similar questions. It is imperative to find within the next few years ways and means of solving the fuel and power problem after 1970.

The metallurgical industry is still one of the bottlenecks in the socialist countries. Hence they are continuing to exert every effort to accelerate its development.

In 1950-64 iron and steel output increased 3.7-fold and non-ferrous metals 4.2-fold. The most rapid growth took place in countries where these industries were the least developed in the past.

But, despite the advance, requirements are not fully satisfied. Hence the national plans call for further development of this industry and the full utilization of all the latent resources.

A number of big metallurgical plants will be completed in Bulgaria, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, and capacities are being increased in other countries.

With a view to more rational utilization of production capacity, work is now under way on specialization in rolled steel products and arrangements for exchange of certain types of rolled metal, tubing and alloys through the Iron and Steel Committee of the Council and the newly-established international organization Intermetal.

The countries are actively cooperating in the production of other raw materials as well. A method which is steadily gaining ground is sharing in the financing of development projects, with repayment in the output of the jointly built enterprises. The GDR and Czechoslovakia cooperate in this way with Poland in the coal industry. Czechoslovakia cooperates with Poland and Bulgaria in extracting and refining copper ore and sulphur, the USSR and Czechoslovakia in iron and steel and non-ferrous metals, and Poland and the USSR in the production of potash fertilizers. In 1964 construction was completed in the USSR of the Kingisepp phosphorite mine and concentration plant, built jointly with other members of the Council interested in phosphorous raw materials and fertilizers.

Cooperation has also made for rapid progress in the engineering industry, which has registered a higher growth rate in all the Council countries than industry as a whole.

In 1950-64 gross output of the machine-building and metal-working industries increased 6.9-fold in the community as a whole, and even faster in the countries in which they had been less developed. For example, Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania showed a 14, 12.8 and 13-fold increase respectively. In the other countries engineering output increased from 5 to 7 times over.

All the Council countries are faced with the need to raise the technological level of industry and ensure maximum quality of output. In view of the degree to which the division of labor has developed in research, teamwork among researchers is basic to scientific and technological progress and the utmost importance is attached to this sphere. Joint undertakings have already played a big role in the industrialization of the member-countries, especially of the less developed. In point of fact,

provision of scientific and technological documentation free of charge is a striking manifestation of the spirit of fraternal friendship and mutual aid prevailing among the socialist countries. Coordinated research continues to occupy a leading place in the overall system of co-operation, with a large number of research and designing organizations in the various countries working on the main scientific and technological problems.

In December 1965 the Executive Committee examined a summary plan for coordinating basic research projects of common interest in 1966-70 and endorsed it as a recommendation to member countries. Yugoslavia is also taking part in this work.

In our age of technological revolution urgent problems can be effectively solved only by large groups of researchers and designers of diverse specialties equipped with costly experimental facilities. Clearly, then, the time has come to finance major research projects on a cost-accounting basis, without, however, giving up the practice of supplying specifications and other documentation to one another free of charge.

Proper organization of foreign trade and a smoothly running international clearing system have an important bearing on the rational international division of labor and inter-state specialization and coordination.

Trade between the Council countries is based on long-term agreements concluded for the same spans of time.

These agreements represent a broad program of reciprocal deliveries of machines and industrial plant, fuel and raw materials, plus food and consumer goods. They take care of the member countries' import needs and guarantee a stable outlet for their products, all of which makes for steady economic advance and raising of living standards in each.

The overall foreign trade of the Council countries in 1955-64 increased 2.4-fold, while trade within the community showed a 2.5-fold growth. In more recent years (1961-64) the growth of trade between member countries averaged 10.3 per cent annually as against a production growth rate of slightly more than 8 per cent. This is evidence of a further deepening of the international socialist division of labor.

Nevertheless, the present rate of development of the international division of labor and foreign trade falls short of requirements. It is necessary to expand trade, especially in specialized output. The member-countries are now taking steps, with the aid of the agencies of the Council, to stimulate foreign trade. More effective ways of promoting economic intercourse are being explored and a study is being made of prices in trade between the socialist countries with a view to making fuller use of the operation of the law of value and commodity-money relations as accelerators of foreign trade.

With the object of extending economic intercourse and improving the system of account-

ing, the governments of the Council countries concluded in October 1963 an agreement on multilateral clearance in convertible rubles, establishing the International Bank for Economic Cooperation. The new clearance system went into force and the International Bank began operations on January 1, 1964.

The system has operated smoothly. Payments have been met on time and more rational use has been made of funds than was the case under the pre-1964 bilateral clearing system.

The interest rate on credits extended to member-countries has ranged from 1 to 0.4 per cent, and the average annual rate has been 0.8 per cent. No other bank in the world provides short-term credits at such a low rate. Capitalist banks charge 6 per cent and more.

This is understandable, for the International Bank for Economic Cooperation and capitalist banks pursue different aims. The object of the former is to promote cooperation between fraternal countries, to advance their economies and to extend their economic links, whereas the aim of the capitalist banks is to make the maximum profit for the finance tycoons to the detriment of the people of their own and other countries.

The operations of the International Bank range from deposit operations to clearing operations in freely convertible currency. During its first year it acted as an agency for banks in Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy and elsewhere. It proposes, in keeping with its charter, to develop more extensive relations with banks in other countries.

One of the prime tasks of the Bank is to make more effective use of the advantages accruing from multilateral clearing in convertible rubles for promoting trade and general economic intercourse on a multilateral basis. This will be facilitated by further specialization and coordination of production among the member-countries, the output of goods on the level of world standards, and the fact that part of the Bank's charter capital consists of gold and freely convertible currency.

* * *

With the development of the economy of the Council countries and the rapid progress of science and technology, economic relations between them become more complex and multi-form. The greater the progress made by the economy of our countries and the more complex it becomes, the more difficult it will be to guide it, drawing on the full potential of its inner dynamics. In many of the countries extensive work is underway to improve planning and management in order to tap more effectively the reserves inherent in the socialist mode of production. There is no doubt that this will have a positive effect also on international intercourse. It is imperative to study the impact of these measures on economic co-operation as well as the operation of the economic laws of socialism on the scale of the socialist world system with a view to making better use of these laws in the process of cooperation.

Central planning and industrial amalgamations

Some problems of recasting the system of planning and management in Poland

JOZEF PAJESTKA

IN 1956-57 THE FIRST steps were taken in Poland toward the partial decentralization of planning (in particular, the number of directive indicators in the annual plans of enterprises was substantially reduced), the enterprises acquired a greater operative independence, and incentives came more into the picture with a view to combining the interests of the workers with the overall results of the enterprise. These changes yielded a number of positive results, and from the experience gained in the first period of the readjustment the following can be said:

1. Decentralization cannot be properly carried out without utilizing in the right way the corresponding economic instruments and levers.

2. Decentralization necessitates utilizing the mechanism of the market which determines the relations between economic organizations in social production. In this respect, in our opinion, there are two basic possibilities (we shall not assess their essence here), namely:

a) the setting up of an economic structure based on individual enterprises and permitting a more or less restricted market mechanism and market competition (which, needless to say, does not preclude the possibility of direct or indirect interference by the state in the processes of production and distribution);

b) an economic structure consisting of large production units whose relations derive not from competition but organized specialization and coordination, with the proviso, of course, that these relations rest on definite economic principles, notably, the principles of cost-accounting and self-financing. Consequently, this solution, too, envisages development of the

market mechanism; it is, however, under strict control by virtue of the existence of large-scale amalgamated economic organizations.

In the course of the further development of the system of economic management in Poland we opted for the second possibility. Hence in 1958 a decision was taken to reorganize the central industrial administrations into amalgamations designed to become economic organizations of a new type responsible for their outlays and expenditures and for balancing these with their financial receipts. The amalgamations consisted mainly of enterprises of a kindred type although many of them also included enterprises with vertical (supplier-receiver) connections.

However, the projected reorganization, especially readjusting the character and functioning of the amalgamations was not carried out in full. In the first place, the necessary financial and economic instruments determining the "economic rules" governing the amalgamations and modifying the criteria of assessment of results, their relations with the enterprises, etc., were not fully worked out and applied. Now, however, measures have been outlined for a more consistent reorganization of these industrial organizations.

The proposed reorganization does not give a full picture of the operation of the new system since some of the solutions have not been fully worked out and, primarily, because we still lack experience. However, the results so far enable us to make some observations concerning the trend of the changes.

* * *

Our socio-economic system is, of course, based on planning. But planning on a national

scale can be effected in a variety of ways, by various "rules of activity" concerning assessment criteria, the relationships between different economic units and bodies of the state economic apparatus, etc. This conclusion can be drawn from the experience of all the socialist countries; the near future will further enrich its content.

We are searching for the best ways of implementing the principle of national planning. Our experience shows that it is essential for the planning to rely more consistently than hitherto on the all-round initiative of various economic units and organizations. This trend is linked up with prerequisites of both an economic and a social character. Public initiative and activity cannot be limited merely to finding the "ways and means of fulfilling the plan." When planning is the principal method of organizing the socio-economic processes, the economic initiative displayed in the process of compiling the plans is of utmost importance.

In this connection, one of the main ways in which planning and management are being reorganized in our country is that of enhancing the role of big industrial amalgamations (some taking in entire branches of industry) in the entire process of planning. It is held that in participating in planning the amalgamations should take an independent stand on such points as satisfying social requirements and expanding exports and in guiding the technological and economic progress in their enterprises.

This trend naturally pursues the aim of allowing greater initiative to the enterprises in the sphere of planning. A few remarks of a general character should be made apropos of this.

It is evident that we should not be afraid of stating quite clearly that in the process of planning the amalgamations should represent and uphold the standpoint and long-range "interests" of definite industrial complexes as a counterbalance to the central bodies representing the standpoint of the national economy as a whole.

The socialist economy is not a theoretical scheme but a living socio-economic organism. The various forces, trends, standpoints and interests embodied in it express the really existing socio-economic relationships and real social processes. In the course of planning and management it is essential not to suppress these but to discern them and find solutions to them.

Experience shows that excessive predominance of the central viewpoint and the unconditional subordination to the viewpoint of all partial solutions (through administrative methods) give rise to negative features. In particular, it tends to overwhelm the real social trends, stifles initiative instead of giving it free rein, and impedes the growth of the sense of responsibility.

To ensure unrestricted initiative in planning a certain "autonomy" is needed for the various socio-economic trends.

The point, of course, is not that this "autonomy" should be completely independent. That would be a veritable utopia. But in one way or another this "autonomy" should be manifested releasing sound, creative initiative and promoting a sense of social responsibility. This is not at variance with the need to subordinate various tendencies and initiatives to the interests of the people.

However, extending the rights of the amalgamations in the process of planning as a definite expression of the need for an outward manifestation of "autonomy" on the scale of given industrial complexes, requires explanation. Enhancing the role of the amalgamations in national planning does not mean that they are assigned a bigger role and granted more rights as compared with other links of the managerial apparatus. If that were the sole essence of the changes, it would be merely tantamount to a reorganization of the administrative-organizational system, a redistribution of powers between the various links of the apparatus. We have already had many reorganizations of this kind. Without denying their usefulness, let us say that this kind of thing makes it well nigh impossible to achieve basic change in the functioning of the economy.

In the process of planning, the amalgamations should represent the production complexes belonging to them — enterprises and other organizations. This, however, is not easy to achieve. It is not enough simply to say that the "amalgamations should represent the enterprises." The crucial thing is the socio-economic relationships which have in fact taken shape within the framework of these economic organizations. This is a highly important matter.

It goes without saying that of prime importance for the reorganization is the shaping of relations between the primary unit of the social organization of production — the enterprise — and the central apparatus of the amalgamation. It should be borne in mind that what is in question is actual relations between people, relations determined by definite economic solutions. *Any economic model is at the same time a model of social relations. It determines the relations between the various groups of people.* It is these relations which are of the utmost significance for releasing initiative, for developing a sense of responsibility and, ultimately, for achieving economic efficiency.

The reorganization of the nature and principles of the activity of the amalgamations carried out in Poland is bound to have an impact on the system of relationships between the individual enterprises and the apparatus of the amalgamations.

In the past the amalgamations were, for the enterprises, a kind of representative of the central administration. From the standpoint of their position (administrative-personnel subordination), their criteria of functioning and methods of work, the amalgamations were close to the central apparatus, linked to it but "separated" from the enterprises. It followed

from this character and status of the amalgamations that the differences between the enterprises and the central administration signified for the former differences between them and the amalgamations.

Realization of the proposed modification of the principles governing the functions of the amalgamations is bound to lead in the long run to radical changes in this system of relationships. In particular, the amalgamations will "separate" from the central administration and will "link up" with the enterprises. And what is particularly important is that this will make it possible to assess the results of the working of the amalgamations with economic criteria similar to those used in the enterprises. Of special significance in this respect is the transfer of the amalgamation to the principle of cost accounting. As a result of the reorganization, the functioning of the amalgamations will be assessed by criteria different from those used in the central administration and similar to those used in the enterprises. This solution should also affect relations within the amalgamations. Hence it can be presumed that the amalgamations, playing an extremely active role in planning, will in fact represent the viewpoint and tendencies of definite industrial complexes and of the enterprises belonging to them.

It should be added that the new system of relationships within the amalgamations will ensure much better conditions for utilizing the initiative of the individual enterprises in the sphere of planning: they will have a better idea of the demand for particular lines of output, of the technological and economic conditions in which other units of the given branch are functioning, and the general condition of the branch as a whole. One of the tasks of the amalgamations will be to study the requirements of the market, economic programming within the given branch of industry, etc. It is clear that functions of this kind should be performed by units embracing large economic systems taking in entire branches of industry; they cannot be performed by individual industrial enterprises. However, this research should serve the interests of the enterprises and provide them with the basis for sounder planning and for exercising initiative in this field.

* * *

Experience shows that the main thing in securing a really broad initiative of various economic organizations (enterprises and amalgamations) in the sphere of planning is *to create conditions enabling them to carry out rational planning on their own.*

Not everyone has fully grasped as yet that our economic organizations are short of these conditions. And this is a vital matter, for if the conditions for rational planning are lacking, one cannot count on useful and creative participation by the various units in the overall planning and on generating broad public interest and activity in this sphere.

This is related in particular to the criteria

used for assessing the functioning of the enterprises and other economic organizations. Already now the idea expressed below is not merely theoretical reasoning but a conclusion drawn from the experience of many countries: if fulfilment of targets is accepted as the sole yardstick for assessing the functioning of economic units (and the operation of this criterion is fairly stable seeing that it is linked up with incentives), the correct, objective participation of these units in planning cannot be counted on. In any case the experience of our country shows, and quite convincingly, that when the basic criterion of assessment is the degree of plan fulfilment, it is for all practical purposes impossible to make the most effective use of public initiative in the planning. The application of this criterion generally tends to lead to concealment of resources and distortion (and even forging) of information; it creates all the conditions for the play of subjective factors, voluntarism, etc.

In this connection the basic alternative should be clearly delineated. The choice is: either application of criteria based on plan fulfilment (and hence application of corresponding incentives) or using broad public initiative in the planning. The experience gained so far shows that the two cannot be combined. This means that we must choose one or the other.

Criteria of assessment based on the plan fulfilment are, of course, possible, and can yield positive results, provided the higher-level organizations compile precise plans. In doing so the latter cannot count on the "impartial," objective cooperation of the enterprises for which the plans are drawn up. And the system becomes gravely complicated when such criteria are utilized for the various "levels" of the managerial apparatus. In that case objective criteria exist only at top level, while "tactical," commercial motives and criteria gain the upper hand in the intermediate units and enterprises. This system renders the process of planning extremely difficult, hampering sincere discussion, impartial assessment and truthful information on production possibilities. It thereby impedes proper participation of various economic organizations in the process of planning.

Basic reorganization of the present system of criteria for assessing the functioning of the enterprises and other economic organizations is an extremely difficult undertaking fulfilment of which calls for deep-going changes. After all, it is easy to reject the criteria applied hitherto, but it is a different matter to find something positive instead. Such a positive solution is connected with all the main problems pertaining to the functioning of the economy: with the operation of the price mechanism, the market mechanism, the system of foreign trade, etc.

There is an obvious tendency in the reforms underway in Poland to abandon criteria of assessing the functioning of economic units based on plan fulfilment. In some instances, however, this criterion has remained, just as

combining incentives with plan fulfilment (this concerns especially the factory and bonus funds) has remained. The essential new element is that the percentage of the profits of the amalgamation earmarked for the state and the percentage remaining at its disposal for a variety of purposes (particularly for investments) are fixed for several years in advance. Experience will show how this mixed system will operate.

* * *

The linking of economic levers with planning of a directive character is one of the essential features of the reorganization of the economy both in Poland and in other socialist countries. Changes in this sphere make themselves felt most, and in the most direct way, throughout the entire economic apparatus. However, there are numerous accretions and prejudices here as well.

Two utterly opposite opinions on this are well known. One school of thought holds that the overall obligatory plan should cover every detail and advocates administrative methods of management (if not as the sole, then at least as the basic means). This solution has for its "ideological" foundation the thesis that under socialism the plan has the force of law.

Experience has not confirmed that under socialism this solution is obligatory in all cases. Nevertheless, it should be realized that given certain historical conditions when it was necessary to impose a new structure on the economy and to use compulsion to overcome economic backwardness, administrative methods, even on a large scale, were to a certain extent justified. But, it would be a mistake to turn this necessity—legitimate under certain conditions—into a binding law valid for all time. The tendency to do so long obstructed realization of changes which had matured in the system of the socialist economy.

Experience shows that a plan handed down from above and conceived as being watertight detracts from public initiative in compiling plans, constitutes a source of bureaucracy, renders the economy inflexible, causes numerous manifestations of wastefulness, and leads to non-utilization of the possibilities for enhancing efficiency.

On the basis of these observations efforts have been made for some years in Poland to ensure that the plan should not have the character of a detailed directive.

However, although the practical results of the detailed directive plans are such that they are being gradually abandoned, there are still opinions identifying planned economy with directives from the top. There are people for whom the non-utilization of public initiative in planning is not a problem of an ideological character, but who at the same time regard any restriction of the binding force of the plan as a departure from the principles of planned socialist economy.

The opposite solution offered lies in recognizing the mechanism of the market as the

basic or even as the sole means of regulating development of production. We should not underestimate the tenacity of this concept. Although it is seldom openly expressed, it is firmly rooted in the minds of many.

As regards the practical solution of the question concerning the sphere and character of application of the directive targets of the plan, the changes effected in Poland (both in the past and now) are characterized by the fact that priority is given to criteria prompted by practice.

All ways and means of action justified by experience are correct since they produce a bigger economic effect and help to implement a definite policy of income distribution or to meet other important social needs. There are no other criteria of assessing methods and means of action, nor can there be.

It should be stated clearly that the directives of a plan as a means of exerting a certain influence may or may not correspond to socialist relationships. This depends not on the form of the directives but on the concrete socio-economic consequences arising from them. Thus, if the application of directives hampers in some measure utilization of public initiative, results in economic squandermania, etc., this is at variance with the principles of socialism because it does not serve the realization of the basic aims of socialism.

The reorganization contemplated and carried into effect in Poland provides for:

- 1) a line (tried out on the basis of experience) towards restricting the sphere of directives and replacing them with other, more correct and effective means of guiding production;

- 2) the principle of practical verification of all means and instruments used in economic policy, in particular through experimentation.

The present program for reorganization envisages solutions which to a large extent guarantee that the actions taken are correct. There are no "dogmatic" prejudices concerning further restriction of the sphere of operation of directives. However, any proposals made to this effect should be based on practical experience. Stress is laid on not cutting down on directive targets until other means which can replace them have been worked out and checked.

It can perhaps be said that in discussing the reorganization of management in Poland and, in all probability, in other socialist countries, the significance of plan directives as a means of implementing economic policy was somewhat exaggerated. This is due to the way in which directives have been applied in recent years. A few words about this.

The role played by directives acquired a specific character at a time when particularly strong emphasis was laid on incentives. Clearly, the striving towards greater incentives in the socialist economy stemmed mainly from a desire to introduce economic mechanisms and levers into the functioning of the economy. However, deeper changes were required for the

realization of this tendency. Consequently, the application of greater stimuli to a system based on the directive type of plan signified a greatly intensified operation of the criterion of assessing economic activity based on plan fulfillment. This gave rise to the distortions in the relations between economic units in the process of planning which we have mentioned above.

Both in the process of planning and in day-to-day work, the relations between people and the means whereby individuals influence one another should be varied. The desire to ensure that this influence derives solely from economic means and incentives may end in absurdity. Thus, for example, within the amalgamations one cannot demand that decisions regarding specialization of production should be carried out solely by way of special incentives. The same applies to the relations taking shape between the amalgamations and the central administration. In this sphere various means of exercising influence, including plan targets, are in place. Such application of plan directives cannot be criticized. We cannot renounce levers of management related to the existence of public ownership of the means of production. The operation of these levers is correct and effective.

The really negative consequences arise when

directives are applied in a stereotyped way. Therefore, I think, we should make a clear distinction between the utilization of administrative and other means of this nature, and all-round application of criteria for assessing the functioning of economic units depending on fulfillment of plan.

In the economic reform envisaged in Poland restriction of the sphere of plan directives and departure from the criteria of assessment "according to plan" are combined with the use of proper economic levers. Prime importance is attached to the consistent introduction of cost accounting in the enterprises and in the amalgamations. This will ensure a bigger role for the criterion of profitability, wider utilization of the market mechanism in conjunction with a corresponding policy of price formation, increase of the volume of investments by the enterprises, etc.

The practical thing to facilitate realizing all that has been said above is for the central apparatus gradually to switch over to the application of economic means. This presupposes that it abandons the traditional methods and finds new methods of functioning. As usually happens in such cases, especially when changes are effected gradually, conservative elements resist them. This resistance should be resolutely combated.

Economic development of the CMEA countries at the present stage

(Survey)

IN RECENT YEARS economic development in the European socialist countries has entered a new stage.

In most countries the structural renovation of the economy, associated with the revolutionary changes in production relations and with the abolition of the economic backwardness inherited by some of them from capitalism, has either been completed or is nearing completion. The comprehensive building of socialism and communism is now underway.

Because of this the qualitative side of the economic development acquires growing importance as the paramount task of socialist construction. Attainment of a level of labor productivity higher than that under capitalism necessitates accelerated technological progress and modernization based on the achievements

of the scientific and technological revolution now taking place in the world.

In the past ten years the production capacity in the European socialist countries has increased 2-3-fold while industrial output is roughly nine times that of prewar.

So far economic growth in most socialist countries has been characterized by exceptionally high rates due mainly to extensive development. Now, however, the scientific and technological revolution confronts all the socialist countries with the task of intensive development. Growth of output is now being determined by raising labor productivity, by more effective utilization of production facilities, and by rational management.

This survey was prepared by the Soviet economists V. Isupov, B. Ladygin and V. Terekhov.

The modification of the conditions in which the productive forces of socialism are developing and the corresponding structural changes effected in the economy have resulted in some of the countries in a temporary slowing down in rate of growth, in reduced returns per unit of investment, in the emergence of disproportions between the rapid expansion of industry and the slower pace of agriculture, and between manufacturing and extracting industries. In the Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Aid) countries many raw materials and fuel are still in short supply. A disproportion between output of the means of production and consumer-goods output still persists in some of them. These difficulties were caused in no small measure by the unfavorable weather conditions of past years which adversely affected agriculture and, consequently, supplies of agricultural raw materials.

But the basic reasons for the slowing down should be sought in the methods and forms of organization and management which took shape at the time of laying the foundations of socialism and during the socialist reconstruction of the economy and which in the past provided a powerful stimulus to economic growth; these forms and methods no longer answer to the needs of the present stage of development of the productive forces. The system of planning and management built solely on directives from the top and regulating practically every detail of the functioning of the enterprises simply cannot cope with the expanded economic organism.

Conducting production along the lines of quantity of output, underestimating economic levers in the sphere of management as well as the operation of the law of value and commodity-money relations in the new conditions militated against modernization and the introduction of scientific achievements, did little to stimulate top-quality output, and began to impede the complete unfolding of the advantages of the socialist mode of production.

The study of the difficulties, the search for scientifically-grounded ways of overcoming them and of tapping all the reserves have been in the center of attention of the Party and governmental bodies in the socialist countries. All creative endeavor is now directed towards solving these problems.

In Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union steps have been taken to improve the systems of economic management. The Ninth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party held in July 1965 pointed to the need for further improving the organization and management of the national economy.

In elaborating methods of management in keeping with the demands of the day, each country draws on its own experience, taking into account its specific conditions and traditions. At the same time we see a common line in reorganizing planning and management although its concrete forms are different. The

main trend is the building of a scientifically-founded system of management relying on the knowledge and correct utilization of the objective economic laws of socialism.

A key problem is to ensure harmonious combination of the interests of the entire economy, of the country, of the individual enterprise and of each worker. This is basic from the standpoint of encouraging the initiative of every worker and of utilizing all the resources for accelerated rates of growth.

Cost accounting is an important means of achieving this aim. The economic autonomy of the enterprises, incentives, efficient utilization of production assets and introduction of the latest techniques, enhancing the role of prices and profits as a synthesized index for assessing results—such in general outline are the concrete measures by means of which a more flexible system of management is being evolved. This presupposes the development of socialist commodity-money relations and a correct understanding and utilization of the law of value. An important place in the new systems is held by combining centralized management with economic autonomy for the enterprises and amalgamations. The measures now being carried out, resting on socialist production relations and on public ownership of the means of production, envisage the further development of the socialist mode of production.

Steps are also being taken to get rid of the temporary difficulties. In particular, all the countries now give priority to developing the fuel, engineering and chemical industries, which qualify for considerable investments. Agriculture too, especially in the Soviet Union, receives large allocations.

A recent meeting of the Comecon Executive ratified a plan for developing fuel and power resources in the member-countries and for coordinating mutual deliveries up to 1970. The measures projected in this sphere will make it possible to meet in the main the demand of the countries for fuel and power.

Steps are being taken both on the overall scale and on a bilateral basis to promote coordination and specialization.

These combined efforts have already yielded fruit—after a certain decline in 1963 rates of growth rose again in 1964 and 1965.

1. GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

The economic development of the Comecon countries as a whole and of each country in particular is of a clearly expressed industrial character. The share of industry in the gross national product of the member-countries is in excess of 75 per cent and is steadily rising thanks to priority development in this sphere.

Ever since the formation of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid industrial output of its members has risen at a growing pace, as can be seen from the following table:

Dynamics of Industrial Output (1950=100)

Years	Total growth	Annual growth rate
1951	118	17.9
1952	134	13.8
1953	151	12.5
1954	168	11.1
1955	187	11.7
1956	205	9.6
1957	226	10.0
1958	250	10.5
1959	278	11.3
1960	306	10.1
1961	334	9.2
1962	364	9.0
1963	389	6.8
1964	418	7.5
Average for 1951-1964		10.8

By way of comparison it should be noted that in these years the mean annual rate of industrial growth in the Common Market countries was 7.3 per cent.

Rate of growth was not quite the same in the member-countries. This is not surprising because the trend is towards an evening up of the general level. The one-time economically backward countries have demonstrated the fastest rates of industrial growth. Since the formation of the Comecon all of them have developed from agrarian into agrarian-industrial or industrial-agrarian countries.

Growth of Industrial Output (1950=100)

	Years		Average annual rate of growth for 1951-1964
	1960	1964	
Bulgaria	397	603	13.7
Hungary	267	367	9.7
GDR	292	367	9.7
Mongolia	289	438	11.1
Poland	338	465	11.6
Rumania	340	574	13.3
Soviet Union	304	421	10.8
Czechoslovakia	276	330	8.9

As the table shows, the fastest growth took place in the one-time industrially backward countries. Industrial output grew 4-fold in the community between 1950 and 1964, whereas for Bulgaria and Rumania the growth rate was 6-fold for the same years.

The principal factor in the rapid growth is the steady rise in labor productivity. The latter acquires a particular significance today, now that the reserves of extensive development in most of the socialist countries no longer suffice to ensure fast rates of growth.

Growth of Labor Productivity in Industry (1950=100)

	Years			Average annual rate of growth in 1951-1964
	1960	1963	1964	
Bulgaria	190	229	246	6.6
Hungary	148	171	180	4.3
Poland	227	253	269	7.3
Rumania	237	291	320	8.7
USSR	204	235	245	6.6
Czechoslovakia	200	216	224	5.9

At the same time it should be pointed out that in some of the socialist countries rate of growth tended to slacken somewhat in recent years, especially in 1963. However, the lag, a temporary one, was rapidly made good, as evidenced by a comparison of indices of industrial growth for 1963 with those for 1964 and the first six months of 1965.

Rate of Growth of Industrial Output in 1963, 1964 and First Six Months of 1965

	Years		First six months of 1965
	1963	1964	
Bulgaria	10	11.1	12.8
Hungary	6	9	6
GDR	4.3	6.7	6.7
Mongolia	6	4	6
Poland	5	9.3	10.7
Rumania	12.2	14.1	14
USSR	8.1	7.1	9.3
Czechoslovakia	-0.6	4.1	8.7

As the table shows, in 1964 most of the countries increased the rate of their development.

The focal factor in the development of modern economy is the fuel industry, particularly electric power. In the early years of Comecon the rate of growth in generating electric power lagged somewhat behind industry. Recent years have witnessed a faster growth of power generation, which is proof of the progressive changes in the economic structure of the member-countries. Thus, between 1960 and 1964 industrial output rose by 36 per cent, while electric power generation rose by about 50 per cent.

Electric Power Generation (1,000 mln. kwh.)

	Years				1964 in % of 1950
	1950	1960	1963	1964	
Total	135	406	555	616	455
including:					
Bulgaria	0.8	4.7	7.2	8.7	1088
Hungary	3.0	7.6	9.7	10.6	353
GDR	19.5	40.3	47.5	51.0	262
Mongolia	0.02	0.1	0.2	0.2	1000
Poland	9.4	29.3	37.0	40.6	432
Rumania	2.1	7.7	11.7	13.9	662
USSR	91.2	292.3	412.4	458.9	503
Czechoslovakia	9.3	24.4	29.9	32.0	344

These figures also show how the difference in levels of power output is being reduced.

Clearly a complete evening up of power generation between the countries is ruled out in view of the substantial differences in the cost of power production arising from natural conditions. Hence mutual exchange of electric power is growing among the socialist countries and also their cooperation in siting power-consuming branches of production, with a view to locating them as close as possible to cheap sources of electric power.

Coal, big deposits of which are to be found in all the socialist countries, although quality and extraction costs are far from similar, still supplies the bulk of the fuel and power.

Coal Output
(mln. tons in terms of hard coal)

	Years				1964 in %% of 1950
	1950	1960	1963	1964	
Total	406	732	793	820	202
including:					
Bulgaria	3.0	8.9	11.3	12.5	417
Hungary	8.5	17.1	19.8	20.6	242
GDR	52.1	83.9	94.0	93.6	180
Poland	80.4	109.0	120.7	127.3	158
Rumania	3.2	6.8	8.6	9.3	290
USSR	224.5	444.3	466.4	483.5	215
Czechoslovakia	33.9	61.3	72.2	73.0	215

It is common knowledge that the requirements of technological progress and considerations of efficiency call for quickly increasing the output of fuels and chemical raw materials most effective in present-day conditions, namely, oil and natural gas, and raising their share in the fuel balance.

Since 1950 extraction and consumption of oil and gas in the community have grown at a faster rate than coal. Between 1950 and 1964 coal output doubled, while that of oil increased more than fivefold (from 44 to 239 million tons) and of gas 16.5 times (from 6,000 to 101,000 million cubic metres).

However, this increase in the overall fuel and power balance is taking place mainly in the Soviet Union. So far of all the member countries only the USSR and partly Rumania have surpluses of oil and gas. Other countries import them. In the USSR output of oil rose from 37.9 million tons in 1950 to 222.6 million in 1964, and natural gas from 3,700 million cubic metres to 87,900 million. In the same period in Rumania the oil output rose from 5 million tons to 12.4 million, gas from 1,950 million cubic metres to 11,410 million.

With a view to creating an optimum fuel balance surveying and prospecting for new deposits of oil and gas are being stepped up. And the forecasts for oil in Bulgaria, Poland and the GDR are favorable.

Effectiveness of social production in the member-countries and their rates of growth

are in many respects determined by the expansion of the chemical industry and machine building.

Comparative Dynamics of Output of Industry as a Whole, Machine Building and Chemical Industry

	1964 Increase compared with 1950		
	Industry as a whole	Machine building	Chemical industry
Bulgaria	6 times	14 times	15 times
Hungary	3.7 "	5.2 "	9.8 "
GDR	3.7 "	4.8 "	3.9 "
Poland	4.7 "	12.8 "	8.3 "
Rumania	5.8 "	13 "	17 "
USSR	4.2 "	7 "	6.1 "
Czechoslovakia	3.3 "	5.6 "	6.3 "

As the table shows, big changes are taking place in the structure of industry in all European member-countries in favor of the chemical and machine-building industries. Significantly, these branches are developing most rapidly in Bulgaria and Rumania.

Non-ferrous metallurgy is basic to machine building and capital construction. With the advance of the chemical industry and the improved technology of metalworking, the share of metal in industrial output tends to decrease. Hence the growth rate in the iron and steel industry lags somewhat compared with industry as a whole, particularly machine building. Nevertheless, metal will long remain the principal construction material. Hence attention to metallurgy generally, and to the non-ferrous metal industry in particular, is not diminishing, all the more so since in some of the countries metal is still in short supply.

Steel Smelting (mln. tons)

	Years				1964 in %% of 1950
	1950	1960	1963	1964	
Total	35.8	86.5	105.5	112.2	313
including:					
Bulgaria	0.01	0.3	0.5	0.5	—
Hungary	1.0	1.9	2.4	2.4	240
GDR	1.3	3.8	4.1	4.3	339
Poland	2.5	6.7	8.0	8.6	341
Rumania	0.6	1.8	2.7	3.0	547
USSR	27.3	65.3	80.2	85.0	311
Czechoslovakia	3.1	6.8	7.6	8.4	268

Accelerated development of heavy industry in recent years has prepared the way for accelerated growth of consumer-goods production. Conditions have been created for the gradual approximation of the growth rates of Departments I and II of social production, and for the accelerated growth of light industry and the food-processing industry.

The growth rates and volume of production for a variety of consumer goods can be seen from the following figures.

Manufacture of Cotton Fabrics
(mln. sq. m.)

	Years				1964 in %% of 1950
	1950	1960	1963	1964	
Total	4047	6914	7354	7728	191
including:					
Bulgaria	71	186	217	231	325
Hungary	177	239	283	304	172
GDR	154	345	357	347	224
Poland	397	605	639	704	177
Rumania	148	248	301	302	204
USSR	2745	4838	5070	5371	196
Czechoslovakia	355	453	473	468	132

Output of Durables
(thous. units)

	Years				Increase in 1964 com- pared with 1950
	1950	1960	1963	1964	
Refriger- ators	14	860	1,622	2,065	147 times
Washing machines	4	1,997	3,622	4,232	1,058 "
TV sets	12	2,717	4,001	4,550	379 "
Cars	96	275	338	347	3.6 "

The figures show not only rapid growth rates in light industry but also the deep-going structural changes in consumer-goods output in favor of more "expensive" durables.

II. AGRICULTURE

Special attention has been paid to agriculture in the member-countries in recent years, which is explained both by the big increase in the demand for food products and agricultural raw materials and by a certain lag in agriculture compared with the rapid advance in industry. Agricultural output is rising in all the countries.

Dynamics of Agricultural Output
(in %% of 1950)

	Years				Average annual rate of growth between 1951 and 1964
	1955	1960	1963	1964	
Bulgaria	137	181	186	208	5.4
Hungary	117	120	130	134	2.1
GDR	140	159	151	158	3.3
Poland	105	126	133	134	2.1
Rumania	162	170	170	181	4.3
USSR	122	163	157	177	4.2
Czecho- slovakia	108	120	119	122	1.4

Tractor Park in Agriculture
(thous. units)

	Years		Increase
	1950	1964	
Bulgaria	6.6	38.9	5.9 times
Hungary	13.4	60.6	4.5 "
GDR	36.4	119.5	3.3 "
Mongolia	0.15	4.1	28 "
Poland	28.4	106.7	3.8 "
Rumania	13.7	75.4	5.5 "
USSR	595	1,539	2.6 "

The rise in agricultural output has been achieved thanks to mechanization and application of chemicals.

It should be noted, however, that even the rapid growth of mechanization and chemicalization achieved in recent years no longer meets the needs of agriculture. Hence steps are being taken to increase further the production of agricultural machines and implements, and especially of mineral fertilizers. The member-countries have scored definite successes in grain production.

Grain Output
(mln. tons)

	Years				1964 in %% of 1950
	1950	1960	1963	1964	
Total	115	171	147	189	164
including:					
Bulgaria	3.2	4.9	4.5	5.2	164
Hungary	5.5	6.9	6.5	6.9	125
GDR	5.6	6.4	5.5	6.2	110
Poland	12.0	14.8	15.1	14.0	117
Rumania	5.1	9.8	10.4	11.1	216
USSR	78.9	122.8	99.5	140.0	177
Czechoslovakia	4.7	5.7	5.6	5.3	111

In most countries output of other crops has increased considerably in recent years, with potatoes and sugar-beet playing the most significant part.

In those countries where the output of grain and other crops has risen, this has been directly due to higher per-hectare yields.

Yields of Cereals, Potatoes and Sugar-Beet
(Tons per hectare)

	Cereals		Potatoes		Sugar-beet	
	1950	1964	1950	1964	1950	1964
Bulgaria	1.03	2.07	4.9	10.5	8.5	27.0
Hungary	1.43	2.06	4.8	7.9	14.6	26.8
GDR	2.03	2.64	18.1	17.3	27.3	26.2
Poland	1.25	1.59	13.8	16.9	22.2	28.3
Rumania	0.74	1.66	7.0	8.5	8.8	19.3
USSR	0.79	1.13	10.4	10.9	15.9	19.5
Czecho- slovakia	1.70	2.05	12.4	15.6	28.5	29.0

In most countries animal husbandry made relatively good progress. In some, however, the lag in fodder crops resulted in a slow rate in livestock breeding, especially in the increase of the head of cattle.

Head of Cattle and Pigs (mln. head)						
	Cattle Years			Pigs Years		
	1950	1964	1964 in %% of 1950	1950	1964	1964 in %% of 1950
Total	82.7	116.9	140	51.0	96.4	189
including:						
Bulgaria	1.9	1.6	83	0.8	2.6	319
Hungary	2.0	1.9	96	4.8	7.0	147
GDR	3.6	4.7	130	5.7	8.8	154
Mongolia	2.0	2.0	100	—	—	—
Poland	7.2	9.9	138	9.4	12.9	138
Rumania	4.5	4.8	106	2.2	6.0	273
USSR	57.1	87.1	153	24.4	52.8	217
Czecho- slovakia	4.3	4.4	103	3.8	6.1	161

The problem of agriculture, still acute in most of the socialist countries, became particularly grave in recent years, due mainly to unfavorable weather conditions and to insufficient utilization of incentives. As is clear from the foregoing tables, the grain harvest in a number of the countries was unstable, which also adversely affected animal husbandry. Shortage of grain had to be compensated by purchase on the capitalist market.

To remedy this state of affairs and to accelerate growth, urgent measures are being taken, such as considerably bigger investments in agriculture, increased output of farm machines and improving their quality, much greater output of fertilizers and herbicides, strict cost accounting, abolition of the rigid centralized regimentation, better purchasing prices for farm produce, and more incentives.

III. CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

Capital construction—the basis of extended socialist reproduction—is proceeding at a rapid pace in the Comecon countries, which are investing more and more in the economy.

Investments in the Economy (in national currencies)

	Years			1964 in %% of 1950
	1950	1960	1964	
Bulgaria (mln. leva)	300	1,192	1,659	523
Hungary (mln. forints)	23,700	42,900	52,000	220
GDR (mln. marks)	3,600	15,600	18,200	511
Mongolia (mln. tugriks)	41	579	760	18.5 times
Poland (mln. zloty)	38,600	100,000	129,100	334
Rumania (mln. lei)	5,700	24,400	41,000	719
USSR (mln. rubles)	11,100	36,700	45,600	411
Czechoslovakia (mln. Kor.)	14,800	43,700	45,400	306

In 1964 a number of big enterprises were commissioned in the member-countries, with the result that capacity in various branches is now much greater.

More rational utilization of funds and ensuring the economic effectiveness of the investments are urgent tasks.

Priority development for the more modern branches of industry is regarded as one of the most important means of raising the effectiveness of social production. In 1964 the share of investment in those branches determining technological progress — power, machine-building and the chemical industry — remained high.

Share of Investments in the Power, Machine-Building and Chemical Industries in the Overall Industrial Investments in Some Member-Countries in 1964 (in %%)

	Power	Machine-Bld.	Chemical ind.
Bulgaria	16.3	12.1	5.7
Hungary	12.5	13.6	15.2
Poland	12.1	15.2	12.3
Rumania	14.7	6.5	15.1

IV. PUBLIC WELFARE AND CULTURAL STANDARDS

The aim of production under socialism is to satisfy the constantly growing needs of all members of society. This, in the final analysis, is the objective of the entire economic policy of the socialist countries and the purpose of the recent measures taken to improve the systems of planning and management.

The growth of the national income is the basis of the rising wellbeing of the people.

National Income Growth (1950=100)

	1960	Years 1963	1964	Average annual rate of growth in 1951-1964
Bulgaria	282	332	354	9.5
Hungary	187	219	228	6.1
GDR	249	263	274	7.4
Poland	208	245	261	7.1
Rumania	268	338	377	9.9
USSR	265	313	335	9.0
Czechoslovakia	207	219	221	5.8

Real Wages and Salaries in Some Member Countries (1950=100)

	1960	Years 1963	1964
Hungary	154	164	168
GDR (1960=100)	100	106	109
Poland (1960=100)	100	106	109
Rumania	185	209	213
Czechoslovakia	136	139	142

Growth of real income has its corollary in increased retail trade.

Dynamics of Retail State and Cooperative Trade (in fixed prices, 1950=100)

	1960	Years 1963	1964
Bulgaria	338	420	445
Hungary	310	360	390
GDR (1955=100)	150	157	162
Poland	255	310	320
Rumania	290	412	444
USSR	295	340	360
Czechoslovakia (1955=100)	128	139	143

However, the index of real wages and retail trade does not give a full idea of the growing well-being. A large and ever greater part of the needs of the working people is met, not by wages, but by public consumption funds. Year by year the socialist countries are increasing their outlays on housing, public health, social insurance, on education, the arts, recreation and public amenities. In 1964 some 3 million flats were built in the Comecon countries (excluding Mongolia).

Number of Flats Built (thous. units)

	Years 1950	1960	1963	1964 in % of 1964	1950
Bulgaria	—	49.8	43.9	47.2	—
Hungary	35.1	58.1	52.7	53.4	152
GDR	31.0	80.5	76.0	76.6	247
Poland	68.3	144.4	146.3	164	240
Rumania	49.3*	133.9	122.3	123.9	251
USSR	1,073	2,849	2,470	2,322	216
Czechoslovakia	38.2	73.8	82.2	77.3	202

*1951.

The education system in the socialist countries rests on a thoroughly democratic basis. For scale of education and number of students, the member-countries are among the most advanced in the world.

Enrolment in General and Higher Schools (thous. persons)

	General schools 1950/51	1964/65	Higher schools 1950/51	1964/65
Bulgaria	970	1,274	31	82
Hungary	1,282	1,659	33	92
GDR	2,514	2,396	32	112
Mongolia	69	158	1.5	8.4
Poland	3,610	5,864	125	231
Rumania	1,838	3,321	53	123
USSR	34,752	46,663	1,247	3,608
Czechoslovakia	1,736	2,356	45	145

The number of doctors per 10,000 persons increased between 1950 and 1964 as follows:

	1964	1964
Bulgaria	7	16
GDR	7.4	10.6
Mongolia	2	12.6
Poland	4.6	15.6
Rumania	9.5	14.4
USSR	13.6	21.4
Czechoslovakia	9.2	18.0

V. FOREIGN TRADE

In 1964 the foreign trade of the Comecon countries increased considerably. Compared with 1950 its volume rose from 8,900 million rubles to 40,400 million, or 4.5-fold.

Foreign Trade (mln. rubles)

	Years 1950	1960	1964	1964 in % of 1950	1960
Bulgaria	225	1,084	1,825	811	168
Hungary	580	1,643	2,529	436	154
GDR	788	3,962	5,008	636	126
Poland	1,172	2,539	3,752	320	148
Rumania	410	1,228	1,950	476	159
USSR	2,925	10,071	13,877	474	138
Czechoslovakia	1,276	3,371	4,504	353	134

The advances made in the industrialization of the socialist countries are reflected in the structure of their foreign trade, especially exports. Countries, which formerly had no industrial base, are now increasingly becoming exporters of manufactures.

**Share of Machinery and Other Equipment
in the Exports of Some Member Countries
(in %%)**

	1950	Years 1960	1964
Bulgaria	—	13.6	24.6
Hungary	23.0	38.0	33.9
GDR	28.0	48.4	47.4
Poland	6.7	28.0	33.4
Rumania	4.2	16.6	18.2
Czechoslovakia	26.4	45.1	47.0

The bulk is inter-trade between the countries which is developing on the basis of multilateral and bilateral coordination of the national plans. For example, in 1964 the share of the member-countries in their overall foreign trade amounted to (in %):

USSR	59.3	Mongolia	95.9
Bulgaria	75.0	Poland	59.6
Hungary	65.7	Rumania	64.9
GDR	72.2	Czechoslovakia	68.4

Trade between the Comecon countries and other socialist countries is likewise rapidly expanding. Between 1958 and 1964 the USSR increased its trade: with the Republic of Cuba from 13.9 to 590.7 million rubles, with the Korean People's Democratic Republic from 94.6 to 147.2 million, with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from 16.3 to 73.8 million, and with Yugoslavia from 91.8 to 229.5 million.

Extending economic cooperation on the scale of their world system the socialist countries are at the same time promoting trade relations with non-socialist countries. In 1950-62 this trade increased more than threefold.

Trade with the economically weak countries is developing at a particularly rapid pace. In this way the socialist countries are rendering the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America all-round aid in their efforts to achieve economic independence. In 1964 the total of credits

and other allocations extended by the member-countries to economically weak countries exceeded 3,500 million rubles, of which over 3,000 million was granted by the Soviet Union, 300 million by Czechoslovakia, and 160 million by Poland. These are long-term credits (for 8-12 years) at an annual interest rate of 2-2.5 per cent (credits of the capitalist countries are granted at the rate of 5-6 per cent annually).

In 1963, 1,170 large industrial enterprises and other projects were being built in 43 economically underdeveloped countries with the technical aid of the Comecon countries.

The development of economic relations between the socialist countries and all countries of the world furthers the peaceful coexistence of the two world systems.

* * *

The economy of the socialist countries is, as we have seen, developing rapidly, overcoming the temporary difficulties. But the facts also show that the economic competition with capitalism calls for an even more strenuous effort on the part of the working people of the socialist countries. Today as before the latter are ahead of the capitalist world for rates of growth. As a result the share of the socialist countries in world industrial output is steadily rising. Before the war it amounted to some 10 per cent, in 1955 it rose to 27 per cent, and currently it is in the vicinity of 40 per cent.

The further consolidation of the economic strength of the socialist world system is the internationalist duty of the socialist countries before the international working-class movement.

No small part in this is played by the measures to improve management and planning carried out in a number of the countries, the Soviet Union included. This is a manifestation of the genuine concern of the Communist parties of the socialist countries for the vital interests of world socialism, for consolidating its positions in the sharp class struggle with the capitalist world.

Jordan's road to complete liberation, democracy and social progress

FUAD NASSAR

ALTHOUGH 20 YEARS have passed since the official declaration of Jordan's independence not one of the major problems facing the country has been solved. What are these problems? What has prevented their solution, and how can they be resolved? In this article we shall attempt to answer these questions.

I.

In 1955 the government of Jordan invited an American mission from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to study the country's economic and financial situation. Guided as it was by the interests of U.S. imperialism, which was bent on undermining the then predominant British influence and replacing it, at least partly if not wholly, with its own, the mission, after going into the plight of Jordan's economy resulting from the long years of colonial interference, admitted in its report ("Economic Development in Jordan") that the "role played by foreign governments and agencies in the Jordan economy creates an abnormal situation." The report also contained recommendations ostensibly aimed at helping Jordan to overcome this abnormal situation. But although all governments since 1955 have followed this U.S. advice there has been no turn for the better. Moreover, the economic and financial situation has deteriorated, as can be seen from the following:

In the 1955-56 fiscal year the budget deficit amounted to JD9,650,000 (the Jordan dinar stands at par with sterling). In 1964-65 the deficit increased to JD33,987,000 or fourfold as compared with 1955, although the financial "aid" and "subsidies" extended by the imperialist powers increased from JD9,288,000 in 1955 to 21,217,000 in 1965. Foreign loans, which amounted to less than JD1,500,000 in 1955, ran to nearly 25 million in 1965, 90 per cent of the sum coming from the imperialist countries, mainly from the USA. It is expected that by 1970 the foreign debt will reach nearly JD100,-

000,000. This is evident from the seven-year plan (1964-70) drawn up by U.S. experts. Military spending has grown from JD10,216,000 in 1955 to 21,065,000 in 1966, doubling in ten years; the reason for this, as is known, is the Israeli threats and aggressive actions on Jordan's frontiers, actions that fully accord with the designs of the imperialist powers which are using Israel as a base from which to threaten the Arab national liberation movement.

Jordan's trade balance sharply deteriorated in the period from 1955 to 1964. In 1955 the deficit was roughly JD24 million. Since then it has grown from year to year, amounting to more than JD46 million in 1964. In the last ten years the volume of foreign trade was roughly JD437 million dinars and the deficit 361 million. Government reports and statistical data show that half of the annual imports consists of food and textiles, while machines, industrial equipment and means of transport account for only 15 per cent. The Minister of Agriculture told parliament in 1962 that coffee imports alone equalled in value Jordan's export of phosphates, the principal export item. First place among exporters to Jordan is occupied by Britain, followed by the USA, West Germany, Japan and Italy.

Prior to 1963 the share of industry in the national income, according to official sources, did not exceed ten per cent, though it is said that even this figure is greatly exaggerated. Some Jordan economists hold that the percentage is about eight. The conditions of the working class and other sections of the urban working people are appalling. According to official data for 1963, Jordan had 5,285 enterprises employing 29,591 workers whose average monthly wage was 10.8 dinars. There also are 10,865 trading enterprises with 17,456 employees with monthly wages averaging 6.3 dinars. Public services, such as hotels, restaurants, cafes, etc., totalling 2,506 enterprises, employed 8,251 people with average monthly wages of 7.2 dinars.

Opinions vary as to the per capita annual income. According to government statistics, the figure in 1963 was D75, whereas the Development Bureau (also a government agency) placed it at 59 in 1962. The newspaper *Al Jihad* states that thanks to the development plans per capita annual income will rise to JD38 in 1970 as compared with 25 in 1960. Be that as it may, the national income is extremely low. The price of staples in 1963 affords a rough idea of the austere living standards of the working class and other sections of the working people in both town and country. For example, bread cost 40 fils (the dinar is divided into 1,000 fils), rice 80, sugar 88, tea 864, olive oil 360, cheese 431, mutton 532 and beef 396 fils a kilogram.

A grave problem is the chronic mass unemployment. According to official data for 1961, half the population was completely without work; of the 1¼ million people in the 15 to 59 age group roughly one half were unemployed. More than 100,000 had emigrated in search of employment. Owing to lack of job opportunities at home there is a steadily growing drain of professionals. This impelled the government to issue a law prohibiting doctors and engineers from leaving the country. An examination of the seven-year plan affords grounds for assuming that the flight of labor will continue. As the Ministry of Information Annual for 1964 points out, manpower has become one of the principal items of "export" to the neighboring Arab countries.

The conditions of the peasantry, which makes up the majority of the population, are if anything worse than the conditions of the urban workers.

The area under cultivation in 1953 amounted to one million hectares, one-tenth of the total territory of Jordan. Woodland and pastures account for another 1,100,000 hectares. Official figures for the cultivated land reveal the following ownership pattern:

61,728 landholders, 70.1 per cent of the total, own holdings from one to ten hectares, adding up to the 249,073 hectares, or 23.3 per cent of the total area;

roughly 24,000, 27.27 per cent, own from ten to 50 hectares. Their total runs to 460,645 hectares, or 44.8 per cent;

just over 2,000 landowners have from 50 to 200 hectares each. In all, their holdings amount to 161,908 hectares, or 15.7 per cent of the total cultivated area;

a group of 240 have holdings exceeding 200 hectares. Their total is 151,433 hectares, 15.5 per cent of the cultivated area, which comes to an average of 630 hectares, or 15 times more than the ceiling per landholder in the United Arab Republic.

This leaves 103,628 rural breadwinners without any land at all. Together with their families these account for half of the population of the countryside. Concentration of property in land has grown in the past twelve years. Official statistics indicate that 75,550 hectares changed owners through sale between 1957 and

the end of 1963. The increasing concentration is accompanied by a growth in the number of landless peasants and of poverty among the overwhelming majority of the rural population.

The rural picture becomes gloomier when we take into account the widespread usury. According to government figures, the debts of peasants who had had to mortgage their holdings (totalling 100,000 hectares) to usurers amounted to JD2,694,000. To this must be added the debts to banks and other finance institutions. The government recently cancelled some of the peasant debts, but this has not solved the problem or saved tens of thousands of peasant families from poverty and the double squeeze of landowner and usurer. And lastly there are the taxes to be paid to the government.

These figures afford an idea of the plight of the people and the onerous legacy left by the imperialists as well as the damage still caused to the economy by imperialist intervention and the maintenance of semi-feudal relations.

The imperialists have always impeded Jordan's progress, deliberately refraining from developing its natural wealth. Unlike other countries under imperialist rule, it was not given an opportunity to build up its economy even on a monoculture basis; every effort was made to preserve the survivals of the Bedouin system, to bolster up feudal and semi-feudal relations and to retain the country as a military base.

Jordan is no less dependent today on the imperialist powers and the capitalist world market than it was twenty years ago, before the proclamation of formal independence.

The situation was aggravated by the imperialist and Zionist conspiracy against Palestine in 1948. Jordan now comprises Trans-jordan and a part of Palestine incorporated in it in 1950, and its population consists of Palestinians, of whom there were 900,000 (400,000 of them refugees) in 1948, and the people of the Trans-jordan, who numbered 350,000 in 1947.

The issues facing our people are, then, to a great extent similar to those confronting the other Arab peoples—the achievement of complete political and economic independence, implementation of a radical agrarian reform, development of industry and agriculture, launching out on the road of democracy and social progress, raising the standard of living, improving the health service and cultural standards.

Complete political and economic liberation of Jordan and its advance towards democracy and social progress will create favorable conditions for the eventual solution of the Palestine problem and the reinstatement of the Palestinians in their rights and dignity now trampled upon by the Israeli rulers aided by world imperialism.

II.

Owing to a number of internal and external factors, official circles have begun in recent years to look for solutions to the country's ur-

gent problems. The principal impulse in this direction has been given by the chronic financial and economic crisis, growing unemployment, the continued decline in the standard of living of the majority of the population, ruination of broad sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie, the pressures exerted by the working masses and those national and progressive groups waging a persistent struggle for the political, economic and social regeneration of Jordan, and, lastly, the profound political, economic and social changes taking place in the Arab world, in particular in the UAR.

The five-year plan drawn up in 1961 was revised in 1963 and expanded into a seven-year program for 1964-70. The main objects of the plan are to reduce the trade deficit and the dependence on foreign aid, to raise incomes and provide more jobs.

An appropriation of JD209 million was set aside to finance the plan. Of this sum 90 million were earmarked for the state sector and 119 million for the private sector. A central bank was established in 1963, and later an industrial development bank. An agricultural credit fund had been set up earlier, and co-operatives organized in the rural localities, with particular encouragement given to co-operatives for selling farm produce.

The interest displayed by the government in economic development and planning, in extending the state sector and other measures are evidence of a certain change in the official approach to financial and economic problems that have long awaited solution. These steps could be a sound beginning for a radical turn in Jordan's political, economic and social life. However, there are a number of facts which cannot but cause anxiety to the national and progressive forces. The indications are that the main object of the government in undertaking its economic plan, building up the state sector, etc., is to put things on a sounder footing merely to steer the country along capitalist lines of development, which would certainly not be in the interests of the people or meet the aspirations of the national and progressive forces.

In his first public statement at a press conference in February 1964 the new Prime Minister Wasfi al Tal said that "the Jordan government believes in economic freedom and has no intention of embarking on nationalization." King Hussein, interviewed by the Lebanese newspaper *Al Saffa*, said in August: "We in Jordan believe in a free economy stimulating private initiative." And speaking over the radio in June the Economy Minister reassured the big bourgeoisie that government intervention in economic affairs is aimed at supporting a free economy and the private sector. "In guiding the economy we wish to support it, not dominate it," he said. As a demonstration of goodwill towards the big bourgeoisie and to make it clear that the government had no intention of making the state sector predominant in the economy, the Minister let it be under-

stood that this sector was designed to serve the interests of the private sector, adding that "this is evident from most of the main development projects undertaken in Jordan where the state sector takes part in research, planning and financing but leaves the door open to private investors and businessmen and their participation in the management and further development of these projects."

An official spokesman recently said that the purpose of the Industrial Development Bank was "to encourage the private sector to acquire shares in the enterprises under construction and to promote the development and growth of the stock market in Jordan."

An examination of the developments and official statements shows that all the measures taken by the government are aimed at promoting capitalism. This applies to loans and financial aid, the state sector, tax policy and protectionist legislation, exemption of companies from income tax, and planning. Official circles are clearly very much interested in attracting capital not only from local sources but also from other Arab countries and from abroad generally. "Our economic policy," the Economy Minister said recently, "is based, as I have said before, on encouraging local, national capital, and also on foreign capital. We attach prime importance to attracting Arab capital while encouraging non-Arab external investments within the framework of the present laws and regulations."

What is the substance of these laws and to what extent do they accord with the interests of the people of Jordan and its national sovereignty? "Our laws are up-to-date laws," the economy Minister frankly said. "They guarantee foreign investors the right to export the capital invested in Jordan in the same currency as it was brought in, and also to export the profits. Moreover, we offer them definite encouragement, exempting them from taxes and levies, in particular from income tax, for a period of three years and allowing a fifty per cent tax cut during the following two years." The Minister could hardly have promised more to foreign investors, for instance, the Arab capitalists who have fled from the UAR or Syria, the oil sheiks of Kuwait or the foreign monopolies.

The continuing erosion of the imperialist positions in the Arab East and the increasing gravitation of some countries in this area towards non-capitalist and socialist lines of development are forcing the imperialists to modify their strategy. Since the moribund, disintegrating feudal and semi-feudal regimes are no longer a reliable social base, they are looking to capitalist development as a guarantee of their interests; hence the efforts to make Jordan and the other Arab countries a bulwark of capitalism. The aim here is two fold: on one hand, the Arab countries that are taking the capitalist way are to be retained in their sphere of influence, shackled to the capitalist world market as its rural hinterland, and on

the other, these countries are to be used to prevent the Arab East in general from gravitating towards non-capitalist and socialist lines, especially since the UAR and Syria have already rejected the capitalist road and pressures to do the same are growing in Iraq.

The imperialists, in particular the American, are using every device they can to set Jordan on the capitalist road. This includes financial aid, loans, subsidies and bribes in order to orientate its foreign trade on the imperialist countries, as well as installing experts and advisers in state agencies and finance and economic institutions. This neo-colonialist strategy is backed by the Jordan capitalists and the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie supported by West-oriented bourgeois intellectuals.

For some time now the theory has been propounded that Jordan lacks the prerequisites for independent economic development and that it should rely on the financial aid, subsidies and loans extended by the imperialist countries. According to this theory, Jordan has no alternative but to opt for a "free" economy. This nihilistic concept is cultivated in order to cover up the imperialist plunder of the economy, to sow apathy and indifference among the youth and the intelligentsia, and to convince them of the futility of struggle and any political activity and that the best that they can do is to think of their future, of getting rich and making a career.

Capitalism has nothing to offer to Jordan, for it can only add to the poverty and suffering of the people generally. This is frankly admitted in the seven-year plan which points out that the "people will have to make sacrifices in the shape of higher taxes, reduced consumption and deterioration of the services offered by the government." Taxes weigh heavily on the people. Annual per capita tax burden is now 10 dinars and, as can be seen from the seven-year plan, this figure will be doubled by 1970. Moreover, capitalist development cannot but shackle the country more and more to the imperialist powers and the capitalist world market; indeed, in the present conditions it necessarily involves growing subordination to international monopolies. The head of the government recently admitted as much when he declared that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had agreed to provide the project for and to finance the construction of a potash plant. The Bank, he said, would put up \$30 million for the purpose, the U.S. government \$15 million, and two private companies, one American and the other Arab, another \$15 million. The implications of the International Bank sponsoring the financing of a development project in a newly-independent country are common knowledge—it can only mean subordinating its economy to the Bank and the U.S. monopolies. The Arabs remember full well how the Bank refused to finance the Aswan dam because the UAR would not submit to U.S. diktat.

Capitalism cannot ensure Jordan a high rate of economic advance.

On the contrary, it impedes the growth of the national economy and social progress generally. The most that can be achieved along capitalist lines is the solution of some secondary problems, such as temporary stimulation of economic and financial activity or the provision of jobs for a limited number of unemployed. Capitalism cannot play a progressive and national role; it is powerless to resolve the major economic, political and social problems facing Jordan. Instead of seeking to abolish the semi-feudal system it supports it in order to broaden the social base for neo-colonialism. There is no doubt that this can aggravate the social contradictions.

The value of one or another road of development, the extent to which it accords with the interests of the working people and the situation in Jordan and the Arab world in general, can be judged by the extent to which it facilitates the achievement of complete political independence, economic liberation from backwardness and dependence, abolition of the semi-feudal production relations, and the implementation of a radical agrarian reform.

Capitalism is bound to lead Jordan into a blind alley. It will not only prevent the masses from emerging from their appalling poverty; it will also spell ruin for many of the small and middle bourgeoisie, who are doomed to be squeezed out by the stranglehold of the foreign monopolies and the inevitable concentration of the financial, industrial and commercial institutions, which set the tenor of economic and financial life, in the hands of a few wealthy families. Things are already moving in this direction. Official statistics show that "less than ten per cent of all industrial enterprises in Jordan employ more than half of the total industrial labor force and account for over 70 per cent of the total output." More, the "most important branches of industry are in effect concentrated in the hands of four companies engaged in oil refining, phosphate extraction and the production of cement and vegetable oils." Banking and insurance are monopolized by a handful of foreign and local banks and insurance companies. The country's legislation facilitates the process of concentration and growth of monopoly; this applies particularly to the laws on "stimulating and directing industry" and on the "utilization of foreign investments." It is common knowledge that the government extends special privileges to a number of big producers of cement, phosphates and vegetable oils which enjoy monopoly rights both on the home market and in export trade. The draft of the seven-year plan provides for the continuation of the same policy of granting concessions to foreign and local companies and supporting the private sector through loans.

The best way to protect the interests of the workers, peasants and small bourgeoisie in the conditions now prevailing in Jordan, in the

Arab countries generally and in the rest of the world is to renounce capitalism and to launch out on the non-capitalist path. Moreover, this is the only way that ensures the middle bourgeoisie a positive role in the national economy. The private sector, with the exception of the monopolies and the big bourgeoisie, could very well co-exist with the state sector for a long time to come.

Nationalization of a few score big private and monopoly-owned financial, industrial and commercial undertakings, both foreign and local, and complete control over foreign trade would make it possible for the state sector to play the leading role in development and planning. And this, together with a radical agrarian reform, would be the objective groundwork for advance along the only road capable of ensuring economic and social progress.

III.

The Communist Party tells the people that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are the main enemies of all Arabs, the chief obstacle to their national and social liberation, and hence must be combated with the utmost resolve. At the same time the Party points out that the situation today is a far cry from that of twenty, fifteen or even ten years ago, when imperialist domination took the form of the unequal Anglo-Jordan treaty and the presence of foreign troops and military bases on our territory. These old forms of imperialist domination have been abolished by the struggle waged by the people and their national movement. Our country is no longer bound by agreements or military pacts with the imperialist powers. There are no foreign troops or military bases on our territory. But for all that the imperialists still exert considerable influence through financial "aid," "subsidies," loans, technical experts and advisers.

For the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism to succeed, the national goals of the people should be linked with social and economic aims, i.e., struggle for a radical agrarian reform, to free the national economy from the foreign grip, to promote industry and agriculture, and to equip the army with weapons obtained from fraternal and friendly countries, while ensuring democracy and freedom of action for the national and progressive forces, pursuing a patriotic Arab and international policy directed against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, war and aggression.

The national, democratic and progressive forces are gradually coming together in the struggles waged around these issues. In the course of this complex struggle the need to choose between the two alternatives facing the country—the capitalist way and the non-capitalist way as a transitional stage leading to socialism—is accentuated more and more.

* * *

The Arab peoples and the Arab national and social movement have registered substantial gains in recent years. They have dealt telling blows at the imperialists and their positions and policies in the Arab world, especially in the Arab East. They have defeated the policy of military pacts and the Eisenhower doctrine. Anti-communism has suffered bankruptcy with the exposure of its anti-national nature which is diametrically opposed to liberation and social progress. In a number of countries the most aggressive forces of reaction have been deprived of their economic, political and social positions. The national-liberation revolution of the Arab peoples has merged with the social revolution. The working people and revolutionary nationalist forces are gravitating more and more towards socialism. Relations of friendship, fraternity and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, on the one hand, and the Arab peoples and their liberation movement, on the other, are steadily improving. Thanks to the determined struggle of the people of Jordan steps have been taken in the past three years which hold promise for the nation as a whole. The government has declared for a policy of non-alignment, it has recognized the Yemeni Republic, established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries, it has improved relations with the UAR and has declared an amnesty covering all political prisoners, detainees and exiles. The Communist Party and all national and progressive forces support these positive steps, but at the same time our Central Committee has stressed that it regards them only as a good beginning which should be followed up by other measures, in particular extension of democratic freedoms to all national, democratic and progressive forces. As it is, the emergency laws, the law on combating communism and other reactionary enactments still remain in force and are used against Communists and other national and progressive forces. The majority of the prisoners released and exiles allowed to return are not allowed to change their place of residence. They are not permitted to work in state institutions, and they are handicapped in other ways. The press is still under a ban, and political life and Party activity are prohibited. Taking advantage of this situation, the reactionaries, imperialists and Zionists are increasing pressure on the government to compel it to revoke even the little that has been done. But the Communist Party, together with all the national and progressive forces, is combating these machinations and working to break the fetters shackling democracy, to win complete political independence for Jordan, to open the way to economic liberation and to enable our country along with the fraternal Arab countries, to follow the path of social progress and socialism.

Revolutionary struggle in the Dominican Republic and its lessons

(PART II)

J. I. QUELLO, N. ISA CONDE

AFTER THE CUBAN revolution, the seventh anniversary of which is being celebrated these days by people all over the world and the lessons of which determine the nature of the struggle of the revolutionaries of Latin America, the Dominican revolution is another contribution to the arsenal of revolutionary experience on the continent; it may differ from the Cuban revolution in the "letter" but is fully in accord with it in "spirit, meaning and lessons."

FORMS AND METHODS OF THE STRUGGLE

The armed revolt in Santo Domingo, and particularly the growth of the movement in the barracks into a popular insurrection, showed that this vital question cannot be settled according to stereotyped prescriptions and cut-and-dried patterns.

It would be foolish to "lay down" in advance forms of struggle for the revolutionary classes or to maintain dogmatically that there is only one way for the mass movement and the revolution. It would be equally foolish to revert in all circumstances to forms of struggle that were suitable for a particular situation and were engendered by particular conditions.

The actions that began on April 25 became a source of valuable tactical experience for the armed masses in street fighting—in attacking barracks and fortresses, building barricades and trenches, handling mobile weapons, waging guerrilla warfare in the towns and combating tanks and artillery. This experience enriched us also politically: it pointed to the importance of uprisings in the towns in the course of revolutionary struggle, the importance and possibility of men and officers participating in it. But first and foremost it showed the need for thorough preparation of the liberation forces for the different forms of the struggle.

The April events showed that armed insurrection breaks out when it becomes clear that it is the sole way out of the existing situation,

that the armed struggle can be waged in diverse forms and that the revolutionaries should, therefore, be prepared to wage the struggle in the form dictated by the actual circumstances and to show the masses how to develop the struggle further. Our experience confirmed Lenin's concept of armed insurrection. He wrote: ". . . insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon the *revolutionary spirit of the people*. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon the *crucial moment* in history of the growing revolution, when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the *vacillations* in the ranks of the enemies and in the ranks of the *weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution* are strongest. That is the third point. And these three factors in the attitude towards insurrection distinguish Marxism from Blanquism."

Our experience showed that the task of revolutionaries during an armed insurrection is to influence it and guide it militarily and politically, to organize the struggle in accordance with the processes underway at the time. At first we combined all our forces in a single "command." The fallacy of this decision soon made itself felt. It restricted, on the one hand, our propaganda (which was conducted chiefly among our own members); on the other, this "command" became the target for attacks on the movement by the imperialists. Having realized our mistake we thereupon allocated armed Communists to a number of "commands." We succeeded, as a result, in making our line known to the armed people, to the majority of the participants of the movement who did not belong to any party, winning their sympathy and ensuring the steady growth of our Party and the strengthening of the popular resistance as a whole.

THE ARMY

The democratic struggle of the people exerted an influence on the army and led to important changes in the way of thinking of the men and officers; they decided to come out against the reactionaries and to fight alongside the people thereby proving once again that at times of crisis the army splits in two, one part siding with the people.

This is what happened in the case of the military constitutionalists who joined forces with the people against the imperialist intervention. In the course of this struggle their revolutionary consciousness grew; they combined with the "civilian" masses.

It would be a mistake to deny the revolutionary potential of the army; the numerous revolutions in history have proved the contrary. It is therefore important to carry on political work in the army, although mass action to split the army and win over part of it remains decisive.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Dominican crisis again revealed the colonialist and servile nature of the OAS and also the sabotage methods which still enable imperialism to prevent the United Nations from effectively fulfilling its mission to maintain peace and international security.

The OAS is simply a docile tool in the hands of the U.S. government, because most of the countries belonging to it have either military dictatorships or servile governments of another type. The United Nations presents a different picture, it includes the socialist countries and an increasing number of states pursuing an independent foreign policy. Besides, the contradictions between the imperialists become apparent at critical moments. Take the debate on the Dominican Republic when France voted in the Security Council for the immediate withdrawal of the intervention forces. It is true that although UNO is still, to a large degree, an organization in which voting-machine methods continue to favor U.S. imperialism, it would be incorrect to liken the part played by the United Nations in the Dominican events to that played by the OAS. The debate in the Security Council and the resolution it adopted were important restraints on U.S. imperialism. At the same time, however, it would be wrong to countenance the illusion that the people can win simply by exposing imperialism in international organizations. The United Nations will become a truly effective organization capable of restraining imperialism only when the present balance of forces in it will be changed by the struggle of the peoples themselves and their victory. As for the Security Council any change in this body is contingent on foiling Washington's policy of blockading the Chinese People's Republic whose place in the United Nations is unlawfully occupied by a representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

THE "INTER-AMERICAN PEACE FORCES"

The presence of foreign troops in the Dominican Republic pursues a definite tactical objective, that of replacing the "national army" which was defeated by the people and which it is hard to restore. But the even more important strategic objective pursued is to "institutionalize" them, to legalize these foreign troops as an inter-American repressive body. Considered from this aspect the fight of Santo Domingo is becoming the fight of the whole of America just as the battle of Madrid in the thirties' became the battle of all Europe.

Within the framework of general imperialist policy two tactical approaches to the problem of maintaining U.S. domination over our countries are evident. In Santo Domingo these approaches were represented by two diplomats of ambassadorial rank, by Bennett, who acted directly on behalf of Washington, and by Bunker acting for the OAS. Their tactical differences became apparent in the actions of the troops and the U.S. Embassy personnel. Thus, at the end of August when Johnson announced that those who are opposed to a modified "Dominican act of reconciliation" are opposed to world peace, the rebel sector in Santo Domingo was shelled two nights in succession. Bunker publicly condemned this action and came out in support of the agreements with the Constitutionalists, which were in danger of being nullified by this provocation (in which event it would have been necessary to look for other solutions which would have made for a still greater political and military instability).

The Right extremists are used by those who want to achieve their strategic objectives through the "inter-American peace forces." The U.S. Embassy sees the local plotters and terrorists as reserves, since they cannot be used effectively at the moment. Every time there is a crisis in the provisional government the "inter-American forces" are brought into play in the name of "normalizing" the situation. Actions like the removal of General Wessin (who was saved from the wrath of the people only by the arrival of the invaders) are designed to impart to intervention forces the image of supporters of the "harmonious" way out of the crisis. They calculate on gaining a certain sympathy by prohibiting generals whom they themselves have brought to power from persecuting the population on the pretext of searching for arms. (Meanwhile, the Garcia Godoy Government is inactive; it is artificially prolonging the crisis caused by the popular demand for the removal of the five ultra-reactionary generals).

But nobody is likely to be hoodwinked by these maneuvers, for it is evident that the U.S. troops have but one answer to the actions and protests of our people—brutal repressions. They are in point of fact doing, in their own specific way, exactly what they outwardly prohibited the Dominican militarists from doing.

Since the intervention forces have to a con-

siderable extent achieved their tactical objectives their purpose now is to secure these gains with the help of Garcia Godoy, or of one of the "gorilla" generals, and to legalize intervention policy on a continental scale.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND ON THE CONTINENT

The lesson to be drawn from the events in our country is that at the present stage of the struggle in Latin America it is the duty of Communists and revolutionaries to put into effect the thesis that we be prepared for all forms of struggle. In this connection we think there should be no illusions about a peaceful seizure of power, or about the armed struggle as a remote possibility. We have no desire to imply by this that peaceful forms of struggle should be rejected. But it is our belief that the revolutionary events in our country are proof that preparation for armed struggle is the immediate task of our revolutionaries and that failure to accomplish this task or to accomplish it in a purely formal way, would be a disservice to the people. We understand preparations for armed struggle to mean not just actions confined to concealing a few dozen rifles and showing as many people how to handle them, but as carrying out in diverse forms the military training of as large a number of people as possible, of ideologically and psychologically preparing the Party and the people for this armed struggle. The armed struggle is not something spontaneous; the first signs appear at times of political crises. And yet when it did begin many of us were caught unawares and consequently proved incapable of taking the right decisions at the crucial moments. This lost us the possibility of directing things.

Imperialism's action in our country was evidence of its weaknesses, of its fear of the people. At the same time it showed that it is still in a position to send thousands of troops against a sovereign country. As Lenin noted, imperialism should be taken seriously and serious preparations made to combat it. To prevent the formation of inter-American forces as a legalized international police force—this is the immediate task of all our peoples, the accomplishment of which will make it difficult for Washington to repeat intervention. But only difficult. For it has declared that it will carry out intervention unilaterally or in alliance with others in those countries wherever the masses attempt to put an end to the internal machinery of repression and the military apparatus protecting Washington's interests. We realize that the enemy is to be found not only in our country, that it is not enough just to defeat a party or a group of parties in elections in order to advance to socialism. Shortly before or immediately afterwards it will be necessary, as is evident from recent actions and statements by Washington, to enter the lists against the

intervention troops. (It is not excluded that they will be brought in to ensure "genuinely free" elections as has been the case before in our country.)

The resistance of the ruling classes and the imperialist intervention in our country raise the question of armed insurrection to win power. The armed struggle will have to be waged not only against the ultra-reactionaries in the national army, but against the imperialist intervention forces as well. We do not think that there are fundamental differences on this between our country and the other Latin American countries, although there may be big differences as regards the forms, circumstances and timing of the struggle.

The events in the Dominican Republic have undoubtedly added to the experience of the Latin-American liberation movement. The imperialist intervention signified a new stage in the development of our struggle. Monopoly capital has "internationalized" its aggression and its armed forces; it carried out direct intervention not for expansionist purposes as was the case at the beginning of the century, but in order to crush the revolutionary movement. By its military actions it has shown its resolve to try to bar the road to revolution in the Latin American countries. Communists, revolutionaries and all our peoples who are moving toward revolution have no choice but to take the way of armed struggle for power. It is therefore necessary—in fact imperative—that we prepare the masses for this great task.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The imperialists are internationalizing their machinery of repression in a new way. And if imperialism is to be curbed and defeated the proletariat and the other classes exploited by the monopolies must internationalize their actions on a still bigger scale than hitherto. (It is clear that solidarity action with strikers does not mean dropping an atom bomb as a sign of solidarity or countering the imperialist aggression against the peoples battling for their liberation by beginning, on the initiative of the socialist camp, a world nuclear war.) The struggle for the complete defeat of imperialism is at the same time a struggle for a lasting peace.

What were the forms and results of the solidarity movement with the Dominican people?

In Chile President Frei, responding to public pressure, condemned the intervention and urged the withdrawal of foreign troops from Santo Domingo. The Venezuelan government while first it acted in like manner, later urged the formation of "inter-American peace forces" as a "remedy" against all revolutions. In Argentina the scope and unity of the mass movement foiled the attempt of the generals to send troops to Santo Domingo. In revolutionary Cuba many volunteered to fight for our cause against the common enemy. In short, the Latin American countries reacted to the Dominican events

according to the level of development of the struggle in their respective countries. It should be noted, however, that these mass actions were confined to the early stages of the intervention. The moment the situation in Santo Domingo became "stable," following the onerous conditions imposed on the Constitutionalists by the foreign troops, the protests subsided. We think that the explanation for this is that the idea of how to wage the fight against the aggressive imperialist encroachments on an international scale has not yet crystallized.

Imperialism is carrying out its actions in new ways and on a continental scale, and not only on a continental scale as its aggressive operations against Cuba, the Congo, Vietnam and other countries, show. It has to be admitted that the campaign of solidarity with the peoples of the said countries is still relatively weak. It is essential to tie the hands of imperialism as was done during the Suez crisis and at the time of the Caribbean crisis. This does not mean, of course, that one and the same method can be applied in all circumstances. The forms of struggle depend on the concrete situation and these forms must be developed without delay for, although possible, it is very hard for small countries, without the help of other countries, to defeat the imperialist aggressor whose army vastly outnumbers theirs and which possesses an immeasurably more powerful military and industrial potential.

A campaign of exposure and firm struggle by the entire international Communist movement and socialist world can be started against the export of counter-revolution by imperialism. But for this we must first of all strengthen and coordinate the *unity of action* of the Communist parties, of the democratic and revolutionary forces in the fight against the common enemy.

THE PARTY

The mass struggle against the coup d'etat

had a beneficial effect on our Party. In the "Document of Self-Criticism" recently published, the Party analyzed its mistakes on program, organizational and tactical questions, and also in the sphere of its international relations. The process of overcoming its shortcomings, begun before the April insurrection, was completed in the course of it.

It became clear that only an ideologically firm party closely linked to the masses and prepared for all forms of struggle can lead the people to revolution and socialism. Otherwise imperialism will be able to maneuver against the revolution. The growth of the Communist Party is therefore the main organizational task of revolutionaries and of the working class. The Party's numerical growth and its prestige among our people show that this idea has taken deep root in the nation.

The Document states: "The Dominican Communist Party which overcame its opportunist concepts and remained loyal to the principles of the revolution will spare no effort . . . to achieve the most pressing aim of the Dominican working class, that of establishing a national class party. To this end we call on all workers and progressives to unite in the Communist Party and thus bring together all forces of the Dominican revolutionary movement under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism.

"The struggle against the U.S. interventionists and for democracy, which unites all our people, will be successful to the extent that the working class has its own class party and puts forward, in addition to the call to defeat the imperialist interventionists, its own specific demands and the demand of freedom for the people;

"The Dominican Communist Party is waging a struggle for these immediate aims parallel with the struggle for the ultimate aim of the working class—the building of a socialist and Communist society in our country."

The petty-bourgeois masses in the revolutionary movements of the "third world"

A. RAMZI, A. LEVKOVSKY

IN THE FORMER colonies and semi-colonies the socio-economic base, the class divisions, the structure of the social classes and their struggles, and the aims, forms and methods of the political movements differ greatly from those in the countries of developed monopoly capitalism where the industrial working class constitutes the basic section of the population. And clearly the transition of the ex-colonies to socialism will be different from that in the developed capitalist countries. "There is no doubt," Lenin said, "that in a country where small farmer producers constitute the overwhelming majority of the population the socialist revolution will entail a number of special transitional measures which will be totally unnecessary in countries with developed capitalism, countries in which wage workers constitute the overwhelming majority in industry and agriculture." In our time the liberation process has embraced a large number of countries of precisely this type, and this has posed a number of serious theoretical and practical problems which Marxist thought is called upon to solve.

LENIN'S VIEWS

Addressing himself to Communists in the colonial world nearly fifty years ago, in December 1919, Lenin said: "... We are faced with a task which Communists nowhere in the world have been faced with before: drawing on universal Communist theory and practice, we should, adapting ourselves to specific conditions which are not met in European countries, apply this theory and practice to a situation in which peasants form the bulk of the population . . ." Needless to say, much has changed since then in socio-economic and political life in general, but the substance of

Lenin's counsel concerning creative application of Marxism to the conditions of countries where there is no developed capitalism, and where, as a rule, not the working class but the petty-bourgeoisie (mainly peasantry) are most numerous, is as timely as ever.

The Communist parties in the countries of the "third world" are guided by this counsel. They are recognized as the most dedicated and consistent champions of national and social progress. For this they are often hounded and forced to work in conditions of terror. For long the imperialists and the local reactionaries, playing on the prejudices of the petty-bourgeois, have sought to indoctrinate the masses in the spirit of anti-communism.

Most of the Communist parties had their origins in the towns; they were born of the *revolutionary activity of the working class and progressive intellectuals*. The working class need not be a substantial section of the population for a party to become a mass party capable of playing an effective part in solving the complex tasks facing the given country. Experience shows that the principles of Marxism-Leninism, when creatively applied, are fully valid for societies where the non-proletarian or semi-proletarian strata of urban and rural working people predominate or where they are extremely numerous. The working class and the Communist parties can win over the petty-bourgeois working people through ideological struggle against imperialism, the local feudals and, eventually the local capitalists.

It is legitimate to ask: how do things stand today in those countries of the "third world" (especially in Africa) where the working class is numerically small or where it has not yet become a "class for itself," and where Communist parties are still to emerge or to grow into

mass parties? Who in these conditions is to head the liberation and democratic movements of the non-proletarian or semi-proletarian working masses? What are the aims and the specific features of such movements? In what conditions do they arise? To what ideological influences are they susceptible? As Lenin foresaw, most national-liberation movements have developed around nationalist slogans. Although they derived their scope and impact from the participation of the working masses, many of them have been headed by intellectuals, army officers, leaders of nationalist organizations, and so on. Yet they, too, in one way or another are influenced by Marxism. As a result of the advance of the world working-class movement, the establishment of the first workers' and peasants' state and later of a group of socialist countries, and owing to the worsening of the general crisis of capitalism, things in the formerly oppressed parts of the world are changing. The fact is that today peasant wars, or movements comparable to them, often end in *victory*, not defeat as before.

Formerly movements of those sections of the working people in the category of petty-bourgeoisie proceeded in a world whose political apex was the Great French Revolution. That revolution influenced most political and ideological trends of the nineteenth century. But today these movements occur in a world marked by the rise of socialism, in a world influenced by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The spread of scientific socialism too takes on new aspects and new forms. Not only the working-class movement (fighting primarily for socialism) but also the revolutionary movements of working peasants and other petty-bourgeois strata (striving for far-reaching democratic social changes, which in turn pave the way to a subsequent stage-by-stage advance to socialism) draw on its precepts. The achievements of the world proletariat and of its bulwark—the socialist camp—give rise to socialist ideas in all countries. Scientific socialism, provided it is approached creatively, is applicable everywhere; and every instance of its application influences social evolution in other parts of the world, modifying the outcome of processes once considered inexorable and immutable.

The proletariat not only finds in scientific socialism its true world outlook but it disseminates this outlook among the working people generally. This is its historical mission. In the countries of the "third world," although in most of these the working class is relatively small in numbers, or consists mainly of non-factory workers and even those who have not yet reached the factory stage, it plays an extremely great role in instilling in the mind of the petty-bourgeois elements of the workingman's outlook, in disseminating the ideas of scientific socialism and integrating these ideas with the struggles of the non-proletarian and semi-proletarian masses. Equally important is

the role of the working class in building a durable alliance of all working people for national regeneration and social progress. Here the influence of the local proletariat merges with the influence of the international working class and the socialist world system. Needless to say, this influence varies from country to country.

In most "third world" countries there are three classes capable of heading the nation: the national bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie, and the working class. The nationalism expounded by the national bourgeoisie and the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal demands of its political organizations evoke a response on the part of the people. On the other hand, the propensity of this class for conciliation and its inability radically to solve socio-economic problems in the interests of the masses—an inability which comes to the fore after the winning of independence—tend to deprive it of popular support and, in some countries, gives rise to a conflict between the interests of its top stratum and those of the nation. This gives an opening for another class to take over the leadership of the people in carrying out the measures necessary for the regeneration of the country which the national bourgeoisie is unable to carry out rapidly, and, what is most important, thoroughly enough. Such openings of course do not present themselves at once and not everywhere, and not necessarily at comparable stages of the national-liberation movement. Here, too, uneven development is the rule.

Other classes have come to the fore primarily in those countries where the national bourgeoisie and its political organizations are relatively weak, or where its rule has aggravated social contradictions to the point where it has forfeited its political leadership. As a rule one or another section of the petty-bourgeoisie comes to the forefront. It takes a far more resolute stand than the national bourgeoisie in combating imperialism and carrying out reforms. It does not shy away from vigorous action either against feudal landownership, or against the big and medium-sized capitalists. And these measures, provided they are carried out consistently, open the way to movement towards socialism.

It is important to see the positive as well as the negative aspects of the present-day petty bourgeoisie also because this throws light on the *conditions* in which the leading role is likely to pass over to another class, consistently revolutionary, namely the proletariat—as well as on the *forms* of this transition and the *time* element involved. For this transition and its forms will largely depend on the evolution of the basic mass of the petty bourgeoisie and on the extent it is prepared to accept progressive ideology. It is from this angle that we propose to examine some of the aspects of the petty-bourgeois revolutionary movements.

The levels of economic development of the newly emerged states are extremely varied.

Their socio-economic and class institutions differ greatly. To ignore these specific features and to fit things into stereotyped patterns would only cause harm. But there also are common features more or less typical for the former colonial and semi-colonial area as a whole. Examination of these features helps to elucidate aspects of the economic and political status of the working people and the conditions of their life and struggles. These features are one-sided specialization, multiplicity of economic formations with small commodity producers predominating, and the fact that the process of primary accumulation is still far from completed.

The bulk of the population in most of the developing countries live in the countryside. This gives the peasantry numerical preponderance. Needless to say, as a rule the peasantry of the "third world" can hardly be called a "pure" petty bourgeoisie in the usual sense (meaning independent small commodity producers completely free from all pre-capitalist associations). It is still burdened in varying degrees by survivals of communal, tribal (these are particularly pronounced in tropical Africa), patriarchal and other customs, traditions and even forms of organization of labor. In the towns, of course, sections of the petty bourgeoisie such as small tradesmen and small proprietors in the services, in transport and other spheres are quite numerous. Although the peasants play an important role in the economic life of the newly free countries, in political life it is the petty bourgeois urban sections, primarily the intelligentsia, which often take the leading part.

Within the petty bourgeoisie many transitional strata (many of them never encountered in the West) on the way to becoming either wage workers or capitalist proprietors have crystallized to one or another extent. By and large, however, the entire social set-up stemming from imperialist exploitation has given rise to appalling poverty and chronic concealed unemployment and semi-unemployment affecting big sections of the lower strata. Such diametrically opposed sections as, for instance, the rural rich of a semi-feudal or a semi-capitalist type, on the one hand, and their semi-slave tenants and laborers, on the other, have been almost completely divorced from the petty bourgeoisie economically.

We see, then, that the intrinsic heterogeneity of the petty bourgeoisie in the developing countries has a multitude of aspects. First, there are the different stages and degrees of disintegration of the pre-capitalist forms of production and the emergence from these forms of individual small commodity production; second, sharp differentiation of the spheres of activity of the petty bourgeoisie, especially between town and country; and, finally, the uneven dissolution and fragmentation of various petty-bourgeois strata under the impact of capitalist development. This heterogeneity, lack of cohesion, and differentiation adds to the diffi-

culty of assessing the status and evolution of the petty bourgeoisie of the "third world," all the more so since it is felt in some quarters that the very term "petty bourgeoisie" has a certain opprobrium attached to it.

GRAVITATION TOWARDS A PROGRESSIVE IDEOLOGY

Ruthless exploitation by imperialism, the support given by foreign monopoly capitalism to the internal reactionary forces in order to set them sharply in opposition to the people, glaring economic and political injustice, and the aggravation to the extreme of all the social contradictions—all these in the aggregate account for the revolutionary sentiment (in many countries still only potential) of the basic segments of the petty bourgeoisie.

But can petty-bourgeois illusions among the masses of the working people be dispelled even where the working class is still numerically small? Can scientific socialism reach the non-proletarian or semi-proletarian masses or must they remain captive to utopian, pre-Marxian, petty-bourgeois forms of socialism until the proletariat reaches maturity and becomes a class for itself?

History has, of course, offered examples of crying contradictions in the outlook as well as the political actions of the petty bourgeoisie. Today, however, in the mind of the petty bourgeois the conflict between the proprietor and the worker, painful though it often is and at times accompanied by temporary retreats, heads in the long run, stage by stage, to the triumph of the worker-outlook. The example of the proletariat and the experience of the petty bourgeois himself cannot but have their effect. Since the onset of the general crisis of capitalism, quantitative accumulation of elements of the worker-consciousness in the outlook of the petty bourgeoisie has in some cases produced a qualitative change. The social and class basis for the assimilation of scientific socialism has extended *beyond the working class*. *It has become possible not only to unite scientific socialism with revolutionary movements of the petty bourgeoisie, but there are more and more signs that in some countries this union is being realized to some extent.* Needless to say, here too this process is extremely uneven.

Lenin stressed that it was necessary to see not only the duality of petty-bourgeois ideology but also its evolution at a time when the proletariat is becoming the decisive force in history. The approximation of the petty bourgeoisie (to be more exact, of some of its sections) to the proletariat is an historically conditioned fact. The experience in socialist countries, where petty bourgeois strata have acted together with the proletariat and under its leadership to effect far-reaching social changes, exerts a powerful influence on the non-proletarian and semi-proletarian masses of the "third world." These masses are gravitating

more and more towards socialism although their understanding of it is often very vague and burdened with illusions and elements of utopianism.

In the newly-free countries too the petty bourgeoisie, its ideology, social organizations and even governmental power, regardless of their independence, cannot but bear the imprint of the duality of the class as a whole, with the result that the independence is, in the long run, only relative. Here too the petty bourgeoisie vacillates between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, between the road to capitalism and the road to socialism. But the amplitude and periodicity of vacillation are greater. Consequently, the relative independence of this class is more pronounced and the temptation to take is for absolute independence stronger.

The intelligentsia in these countries is also relatively more independent than in the developed capitalist countries. It forms the leading core of many parties and other organizations. Although mostly petty-bourgeois by virtue of its economic status, it is nevertheless divided into diverse groups and political trends. Shifts from one camp to another are not uncommon.

It should be noted that the intelligentsia is most receptive to Marxist-Leninist ideas. The more radical carry these ideas to the working-class movement and, frequently, are the founders of Communist parties in their countries. To build up their ranks and to establish themselves in the national life the Communist parties put forward slogans and demands understandable to the non-proletarian and semi-proletarian sections, and in doing so they may come up against petty-bourgeois illusions or utopias. If these illusions are not combated flexibly the results may be isolation from the masses. Experience has shown that this danger stalks revolutionary movements in which petty-bourgeois strata predominate or play an important part.

The newly-free countries are now engaged in a vigorous search for an ideology offering the best solutions to the complex problems of national and social regeneration. Indicative in this respect is a passage from the political declaration of the Revolutionary Council of Burma ("The Burmese Way to Socialism," published on April 30, 1962) in which the Council pledges "critically to observe, study and avail itself of the opportunities provided by progressive ideas, theories and experiences at home or abroad without discrimination between one country of origin and another." The emergence of numerous varieties of "socialist doctrines" in the developing countries is to some extent reminiscent of mid-nineteenth-century Western Europe with its multiplicity of schools of pre-Marxian socialism. What are the perspectives and the role of these doctrines in the present-day world?

The working-class and bourgeois elements in the various trends of petty-bourgeois ideology assert themselves in proportions varying ac-

cording to time and country. Gradual accumulation of the former proceeds *extremely unevenly*, and in some countries or movements the trend may even be reversed for a time. Yet it is only the triumph of the proletarian element over the bourgeois that causes an ideology to approach scientific socialism. Regrettably there is no instrument for measuring the extent to which revolutionary movements approach scientific socialism. The only criteria are the statements of leaders, the program documents of leading organizations and examination of their practical activities; there is no other way of ascertaining differences of approach to scientific socialism, the degree of approximation or fusion with it, or of discerning the variety of forms this process takes. Clearly, the organizations or leaders heading a revolutionary movement in which the petty-bourgeois masses predominate are not necessarily petty bourgeois. The decisive thing is *how* the basic tasks of the given stage of development are resolved in a situation where the mass of the population and the majority of the participants in the revolutionary process belong (economically or ideologically) to the various sections of rural or urban petty bourgeoisie.

The influence of Marxism-Leninism unquestionably made itself felt among those democratic intellectuals who while actively fighting for national liberation remained by and large with the ideological positions of the national bourgeoisie and hence were unable to accept scientific socialism (witness for example, the views of Nehru).

After independence some members of the national bourgeoisie tend to shift to the Right, to become more conservative, and this affects their petty-bourgeois following as well. Professions of loyalty to socialism often become a screen for anti-democratic policies (witness, for example, Leopold Senghor's policies).

Modibo Keita, President of the Mali Republic and leader of the Sudanese Union-RDA Party, rightly warned his people against taking all declarations in favor of socialism on faith. "One should not allow oneself to be taken in by the magic of words," he said. "In most of these countries there is talk about African socialism. Even Senghor speaks of it. But we should regard this with caution, for otherwise the word 'socialism' will lose its meaning and the most reactionary bourgeois and capitalist systems can take cover behind it." This danger no doubt exists. But on the other hand we see the spreading and deepening revolutionary struggle leading the working people towards scientific socialism.

The great importance of the victory of the Cuban people for revolutionary movements throughout the world is common knowledge. Fidel Castro described the principal features of the Cuban people's struggle in these terms:

"What were we on that July 26? We could not yet call ourselves Marxist-Leninists, conscious Marxist-Leninists. But the group of

young men who organized the July 26 Movement had studied Marx and Lenin. Among the books found on us after our attack on the Moncada stronghold were books by Marti and Lenin . . .

"We were dedicated to revolution, our views were revolutionary, we were fired by revolutionary fervor. But we lacked theory. It took more than a day or two to master theory . . . Our ideas developed as our revolutionary consciousness grew, as we assimilated scientific socialism, as we searched for the correct explanations of historical and social problems. In this way we acquired our theory, our political philosophy. Nor did we master it superficially, it became flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, it permeated our minds and our life. We became Marxist-Leninists.

"Needless to say, our enemies would like us to be 'loudmouthed liberals', petty-bourgeois reformists. We were of the petty-bourgeoisie, but, happily, we got rid of its class and ideological baggage and adopted the ideology of the exploited, the oppressed and the downtrodden, the ideology of the working people."

In the immediate post-independence period the need for a creative, scientific approach to the social Gordian knots of internal life, a search for the most effective theoretical and practical aids to progress, become pressing. Radical reconstruction of the backward productive forces comes to the fore; this is commonly called economic independence or building the national economy. All this is directly linked with profound structural changes also in the relations of production. Needless to say, the slogans advanced in some developing countries testifying to a desire to take the socialist path are one thing and the actual entry onto this path, and even more so the building of the foundations of the new society, is another; the gap between the two is not always bridged, and certainly not at once. What is noteworthy here is the rapidly growing appeal of the ideas of socialism and the desire to realize them in practice. For instance, the Charter of National Action of the UAR (1962) declares: "The socialist solution to the problem of economic and social under-development in Egypt—to achieve progress in a revolutionary way—was never a question of free choice. The socialist solution was a historical inevitability imposed by reality, the broad aspirations of the people and the changing nature of the world in the second part of the 20th century."

The idea that socialism objectively provides the necessary progressive solutions to the problems of the country is put forward in the political declaration of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma. "The Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma," the declaration says, "does not believe that man will be set free from social evils as long as pernicious economic systems exist in which man exploits man and lives on the fat of such appropriation. The Council believes it to be possible only when exploitation of man by man is brought

to an end and a socialist economy based on justice is established . . ."

Following independence the Convention People's Party of Ghana posed before the nation the task of creating a thriving state based on the socialist system adapted to the conditions of Ghana, in which all citizens, irrespective of class, tribe, color or religion, will enjoy equal opportunities, in which there will be no exploitation of man by man, tribe by tribe or class by class, and which will strive to develop and safeguard people's democracy based on universal adult franchise and majority rule.

The problems of modernizing agriculture, industrialization, and raising productivity of labor are directly associated with the attitude to foreign aid and foreign capital, as well as with agrarian reform and agricultural cooperation, growth of the state sector and planning. Of enormous importance is the correct solution of urgent problems relating to education, culture, religion, the status of women and the youth. Much energy and patience is needed to overcome language, tribal and other difficulties. Democratization of public life and institutions, establishing the machinery of state while providing every outlet for the initiative of the masses, call for the right theoretically and practically substantiated solutions. As these tasks arise the gravitation towards the socialist camp on the international arena and, eventually, after a number of transitional stages, to socialism within the country, will make itself increasingly felt.

Realization of these objective tasks is a stage-by-stage process. The more intensive the revolutionary process, the more rapid will be the approach to scientific socialism, applied in conformity with the concrete conditions of the given country. But where the process is retarded, where socialism is used as a smokescreen for reaction, the masses will have to learn, in the course of sharp class struggles, to distinguish between the false and the genuine action. The Communists, needless to say, sincerely welcome every advance towards scientific socialism. For instance, the communique of a meeting of representatives of the Communists of the countries of the Maghreb and the Arab East, held in December 1964, states: "The participants in this meeting note with satisfaction that socialism is increasingly becoming the cause not of the Communists alone but also of broad sections of non-Communists, patriots and revolutionaries. This does not contradict Marxism-Leninism but, on the contrary, confirms and enriches it. Experience shows that there is only one kind of socialism — scientific socialism, the basic motive force of whose realization is the workers, peasants and the revolutionary intelligentsia."

It should be stressed that *the revolutionary movements of the non-proletarian sections of the working people, of the various petty-bourgeois strata, approach scientific socialism only after the fusion of Marxism and the working-class movement has taken place and resulted*

in major successes. The first is a derivative of second.

The aims, specific features, forms and methods of the class struggle of the proletariat are determined by the stage reached in the development of the basic contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social character of production and private form of appropriation—in the given country, by the basic class antagonism, between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Marxism, whose genesis can be traced to this contradiction, shows how the contradiction of capitalist society can be resolved and the transition to socialism effected. In the former colonial and semi-colonial countries, now independent states, the basic contradictions (both before and after independence) and the main class antagonism differ from those in the West. Hence, the content, forms and methods of the class struggle here are unique and require creative study.

Mass revolutionary movements in which the non-proletarian element predominates may gradually accept Marxism either before political independence, in the course of the liberation struggle, when overthrow of the imperialist yoke and conquest of state power are the main tasks (as has been the case in some countries); or after the winning of political independence, when economic independence becomes the main task and a differentiation of class and political forces takes place in the process. Transitional situations between the two stages become common. In some countries acceptance of some elements of scientific socialism by the mass movement of the working people began in the course of the struggle for national liberation and continued after it was achieved. One of the features of the Egyptian revolution of the early fifties, as the Charter of National Action of the UAR points out, was that the people "began their revolutionary march with no political organization to face the problems of the battle . . . without a complete theory for the revolutionary change." The same thing with variations applies to a number of other countries. It was in the process of the revolutionary movement that the masses searched for the answers to the questions of what kind of organization to build and what ideology to espouse.

To carry the ideas (or, to be more precise, the conclusions) of scientific socialism into the movement of the working people political organization is needed, in other words, a party. The task of this organization is to apply the universally tried and tested principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the given time and country, to unite these ideas with the struggle of the working people. And this implies *creative quests* for new solutions to the new problems.

Organizations bringing Marxism-Leninism into the mass movement fall into two major groups: a) those consciously organized by workers and revolutionary intellectuals; these, as a rule, are Communist parties; b) other

public institutions born of the mass struggle of the working people, organizations heading the struggle or already in power which have begun to approach the positions of scientific socialism.

OBSTACLES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEAS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM IN THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS ENVIRONMENT

The petty-bourgeois masses, primarily the peasantry, constitute the bulk of the population and the main revolutionary force in the newly-emerged countries. The main organizations and leaders in some of these countries have realized this. Moreover, they have to a considerable extent drawn the right conclusions from this by drawing on scientific socialism.

However, some leaders, even those subscribing to radical views, have evinced a tendency to exaggerate the revolutionary potential of the petty bourgeoisie, failing to see its duality and going so far as to deny the revolutionary potential of the proletariat of their own and other countries as well as of the international working class as a whole. To back this up, it is sometimes said that some sections of the working class are relatively better off than others. This, indeed, is the case in countries where the number of relatively well-paid foreign workers was fairly great (as, for instance, in Algeria), or where there were few skilled workers. But Marxists have never considered poverty as such, without regard for the place occupied by one or another section of the working people in social production and public life, as the sole criterion of revolutionary potential. This criterion is more in line with the way of thinking of the oppressed petty-bourgeois and semi-proletarian sections of the population.

The petty bourgeois views held by some people in the newly free countries often visualize developed socialism as a society in which a veritable ocean of small private holdings and business (especially in the countryside) is bound to exist practically for all time. There is no doubt, of course, that in view of the protracted and multi-stage nature of the transition period in some countries the role of small commodity production may be extremely great for a long time to come. Clearly, much thought has to be given to the attitude of the individual peasant, handicraftsman and the small shopkeeper. And it is equally clear that the ways in which they will go over to large-scale social production are bound to be varied. But the transition to large-scale production is inevitable.

In these circumstances searches for the socialist ideal or its elements in the past, in the primitive community, and over-simplified concepts of equality may act as a brake on social change. Sometimes elements of idealistic, predominantly religious views are thrown in to form eclectic admixtures. From the standpoint

of social progress it is essential that the masses should come to see that socialism is a higher stage of development which can be achieved only on the basis of an advanced economy and culture. For a correct understanding of the evolution of the new society rules out attempts to bypass difficult but inevitable stages in the advance to socialism, attempts which could only have grave economic and political consequences.

To sum up, it can be said that, objectively, by virtue of historical necessity, the revolutionary movements of the petty-bourgeois masses stand in ever greater need of scientific socialism applied creatively. It is the prime guarantee of their victory. But the objective need is not realized automatically; for this political consciousness and political organization are essential. In the working class movement this problem was solved by the deepening of socialist consciousness in the masses with the maturing and growth of the Marxist-Leninist parties. But in countries where, for historical reasons, these parties have not yet become a powerful force, political organization of the masses generally is still at the embryonic stage. Needless to say, the initial political associations of the working people may develop in the course of the class struggle into parties guided by the principles of scientific socialism. This possibility will be turned into reality in step with the growth of activity and influence of Marxist groups and the awakening of the masses to the Marxist alternative. Under no circumstances will this come about spontaneously; the driving force of the process is the conscious activity of the vanguard groups with the clearest understanding of the ideas and aims of the working class.

Uniting Marxism-Leninism with the practical struggles of the non-proletarian or semi-proletarian masses involves difficulties and contradictions, involves overcoming inertia. Dissemination of scientific socialism in breadth proceeds relatively fast at certain stages and within certain limits; its development in depth is another matter. Experience shows that it can win supporters among the non-proletarian sections far more easily than it strikes roots and develops in them. Consequently, development of scientific socialism in depth in the process of the transition to new stages of socio-economic and socio-political progress does not always correspond (and certainly not automatically) with its spread in breadth. A contradiction tends to arise between the need creatively to develop scientific socialism in depth (to meet the tasks posed by social evolution) and the tendency to cling to precepts assimilated in the course of its spread in breadth at the previous stage.

The axiom that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action is to be understood in the sense that in order to provide a scientific explanation of the changing reality it must develop itself, absorbing everything new and analyzing the dynamics of change. Hence the need

for profound questing and unflagging effort to overcome the obstacles. Conclusions drawn from the practical experience gained at earlier stages must not be allowed to fossilize into dogma wholly or partly in discord with the new situation. "It is precisely because Marxism is not a lifeless dogma," wrote Lenin in an article "Some Features of the Historical Development of Marxism," "not a final, finished and ready-made, immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action that it was bound to reflect the astonishingly abrupt change in the conditions of social life. A reflection of the change was a profound disintegration and disunity, vacillations of all kinds, in a word, a very serious *internal* crisis of Marxism. The necessity of putting up a determined resistance to this disintegration, of waging a determined and persistent struggle on behalf of the *fundamentals* of Marxism again appeared on the order of the day. *In the preceding period, extremely wide sections of the classes that cannot avoid Marxism in formulating their aims had assimilated Marxism* (Our italics. —A. R., A. L.) in an extremely one-sided and mutilated fashion, having learned by rote certain 'slogans', certain answers to tactical questions, *without having understood* the Marxist criteria of these answers."

The working people of the various countries have in different ways and at different times, arrived at, or are approaching, scientific socialism. But realization of the need for it does not mean that it has been assimilated for all time to come. For this it is essential to develop it further, to apply it to the changing conditions; and apart from everything else such a political organization of the masses is essential as is capable of generalizing their experience and directing their struggles.

The mass revolutionary movement of the non-proletarian and semi-proletarian masses gives rise to diverse kinds of political organizations, including parties accepting scientific socialism. But natural though it is for the latter to rise and grow, the process is by no means automatic. For there are also counter forces at play. The political arena is apt to witness clashes between personal and group interests having little in common with the national interest. And the more diffused the political organization of the masses the greater the danger of individual petty-bourgeois leaders or groups waging their own private feuds for power. The implications are grievous at a time when the transition to a higher stage of development has become an imperative necessity, while progress is still impeded by a coalescence of petty-bourgeois inertia and ideological dogmatism, on the one hand, and bureaucracy and bonapartism in the machinery of state, on the other. The danger is greatest when the army happens to be the only organized political force in a country that has just emerged from armed struggle against colonialism. The problem of achieving a correct balance between the army and civil political or-

ganization (primarily the political parties) is, therefore, of prime importance for the democratic and revolutionary progress of the newly-emerged states.

Marxism-Leninism has provided convincing proof of its ability to chart the best way to ensure social progress in countries where the petty-bourgeois masses predominate. True, experience has shown that the gravitation of the revolutionary struggle of the petty-bourgeois masses towards scientific socialism is an uneven process passing through a number of stages and taking numerous forms; in the various countries the movement towards or acceptance of scientific socialism has taken place at different phases of the national-liberation struggle and in specific ways. But the more the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have been applied to the specific problems of the national-liberation struggle the stronger has been the onslaught against the forces of imperialism and the reactionaries at home, and the more

significant the achievements of the national movements, and, later, of the independent states.

Creative, scientific socialism accords more or less fully with the class interests of the revolutionary petty-bourgeois masses during anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutions and also at the initial stages of the transition to socialist society. But as this society draws nearer, the numbers and role of the working class are bound to grow and ever new sections of the working people will come over to its side. It is the proletariat and the revolutionary parties fully adhering to the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism that everywhere take their place at the head of their nations at the final stages of the transition to socialism. Hence, the future in all the newly-emerged countries belongs to scientific socialism, whose standard-bearers are the proletariat and the intelligentsia standing on the positions of the working class, and which is in the fundamental interests of all working people.

WMR

in the communist and workers parties

Problems and activities of Communist Parties of Scandinavia

SEMINAR OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES

MEETINGS of the Communist parties of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark have become regular occurrences. Their leaders, meeting usually once or twice a year, discuss current international problems and issues affecting the work of their parties, and exchange views. All our parties find this form of cooperation useful; in line with this the Communist parties of the Nordic countries held a five-day seminar over November 15-19 in Finland, which was attended by leaders of the four parties and functionaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland.

Three issues were discussed: monopoly capitalism in the Scandinavian countries and the tasks of the Communists in the fight to curb

its power (a paper on this subject was read by a Swedish comrade); changes in the social composition of the population and the tasks of the parties arising therefrom (a paper was read by a comrade from the Communist Party of Norway); problems associated with the development of united action by the working class and the extension of democracy now and during the transition to socialism (a paper by a comrade from the Communist Party of Finland).

A feature common to all four countries is their rapid economic growth and strengthening of the monopolies. In Sweden, dominated by 15 families of which five predominate, the monopolies have clearly-expressed imperialist

features. They export capital, investing in countries where wages are low and where the possibilities of exploitation are greater than in Sweden. The boards and planning bodies of Swedish enterprises in other countries (there are about 1,100 of these) are located in Sweden. Also typical of Sweden is the high level of employment (moreover, there are many foreign workers in the country) and rapid elimination of the smaller farms. This process is furthered by the fact that the labor no longer needed in the countryside easily finds application in industry and other spheres of the economy.

In Norway alongside more or less large enterprises there are numerous small enterprises. This militates against modernization and weakens the country's competitive power on the world market. Concentration of capital is also pronounced: sixty per cent of industrial capital is in the hands of four per cent of employers. The country is endangered by an inflow of foreign capital. Penetration of U.S. capital is already an accomplished fact, and West German capital penetration is increasing.

The state of affairs in Finland's economy is most contradictory. Unemployment has been rising since 1949, forcing thousands of skilled workers to emigrate. Everybody realizes that this is detrimental to the national economy. Industrial expansion is seen as the way out, yet even the existing enterprises are not working to capacity—a result of the policy pursued by the 20 monopoly families dominating the economic life of the country. The wood-working industry is developed to a greater extent than that permitted by the demand and raw material resources. Textiles and other manufactures encounter great difficulties caused by an agreement concluded with the European Free Trade Association. Another obstacle to expansion is the fact that the opportunities for trading with the socialist countries, which could accelerate industrial development, are not fully utilized.

In Denmark, whose economy is almost wholly dependent on foreign markets, and in particular on import of raw materials, the monopolies, as the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPD pointed out, are also the determining factor, although they are not so strongly entrenched as in Sweden.

In the course of the discussion stress was laid on the need to make a deeper analysis of the economy of the four countries; this would make it easier for the parties concerned to formulate the tasks and draw the masses into the fight for their fulfilment. The more clearly and comprehensively the parties are able to formulate their demands the easier will it be for them to win the support of the working people. The parties should be in a position to advance constructive proposals for the solution of all the problems of the nation.

The parties have suggested measures to curb monopoly rule, of which the most important are the following: enhancing the role of the **state in economic life** through the setting up of state-owned enterprises and nationalization

of the monopoly-owned and foreign-owned enterprises; placing investments under state control; transferring foreign trade to the state; worker and trade union participation in management; extension of trade and other economic relations with the socialist countries.

It was emphasized that, by examining the class relationships and the changes taking place in them, our parties would be able to see the forces and classes oppressed by domestic and foreign capital. In the anti-monopoly struggle we should pass over from general to concrete slogans which are shared and understood by the different groups of the population and which would encourage them to take part in the common struggle. This will be possible if the changes in the composition of the population are studied concretely. It is not enough to rely only on the working class. All the forces exploited by big capital should be drawn into the struggle.

A feature common to all the Nordic countries is the steady flow of rural labor to industry, building, trade, services and government establishments. The number of clerical workers is growing at a particularly rapid rate. More women are entering industry. The growing numbers of clerical workers and those engaged in the services belong directly to the working class: their status is that of workers since they sell their labor in order to earn the means of subsistence. They, too, are mercilessly exploited by the monopolies. In order to draw them into the common struggle against exploitation the Communist parties should pay more attention to the conditions of these sections.

The parties should also study the conditions of the middle sections who make up 20 to 35 per cent of the population in our countries. The position of small manufacturers is particularly hard. The number of bankruptcies among them as a result of monopoly growth is rising steadily. A clear definition of their class status would enable the parties to gain a better idea of the problems of the middle sections and correctly determine our policies in regard to them.

The seminar paid special attention to united action by the working people. It was pointed out that the conditions for united action have improved in all our countries in view of the growing interest shown by the working people in socialism. Socialism is discussed both by workers, in their organizations, and by students and young people generally.

Mutual understanding with the Social Democrats is essential. Ideological differences are, of course, an obstacle. However, it is important to see to it that the obstacles do not impede joint action, for example, in the struggle for higher wages, social benefits, etc. All speakers stressed that on the practical issues progress, in cooperation with the Social Democrats, has been registered and this can be furthered. In Sweden, for instance, where the Communists have so far had to fight single-handed against

the rising prices, this movement has now been joined by numerous Social Democratic circles. Trade unions led by Social Democrats are demanding a general wage increase from 6 to 10 per cent. In Finland Communist-Social Democrat cooperation in municipal councils and in Parliament has been fruitful in a number of cases. Communists are striving to promote united action in every way. When the Social Democratic group in Parliament made an interpellation concerning the government's economic policy they were supported by the People's Democratic group. Thus, the MPs representing the working people can jointly discuss the economic policy of the bourgeois government which runs counter to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population.

In Denmark worker cooperation finds expression in many strikes for better conditions. Closer contact between workers, regardless of political views, and their joint actions are also reflected in the fact that Communists are more and more often elected to trade union posts. This, naturally, creates the conditions for co-

operation also between the different parties.

In the Nordic countries the working people constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. Should we succeed in securing firm unity, founded on confidence in the ranks of this majority, we would be able to secure the solution of all the problems in full conformity with the interests of the working class. In this event the peaceful transition to socialism would also be seen as something not of the remote future but of the near future.

The ways and means of achieving unity can be different, depending on the specific conditions in each country and on the organization of the working class. But what our parties have in common is the need to secure cooperation of all working-class organizations.

The seminar was useful in that it helped our parties better to acquaint themselves with each other's work and to exchange views. It is our common opinion that more seminars of this kind should be held.

Aulis Leppanen

CONGRESS OF DANISH COMMUNISTS

THE TWENTY-SECOND Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark, held in Copenhagen on November 5-7, 1965, heard and discussed the report of the Central Committee, reports of the auditing and control commissions, and various proposals on the major political and organizational questions submitted to the Congress.

The report of the Central Committee, "New Prospects and Roads Before Denmark," was made by Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Party, who analyzed the economic and political situation in the country and the problems confronting the Communist Party and the entire working-class movement. A major part of the report dealt with problems of foreign policy.

Jespersen pointed out that in this period of booming business activity the capitalists had been able to strengthen their positions. Nineteenths of all property increases in recent years had benefited the bourgeoisie. The fight for progress in Danish society is a fight against big capital. However, the leaders of Social Democracy, which forms the government, have chosen not to restrict the power of big capital but to rule jointly with it and in its interests. Citing a number of examples of the activity of the Social Democratic government in the interests of the monopolies, the speaker stressed that progress in Denmark cannot be assured so long as Social Democracy continues to function as a "business-manager" of the capitalists and cooperates with the bourgeois parties.

Combating monopoly is the task of the working class. To the handful of big capitalists is counterposed the majority of the people, primarily the 800,000 organized industrial workers and the 600,000-700,000 organized office workers who are directly exploited by the big capitalists. Small farmers, handicraftsmen and the middle strata are also feeling the pressure of big capital. All of them represent a force which could, under the leadership of the working class, put an end to the power of the monopolies and pave the way for the advance towards completely new objectives. These aims go beyond the struggle for purely economic interests since what is in question is the very existence of the nation and its future.

"It is time that a clear distinction be made between the Left and the Right in Danish policy," Congress was told by Ib Norlund, Secretary of the Central Committee. "And so we say: forget about the bogey of anti-communism which diverts you from the road when the issue at stake is the struggle against the Right. Let us find a basis on which the Left can unite around the burning issues of our time."

Who in Denmark can be identified as belonging to the Left? Norlund stressed that "this cannot and should not be stipulated in advance. It must be shown by facts and the true attitude adopted by people. We have no desire to deprive anyone of affiliation with the Left. On the contrary, we want to break the obsolete demarcation lines in Danish policy." The CPD is fighting for the vital interests of the work-

ing people. It owes its considerable success in the recent elections of shopstewards in the factories to its struggle for the genuine aims of the trade union movement. "The confidence shown in Communists in these elections was perhaps the greatest in the entire history of both the Party and the trade unions," stressed Jespersen.

But the Congress also pointed to the need to improve the work of the Party in the trade unions. If they are to carry out their tasks and unite the democratic forces, the working-class organizations should abandon their present policy of accommodation and passivity and operate as independent and active class organizations. This aim should be served by establishing broad unity in the factories between trade union members belonging to different parties of the working class.

Congress formulated the main demands of the working class in its fight against the monopolies. The program calls for a 40-hour week, four weeks' holidays, a substantial wage-rise for low-paid workers, and equal wages for women. All big financial and business organizations should be placed under effective democratic control, and the big banks, insurance companies and building trusts nationalized. Full publicity should be given to relations between capital, and drastic measures taken to combat big companies and to their contacts with foreign land profiteering and inflation. The catastrophic state of affairs in housing must be resolutely combated so that each citizen shall have the right to a modern dwelling at a reasonable rent.

The report paid special attention to the fight for democracy and socialism. "The fight for the transition to socialism is always a democratic action, for it brings freedom to the overwhelming majority of the people," said Jespersen. "Socialism is the continuation of the best traditions of the democratic struggle of our people." Socialist democracy will be inviolable, and the existence of the multi-party system guaranteed by the constitution.

The fight to extend democracy is directly linked up with the problem of factory and office workers having a share in management. Congress stressed that the working class is interested in "industrial democracy," but more than this is needed. A start could be made by introducing the right to have a say in the running of all state-owned and municipal enterprises, which would contribute to realizing other demands of the working people. This calls for completely new labor legislation guaranteeing the right to strike and ruling out compulsory arbitration in any form. "The conditions of wages and labor should be determined through free negotiations, using all ways and means to this end, according to the principle: negotiation — arbitration — and, if no agreement is reached, the right to action," the Central Committee reports.

The conditions of the working-class movement in Denmark are aggravated by the exis-

tence of three working-class parties. Proceeding from the specific relationships between these parties, Jespersen defined the Communist attitude as follows: "It would be unrealistic to speak of broad cooperation on the basis of agreement between the parties, but we can mitigate the consequences of the split through united action for common aims by the Communists and the members of the other two parties. Working-class unity of action alone can remove the artificial barrier which big capital seeks to buttress. Unity is the sole way to enhance the influence of the working class as a whole. But this aim cannot be achieved by any one party, be it the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party or the Socialist People's Party. Nevertheless, united action can pave the way for working-class unity, which is the aim of our struggle."

Norlund stressed the need for a creative approach in elaborating the policy of the Party. "Ours is a revolutionary party, a party which wants to transform society. As members of this party, we should always learn to find a new approach to problems. But we also know from our experience that immeasurable damage is caused to the working class if its party allows itself to be diverted from consistently socialist positions. Not every change is a change for the better. To find the answer to the new problems of our time, proceeding from their Marxist-Leninist interpretation, that is what we understand by regeneration."

Close attention was paid to foreign policy matters. Delegates spoke about the danger with which Denmark's continued participation in NATO and the strengthening of revenge-seeking West German militarism are fraught for the country. Congress urged that not later than 1969, when the term of the NATO pact expires, Denmark should withdraw from this aggressive bloc. Denmark has every possibility of breaking free from the policy of blocs and of taking the road to neutrality. The Baltic socialist countries, with which a delegation of the Danish Party had talks, declared their readiness, should the Danish people so wish, to participate in a system of guarantees for Denmark's neutrality. The Communist Party, the Congress stressed, should do its utmost to organize a popular movement for neutrality.

The Congress pointed to the need to restore unity in the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. "The internationalist community of equal parties making up the Communist family," Jespersen said, "does not imply any restriction of the independence of parties. It is the source of renewed strength."

After a thorough discussion, in which 51 delegates took part, Congress unanimously endorsed the report of the Central Committee and adopted a political manifesto "New Roads Before Denmark" which set forth the basic tasks of the Party and the working class. Delegates also adopted a number of other documents, specifically statements on trade

union democracy and the right of the working people to have a say in running the enterprises, and on the Party paper *Land og Folk*.

The Congress was widely representative—200 delegates, 165 of whom were workers, took part in its work. It is indicative that nearly 40 per cent of the delegates (73) were not older than 40. About 100 visitors were present.

Congress was attended by delegations from 17 fraternal parties, and received greetings from the parties of many other countries.

At the closing session Congress elected the leading committees of the Party. The new Central Committee unanimously elected Comrade Knud Jespersen Chairman of the Party.

P. ERIKSEN

SWEDEN: BUILDING A MASS PARTY

IN RECENT YEARS the Communist Party of Sweden has not made any great progress in the sphere of organization. Our Party is evidently no exception in this respect, at least as far as advanced capitalist countries are concerned.

The gap between the organizational strength of the Party and its actual influence as manifested during elections, in mass movements, in trade union and other organizations has if anything widened.

It is an oft-repeated claim of the bourgeois and Social Democratic "experts" that in the "affluent society," as the monopoly society is now termed, the objective conditions for the Communist parties to become mass parties do not exist.

This persistent propaganda has had a certain influence on some Communists as well. Not a few members of the Party voice misgivings as to the possibility in the present conditions of achieving any appreciable increase in the size of the Party or its branches. Would it not be better under the circumstances, they say, to raise the level of the present membership? Is it not better to have a small organization of politically mature militants than a big and unwieldy organization many of whose members are passive and fulfil none of the functions provided for by the Party Rules?

It is not difficult to see whither such sentiments could lead were they allowed to take the upper hand. The Party would become a sect of self-righteous "orthodox thinkers" always ready with quotations from Marx or Lenin to "explain" all the complex situations that arise in our changing world, but hardly capable of effectively influencing developments. This is fraught with the danger of the Party becoming a mere observer of political events instead of the organizing and guiding force it should be in the various mass movements if it is to fulfil its historical and current tasks.

DISCUSSION OF NEW WAYS

The Communist Party of Sweden, which in recent years has partly succeeded in breaking through the isolation caused by the cold war, is now endeavoring to find new ways of extri-

cating itself from its organizational stagnation.

A discussion of the problem of building a mass party was conducted in the Party prior to our Twentieth Congress (January 1964). Organizational structure and methods of Party work were also examined. After the Congress the discussion was continued in the local organizations and in the Party press. Moreover the problem of building a stronger, mass party has been thoroughly studied in the past few years by a special working group organized by the Executive Committee for this purpose.

A meeting of the Executive Committee held in October 1965 was devoted almost exclusively to Party building and methods of work. The draft of new rules submitted to the meeting is presently being discussed in all Party organizations in preparation for the Twenty-First Congress of the Party to be held early in 1967. The draft may be described as an attempt to apply and develop in Swedish conditions Lenin's theory of the Party, taking into account the changes that have taken place in the meantime.

THE NEW SITUATION

The balance of world forces has decidedly changed in favor of socialism. In Sweden, as in a number of other countries, the prospect of a peaceful transition to socialism is considered quite feasible. The present program of our Party envisages the possibility of accomplishing the revolution by peaceful, democratic means, in other words, without an armed uprising by the working class and the majority of the people.

At the time Lenin's theory of the Party was elaborated a perspective of this kind was extremely hypothetical. At that time, despite the desire of the working class to take the peaceful road, the situation was such that power could only be won through an armed uprising against the rule of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. This found expression both in the program and in the Rules of the Bolshevik Party. Experience, moreover, confirmed the correctness of Lenin's approach to this question.

The new perspective now opening up should

be reflected not only in the program but also in the Rules of the Party. And the proposed changes take this into account.

BUREAUCRATIC CENTRALISM, A BRAKE

In the course of the general discussion it emerged that the rigid centralism reflected in the present Rules had inhibited initiative and activity in the various Party organizations, thereby hindering the realization of the main condition for turning the CPS into a mass Party whose activity would take account of the interests of the population of the different areas of the country. Detailed directives handed down from the center took the place of lively political discussion in the Party organizations and stifled the latter's initiative. These directives "relieved" individual members of the necessity to think for themselves and to display the political initiative dictated by the situation in the given town or at the given enterprise. What is wanted today is not detailed directives from the center but measures designed to stimulate independent political initiative within the context of the general political line of the Party. In this respect open discussion of political and tactical problems plays a decisive role and should be encouraged in every way.

The Party fully endorses the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and is guided by it. But it is opposed to this principle being distorted and degenerating into bureaucratic centralism.

The rights of members and of the basic organizations of the Party must be recorded in the Rules.

FACILITATING ADMISSION TO THE PARTY

The stringent conditions for admission to the Party set forth in the present Rules as well as the obligation of each member to take an active part in Party work will be considerably modified in the event of the Congress adopting the draft Rules now being submitted. It is proposed to waive the present requirement of two Party recommendations for admission to membership in the Party. This point in the present Rules creates difficulties for sympathizers who wish to join the Party but are not personally acquainted with any of its members and are hence unable to join. Moreover this requirement imparts a kind of conspiratorial flavor to the Party and hampers its growth as a legal organization.

The door to membership should be opened wide to all who wish to join. The basic requirement of the member is that he should recognize the program and Rules and belong to a Party branch. According to the new draft, the member will be free to choose the particular activity best suited to his abilities and inclinations. The main idea of the draft can be expressed thus: in future membership of the Party should not be regarded as something exceptional. The rules should confirm the fact that the CPS,

which is fighting for broader democracy in all spheres of the life of society, can itself serve as an example of democracy both as regards structure and forms of activity.

In connection with the revision of the Rules, numerous problems relating to methods of work are now under discussion. The main question is that of Party work in the mass organizations, and above all in the trade unions.

END FACTIONAL STRIFE

The trade union movement, like the other big mass organizations—consumers' cooperatives, tenants' associations, and educational organizations—originated in the need of one or another social group to safeguard its specific interests. These organizations developed parallel with the political associations of the labor movement and are linked by a common ideal and a common goal.

The division of the working-class movement into two political parties had its repercussions in the trade union movement and other mass organizations, and the negative effects of this split have not yet been fully ascertained. Winning positions in these organizations and leadership of them became the sources of strife between the working-class parties. In many trade unions this took the form of intense factional struggle during elections to the executives of trade unions and when other leading bodies were being formed. Such interference in the internal affairs of the trade unions injures them and partly paralyzes their activity. For this reason the Communist Party condemns such factional strife and considers it harmful.

Communists want to play their part in the trade unions not merely because they are Communists, but because they stand four-square for the interests of the working-class.

In elections to one or another position in the trade union movement or other public organization it is the candidate's qualifications and not his party affiliation that should be decisive. In unions where factional struggles are rife many members tend to question the independence of their union. The outcome is that many unions lose prestige among large sections of the members who begin to shy away from trade union activity and to avoid union meetings. Such a situation can hardly serve the interests of the working class; on the contrary, it plays into the hands of the class enemy.

INDEPENDENT THINKING

The new draft Rules proceed from the assumption that it is not the task of the primary organizations of the Party to supervise the activities of the trade unions, or what is more, to replace them. Their task is to help to activate the members of trade unions. Communists should advance positive proposals, taking account of the interests of the organization as a whole, and should themselves take an active

part in the work of the unions. The Communists should be guided in their activity by the program, Rules and the objectives of the trade union movement.

The draft Party Rules say outright that it is not the job of Party organizations to instruct their members as to how they should vote or act on one or another trade union issue.

The new draft says success won by a trade union in the fight for better conditions for its members can never conflict with the aims of the Communist Party. There is no real danger that the interests of the Party and the trade unions might clash.

NEW FORMS OF POLITICAL WORK

Serious attention is being paid to the new conditions in which political work in the enterprises should now be conducted. The speed-up, automation and the new labor processes have the effect of hampering direct contact between the workers in the enterprises. Branch meetings in factories are held only in exceptional cases. This is due, among other things, to the lack of premises. The lunch break, which formerly could be used to some extent for branch meetings, has now been reduced to a minimum.

There are other reasons why it is becoming increasingly difficult to hold the traditional type of Party meeting. With the growing need for more time for leisure and recreation, and the increasing distance between the place of work and the place of residence, especially in the larger cities, the mass organizations are beginning to talk of a "crisis of organizational work." Yet collective discussion and collective work is an essential form of Party work, one of the ways of cementing the Party's ranks. It is necessary to make a careful study of this problem and to find new forms of assembly and organizational activity better adapted to contemporary conditions.

HOW TO ESTABLISH CLOSER CONTACT

One of the methods of bringing sympathizers nearer to the Party is that of the institution known as Party supporters.

During the last election, for every Party member who voted Communist there were ten or eleven non-Party voters. These persons of course are not prepared to work actively in the Party. Many of them, however, would willingly establish closer contact with us. In their case recognition of the Rules and the program of the Party is not required. The brief program statement issued on this point defines the "supporter" as a person who wishes to help towards the socialist regeneration of Swedish politics and to support the activity of the working-class movement aimed at popularizing socialist ideas and translating them into practical politics."

This enables the Party to win over large numbers of sympathizers. Holders of "supporter" cards can attend meetings of the Party branches, have the right to take part in discussions and to submit proposals, but they have no vote. The Executive Committee, in its recommendation to the lower organizations, stresses that they should endeavor to interest the "supporters" in Party work. At the moment this campaign is seen as an experiment. However in the few weeks since it was begun, we have been able to register thousands of such people, and there is every ground for assuming that the experiment will be a success. Many branches have already exceeded their target of drawing in "supporters" in numbers equal to the branch membership.

It should be stressed that our "supporters" differ from the probationer members of the Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries. This is a form of organization aimed at attracting as many people as possible to the Party. Naturally it is from among these "supporters" that the new members of the Party will be drawn.

THE PUBLIC CHARACTER OF PARTY LIFE

The principle of public party life mentioned in the proposals for the new Rules and new organizational methods is highly significant. The congresses and annual regional conferences of the Party will be open to the press and the public. The Communist Party does not engage in any activity that need be concealed from the public. The Party branches are not conspiratorial groups, they are associations engaged in tackling the political problems of everyday life with a view to strengthening the working class in its fight to extend democracy and to work for peace and socialism.

The principle of public life was fully applied for the first time at the Twentieth Congress of our Party. The experiment was so successful that other Swedish parties have since followed the Communist example and begun to hold congresses open to the public.

The problems which the committee on Rules and organizational activity has submitted for discussion at the Twenty-First Congress of the Party may be summed up as follows:

—to work out Rules and organizational forms which would reflect the place the Party occupies as an inalienable part of the Swedish working-class movement, conform to the present conditions and further the aim of developing the CPS into a mass party;

—to reinforce and extend Party democracy, simplify and facilitate leadership in the Party, create the conditions for greater activity and initiative both by individual members and by the branches, find new ways of involving the membership in Party life.

Gunnar OEHRMAN

FINLAND: HOW A DISTRICT PARTY COMMITTEE TACKLES ITS PROBLEMS

THE DISTRICT AND ITS SOCIAL CROSS-SECTION

SATAKUNTA DISTRICT, which takes in three towns and 39 rural communes in Southwest Finland with a total population of 230,000, is a traditional stronghold of the Left working-class movement. The Communist Party has branches in the main industrial enterprises and in all but three of the rural communities. The branches are strongest in the industrial center. In the general elections held since the end of the war some 25 per cent of the electorate have voted for the People's Democratic bloc.

Notable changes have taken place in the social composition of the population in recent times. Some ten years ago the district was the country's second most important agricultural area, with 40 per cent of the population engaged in farming. But in the ten years 1950-60 the number working in agriculture and timber-felling declined by 21,600 or 11.1 per cent.

Today the district occupies third place in Finland for industrial development, and the population of the ten communities in which industry predominates is steadily growing. According to data of the State Planning Agency, these communities accounted for 35.9 per cent of the district's population in 1950 and 41 per cent in 1960, and the percentage is expected to go up to 65.9 by 1990.

THE MAIN TASKS AND PROBLEMS FACING THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE

The changes in the composition of the population have confronted the Party District Committee with three problems: a) how to strengthen the political and organizational positions of the Party, especially in the industrial centers; b) how to influence the new and growing sections engaged in trade, transport and the services, and c) how to organize Party educational work in the changed conditions.

It should be noted that we often lag behind the changes taking place in the social make-up of the population, with the result that we react belatedly in planning our work. This is due to the fact that we do not always have at our disposal the research data on which the other parties can draw in their political work, and at times we underestimate the value of such research. Certain headway has already been made in solving the first of these problems, but as regards the other two, we have only taken the initial steps.

The District Committee is conducting systematic work in the industrial centers and the bigger communities. Due largely to its close contact with the membership, our branches

are playing an influential part in public life.

Although we maintain contact with the bigger enterprises, there are many small factories and workshops with which we are not in touch. The mass work conducted by our members in the industrial centers and other communities extends to the enterprises, trade unions, workers' sports movement and municipal councils.

The second of the aforementioned problems presents greater difficulties because of our weaker contact with some sections engaged in trade, transport and the services. The District Committee is tackling this problem by supporting the trade unions of these groups in order to help them make the first step towards a higher level of class consciousness. Though progress is rather slow, we are certain that this is the right approach.

With the growing popularity of television and the other mass media people have become less interested in meetings and public social gatherings. The old methods of ideological work are no longer effective. Yet it remains the duty of the Party to carry on educational work and to keep the people informed of its activities and aims. In order to do this we believe that the local People's Democratic newspaper should give better coverage to local problems and efforts made to boost its circulation. All the district and local People's Democratic organizations are now working in this direction. At the same time, we bear in mind that personal contact has by no means lost its significance. The important thing is to find new ways of bringing our views, suggestions and achievements to the attention of the public. For instance, the Education Department of the District Committee sponsored a public debate between Communists and Social Democrats on the subject "The Conditions for United Action Between the Workers' Parties and the Obstacles in the Way." The debate attracted an unexpectedly big audience, including many Social Democrats, and proved to be very useful indeed. We intend to arrange more discussions on pressing social problems.

OUR EXPERIENCE

The District Committee consists of 30 members elected at the annual district conference. It meets 6-8 times a year, current business between sessions being handled by a Bureau of seven. The Committee also has sub-committees for education, trade unions and industry, sports, and finance, and another in charge of the recreation park belonging to the Committee. There are also committees formed jointly with other People's Democratic organizations to take care of election campaigns and to deal

with municipal affairs, as well as a joint editorial board for the district paper and a committee in charge of its circulation. More than 60 comrades work in these committees, which have some notable accomplishments to their credit.

A partial enumeration of the problems tackled may afford a better idea of the functions of the District Committee. Our long-range task is, as before, to rally the people to curb the big capitalists. In our district there are three influential industrial groupings; the Rosenlew, owned by the Rosenlew and Frenchel families, the Rauma-Repola, belonging to the Honkajauri family, and the Ahlstroem concern. During election campaigns, for instance, we concentrate our fire on them in order to defeat the party coalition backed by them. We have had some gains in this respect. In the last municipal elections the Right-wing coalition lost two council seats in Pori, and in the general election held earlier the reactionary candidate who sought re-election lost his seat.

At present we are campaigning to compel the three capitalist family groups to invest their capital in our district and thereby provide more jobs instead of exporting locally-made profit to other capitalist countries. Another demand is heavier taxation of the big capitalists concerns whose tax-evasion manipulations add to the tax burden on the working people. There is no doubt that the work done by the District Committee with the object of curbing the big capitalists and exposing them as exploiters has done much to heighten political consciousness among the people. And this helps to pave the way towards a broad anti-monopoly front.

A few years ago a mass movement developed in our district against the monopolies handling the processing and marketing of farm produce. The monopolies combined to squeeze out a local cooperative meat packing enterprise set up by small businessmen and cattle farmers. Backed by the banks, they cut off credits to the local enterprise, in which the livestock farmers had invested some FM2 million, and forced it to close down. The operation was an object lesson in how monopoly domination works.

The District Committee took part in the protest movement which gained wide scope among the population. Although some comrades argued that our Party should not get involved in a dispute between two groups of capitalists, we entered the struggle to safeguard the jobs of the workers involved, to ensure the livestock farmers higher prices for their cattle, to provide consumers with cheaper and better meat, and to uphold the right of the local cooperative enterprise to exist. In general the Party exerted considerable influence on the course of the fight. Thanks to it (and also to our district paper) the struggle was waged with great tenacity and attracted nationwide attention. Although the monopolies won in the end, the political implications of the struggle were positive. The important thing was that the small

shopkeepers, farmers and workers obtained a close-up of the true face of the monopolies and realized that they could be defeated only by waging a better organized and more resolute struggle. The small shopkeepers and cattle farmers could see for themselves that the Communists uphold their interests as well. This helped to dispel anti-Communist prejudices. In general the experience gained is valuable for the continuing anti-monopoly struggle.

The District Committee is now paying much attention to renewal of the collective agreements for the new year. In an industrial district with a large number of factory and building workers, this is an important area of Party work especially since the trade unions are split three ways and the employers are dead set against any substantial wage increases. The Committee will have to examine in detail the grounds on which the various unions advance wage claims and demands for better conditions, for it is important correctly to assess the workers' resolve to fight and their chances of victory. Our task is to work together with the Communists in the enterprises and in the unions to prepare the ground for determined mass struggles and to ensure these struggles the maximum support of other sections of the population. The various sections of the working people should see the Communists in the forefront, actively supporting their demands. To stand on the sidelines would be an inexcusable mistake. The District Committee intends to throw its full weight into the wages campaign, and plans to call a district conference to discuss the issue. Every effort must be made to make the renewed labor contracts as advantageous as possible for the workers.

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The People's Democratic Union has strong organizations in the district. It plays a big role in the municipal bodies, and takes an active part in national campaigns. The Union's district and local organizations enjoy the support of broad sections of the working people and have made notable headway in the fight for social reforms. The District Committee maintains close contact with Party members working in these organizations.

Another growing organization is the Finland-USSR Society. It has an active district committee and local branches which are working to strengthen friendship between Finland and the Soviet Union by sponsoring exchanges of all kinds between the two countries.

Our influence among the youth is still weak. Last year's municipal elections, for instance, showed that we failed to win the support of the young people who went to the polls for the first time. Our election campaign obviously had not appealed to the youth. The old-time youth organizations no longer attract new members. The reasons for this can be traced to the changes in the way of life since the war

and the influence exerted on the young people by capitalist propaganda. The District Committee is very much concerned about the lack of contact with the youth. The problem is of prime importance from the standpoint of the future of the movement. Clearly, we must tackle the ideological, political and organizational problems relating to the youth without delay. The need for this is underscored if only by the fact that the average age of our membership is steadily rising. I believe it would be a big mistake to underestimate the importance of the problem or to put off its solution until seemingly more urgent organizational tasks are carried out.

THE PARTY BRANCHES

We have branches of three types: factory branches, territorial branches in urban communities, and rural branches. The factory organizations have proved best able to solve the concrete issues confronting them.

The branches are the most important link in the overall organizational set-up. It is thanks to them that the Party has strengthened its positions. If the branches do not function properly neither will the Party as a whole.

There are, however, a number of shortcomings in the functioning of the branches. They meet too rarely and the meetings are attended by too few members. They do not display sufficient initiative and independence. There are, of course, many reasons for this but we in the District Committee believe that one of the main reasons is that the Committee has not placed due emphasis on the need for independent activity at branch level. Mistakes have been made, such as substituting meetings of Party activists for branch work, issuing far too detailed instructions to the branches, setting them tasks without taking into account

the existing conditions and possibilities, and giving them superficial guidance. The function of the branches has been reduced to carrying out instructions, whereas independent elaboration and implementation of Party policy should constitute an important aspect of their work. More emphasis must be placed on this aspect, otherwise initiative will be stifled in the primary organizations. Activity at branch level will be stimulated by the knowledge that the voice of the membership is heard and that their wishes are respected. If a primary organization identifies itself with the cause of the Party as a whole there will never be a shortage of people to carry out assignments and the general level of activity will rise.

This problem calls for a political solution which we believe can be found along the following lines:

1. The District Committee should attach due importance to branch work. It should see to it that the primary organizations take a more critical attitude towards shortcomings in the functioning of leading committees in order to help overcome them. More attention should be paid to the decisions and opinions of the branches.

2. Initiative on their part should be stimulated in every way and when important decisions are projected, their views should be ascertained in advance whenever possible. Petty tutelage must be vigorously condemned and done away with.

3. The District Committee should in no way infringe the interests of the branches or restrict their activities. Everything should be done to reinforce the faith of branches and members in their ability independently to solve problems posed by political life. Inner-Party democracy should be deepened both in adopting decisions and in carrying them out.

Leo MARMIO

Communists of Paraguay prepare for congress

IN 1955 A CONFERENCE of the Paraguayan Communist Party decided to convene its Third National Congress. The Congress, however, has not been held, and the Party still has no Rules. Its Central Committee and Political Commission have been abolished. An extremely abnormal situation has developed in the organizational activity of the PCP and its inner life.

"In these conditions of complete organizational abnormality and of grave dangers that have arisen and which threaten the very existence of the political vanguard of the working class . . . at meetings of Party functionaries, rank and file and founders of the Party, with the support of the branches, a *Commission for the Defense and Reorganization of the Paraguayan Communist Party* has been formed, which assumes all the functions of the central leadership with the principal task of convening in the shortest time, the Third National Congress of the Party," says a statement issued by the Commission and printed in September 1965 in issue No. 22 of *Unidad Paraguay*.

The document points out that a critical and extremely dangerous situation has developed in the Party owing to systematic violation of the Leninist principles and standards of leadership.

The PCP, working in the conditions of the brutal Stroessner dictatorship, has the task ". . . to overthrow the dictatorship and free the nation from North American domination." The Commission stresses that in order to cope with this task it is essential "to defend the Party on the basis of its consistently proletarian line expressed in the democratic national-liberation revolution and in its fidelity to proletarian internationalism."

"The Paraguayan Communist Party," the statement goes on, "has a program which synthesizes the objective need for deep-going changes and the striving of the working class, the peasantry and the people as a whole towards these changes. It is a program for a democratic revolution of national liberation. In the conditions prevailing in Paraguay the peaceful road to revolution is closed. "Pacification" and collusion between the anti-national tyranny and the pro-Yankee leaders of the latifundist and bourgeois opposition are political traps set by the Yankee middlemen with

a view to bolstering up and supporting the anti-national military regime. . . . An armed uprising by the people is needed in order to overthrow this regime of terror, form a provisional government of democratization and establish a regime of complete freedom. This is the first and main step towards the realization of the profound anti-imperialist and agrarian changes and the establishment of a Constitutional Democratic Republic on a solid foundation.

"The line of the Paraguayan Communist Party consists in utilizing and combining in the broadest way all forms of the struggle, both peaceful and armed, with the aim of rallying the masses for their urgent economic and democratic demands and gradually preparing the conditions and necessary forces for the victorious uprising of the people."

The statement points out that "in its aims and thanks to the wide socio-political range of the forces which orient themselves towards armed struggle, the guerrilla movement can acquire a broad and firm national-democratic character capable of attracting the sympathies and active support of the vast majority of the people, democrats and patriots from all parties.

"It is imperative to make the widest use of all the possibilities for legal work so as to promote, on the broadest possible scale, the mobilization and organization of the masses. . . . This line and the practical activity of the Party have exerted and continue to exert considerable influence on the people's revolutionary movement in our country. Increasingly broader sections of the population regard the Communists as their true servants and are guided by the words and slogans of the Party. This is a result of the selfless efforts made by hundreds of Party functionaries and the rank and file to carry into effect the sound political line of the Party."

But for a long time these efforts came up against serious internal obstacles and difficulties. In the above-mentioned statement the Paraguayan Communists make a thorough analysis of the "basic internal factor hampering the prosecution of the Party line and the building of Party ranks." Grave damage was caused to the organizations and the Party as a whole by the basically anti-Leninist concepts

and methods of leadership. The disrupting and damaging activity sapped the forces of the Party from within. An apparatus for the persecution of Communists was created under the leadership of Oscar Creydt, former General Secretary, designed to "gag" the Party. In this way initiative and thinking, the spirit of criticism and internal democracy were suppressed. Democratic centralism and collective leadership were replaced with one-man, uncontrolled leadership. This paralyzing policy, says the statement, became the main obstacle to the development in the Party of a practical and ideological struggle against the mistakes and shortcomings impeding the line for *continuous and profound work with the masses*.

The Party analyzed facts showing that a feature of Creydt's activity "has been and remains the constant gap between theory and practice, between what he says and what he does." The document exposes the methods of disrupting the Party, the ideological and class roots of the struggle against the adoption of Rules, the false "self-criticism" of Creydt after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the liquidationist methods used in the struggle for unity, the crimes against Party security, which constitute the last stage of the policy of destroying the Party, as well as Creydt's ideological and practical break with proletarian internationalism and his desertion to the positions of bourgeois nationalism and provocative activity in the international Communist movement.

One of the basic tasks facing the Commission is the complete restoration of normal and fraternal relations with all Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of proletarian internationalism, equality, independence and mutual aid. The PCP vigorously denounces manifestations of factionalism both in its own ranks and in the international Communist movement.

All Party organizations were instructed to examine and discuss the steps needed for the reorganization and defense of the Party and

its tasks in the sphere of mass work. At the same time all documents pertaining to the preparation of the Third Congress, primarily the draft program, Rules and theses on the political situation in the country and the strategical and tactical line, will be discussed in conditions of complete freedom.

The preparations for the Third Congress, the statement says, should be combined with more intense and uninterrupted efforts aimed at rallying the masses to fight for their economic and democratic demands, for foiling the U.S.-sponsored conspiracy, and for the release of all patriots languishing in prison; it should be combined with work to popularize the program of national liberation and win the people over to the path of the revolution; and it should ensure the growth and consolidation of the Party organizationally.

"A Marxist-Leninist party does not fear, and should not fear, to look the facts in the face, no matter how grave, and to analyze them openly. The situation in which our Party finds itself is grave indeed. This should not be concealed. However, the Paraguayan Communist Party enjoys political prestige among the people, is equipped with a basically correct program and political line, has experienced proletarian cadres, experienced leaders and many young functionaries and rank-and-file Communists who want to assimilate and creatively apply Marxism-Leninism in practice, and, what is particularly important, it is part of the international Communist movement whose support and solidarity it enjoys. By setting in motion and developing these forces, the Party is capable of working miracles."

Notwithstanding the difficulties, the Paraguayan Communists, acting openly and filled with confidence in the strength of the working class and its Party, are preparing for the Third National Congress of their Party.

Antonio MORA
Victor ALONSO

Party life in brief

ARGENTINA

From October 6 to November 7 the Communist Party of Argentina held a *Communist press month*. During this month a short course on journalism was organized, special meetings were held with press agents, lectures and reports were made on the Communist press and booklets and leaflets were put out on the subject.

Plans for the campaign were elaborated on the basis of the discussions on the question held during September in all Party organizations. The plans called for every Party member to be a reader and distributor of *Nuestra Palabra*, weekly organ of the Party. This is quite feasible considering the fact that the number of persons contributing to the Party fund exceeds the number of the weekly's regular readers. It was stressed that some members are not aware of the political and ideological importance of the paper and that this is due not so much to the fact that they are not in the habit of reading but simply that they are not informed about the paper. It should therefore be popularized in every possible way.

Nuestra Palabra wrote in this connection: "... we must enlarge the circulation machinery in every Party organization, at all levels and particularly in the enterprises. This will enable us to draw more people into the Party and reinforce it, to broaden our contacts with the masses and to raise their political and ideological level."

Along with organizational measures the Party also set the task of improving the content of its press. It noted that *Nuestra Palabra* was now devoting more space to the demands of the working people and to the struggle being waged by all sections of the people. But "being the main organ upholding unity" it must "more sharply conduct the polemic against attitudes and statements hampering the Party's struggle for unity, and particularly against the Right-wing Peronists. This is essential for the enlightenment of the masses and for the movement toward unity and the National Democratic Front. This kind of polemic will arouse interest in our press."

Press month ended with a special issue of the weekly devoted to the forty-eighth anniversary of the October Revolution. The issue sold 100,000 copies.

Communist press month in the Argentine has

become an index of the growing influence of the Communist Party. "The first stage has been successful," writes *Nuestra Palabra*. "We must now consolidate this success by increasing the number of readers in our day-to-day work. The anniversary celebration of the Communist Party on January 6, must become the second stage of the campaign to popularize the press which must match the influence, organization and prestige of the Party."

WEST GERMANY

At present there are over one million foreign workers in West Germany. Of this number which includes more than 200,000 women, 299,000 are from Italy, 160,000 from Greece, 157,000 from Spain, 85,200 from Turkey and the rest from another 60 countries. More than 300,000 foreign workers are employed in the metallurgical and metal processing industries; 244,000 in various other enterprises, 242,000 in the mines and the rest in the catering services and transport. The Communist Party is demanding equal social rights for all foreign workers in Federal Germany.

Common class interests unite the German workers with their foreign comrades. The latter, however, as a result of strong economic, political and psychological pressure, are in many cases reluctant to join the trade unions. To complicate matters some trade union leaders will support the foreign workers only if they are union members. However, in many enterprises the trade unions are through foreign language papers urging the foreign workers to join the unions.

Communists are demanding that representatives of the foreign workers be allowed to attend meetings of the factory committee. They oppose discrimination of any kind and urge constitutional, social and democratic rights for all foreign workers, equal pay for equal work, and the right to choose where they want to work. The Communist Party is also demanding better conditions, lower rents, and freedom of political activity for the foreign workers, the prohibition of fascist organizations and centers on the territory of Federal Germany engaged in propaganda among the foreign workers, and abolition of the system of registering "political suspects" introduced by the authorities. It is also insisting that the centers contracting foreign workers, as well as all

public amenities for foreign workers in the enterprises and outside should come under the control of the German trade unions and democratic trade unions abroad.

POLAND

In June 1964 the Fourth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party stated in its resolutions that "efforts should be made to increase the membership of the Party in the enterprises, on the construction sites and in transport, in a word, wherever the Party organizations embrace only part of the collective, and endeavor to draw workers, particularly skilled workers, into its ranks."

In June 1964 the Party had 1,600,000 members and candidate-members of whom some 640,000 were workers; on October 1, 1965, the figure was 1,748,049 members and candidate-members. Of the newly accepted members 46.8 per cent are workers, 15.9 per cent, peasants and 31.3 per cent, mental workers.

Also the network of Party organizations has expanded and now includes 6,925 primary Party organizations and 11,976 shop Party organizations. This is an increase of 807 and 555 respectively over the year. These figures do not include the 4,468 territorial Party groups.

The problem of the further consolidation of the Party organizations in the enterprises is a particularly topical one in the light of the Fourth Plenary meeting decisions of the Central Committee (1965) which give the enterprises greater independence and extend the rights of workers' self-management.

RUMANIA

On November 11-12, 1965, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party held a meeting to chart organizational measures that will promote the further development of agriculture—the task set by the Ninth Congress of the Party.

The meeting unanimously approved the report by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, on improving management and planning in agriculture and adopted a resolution to this effect.

The meeting stressed the need to build up a powerful material and technical base in agriculture. The resolution notes that the only way agricultural production can be increased and labor productivity raised is through the wide application of science and technology, mechanization, chemicalization and irrigation.

The resolution envisages in particular, an improvement of the structure and methods of work of the Higher Council of Agriculture and the regional and district agricultural councils (set up in 1962) as state bodies of agricultural management. As a result, these will now operate as administrative bodies on the collective principle. Furthermore, it was decided that the proposal be submitted to the agricultural pro-

duction cooperatives for consideration to set up district and regional cooperative unions and a National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives on the principle of voluntary affiliation and democratic centralism. Their leading body will be the congress of the National Union and the conference of regional and district unions respectively. It is planned to hold the constituent congress of the National Union in February.

The resolution noted that the task of the cooperative unions will be to direct the efforts of the cooperatives towards expanding agriculture, harmoniously combining the personal interests of the cooperative farmer with the common interests of the country; they will help the cooperatives in improving the organization of work and its remuneration, in making rational use of investments and of the funds at their disposal.

The meeting stressed that the leading committees of the National Union and the regional and district unions, and of the agricultural cooperatives will, as administrative bodies, be responsible to the cooperative farmers for their work.

The main responsibility for planning production and fulfilling the state plan in agriculture rests with the Higher Council. It will cooperate with the State Planning Committee, the National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives and with other central economic bodies.

The meeting likewise stressed the need to promote relations between the State economic organizations and the cooperative farmers, and to provide more incentives.

The question of old-age maintenance for cooperative farmers was discussed and also the need to establish a system of old-age and disability pensions for them. To meet this requirement it was decided that the National Union will set up its own Pension Fund which will be formed from the contributions of the cooperatives and cooperative farmers.

The meeting also decided to set up a Central Commission of Village Development. Its job will be to promote the socialist development of the countryside so as to ensure further improvement in the general welfare of the cooperative farmers and the best possible use of public amenities.

In view of the fact that new agricultural cooperative Rules have to be worked out, the meeting noted that these should take into account the new features in the life of the cooperative farmers, ensure fuller inner democracy, the collective principle and the active participation of the cooperative farmers in tackling social tasks.

The meeting considered that if the tasks in the sphere of agriculture are to be carried out, the Party committees and organizations, whose job it is to consolidate the cooperatives organizationally and economically, should spare no effort to improve their work to rally Party members and all rural workers to raise the output of agriculture.

FRANCE

The French Communist Party is doing much to raise the level of political and ideological work in its local organizations. All too often the latter are concerned solely with the everyday issues. Without in the least minimizing the importance of these, the Party holds up as an example the organizations which skilfully combine this with political and ideological work.

Thus, for a number of years the Pantin section in Paris was unable to form a branch at the "Bourgeois" perfumery where 750 workers are employed, mostly women. The workers at this factory are known for their militancy; in 1961, for example, they held a number of strikes.

The Communists of the section relate how they decided eventually to do something about forming a branch in the factory. Their first step was to hold a small party for women workers on Mothers' Day. They met the women at the factory gates with flowers and distributed leaflets and invitation cards among them. Invitations were also sent out to women workers living in the area.

At the party an interesting and lively discussion developed around the question of working conditions, the working-class movement and peace. The discussion ended with several women deciding to join the Party. That was the beginning of the Party branch.

To cite another example. In the course of one year four political classes were arranged in the small town of Blanc-Mesnil (including one in an enterprise) which were attended by 41 persons. In addition two lectures were given: the first about the Resistance Movement and the life of Gabriel Peri, who was murdered by the Nazis, (35 persons attended), and the second, about the problems of peace and the international Communist movement (60 persons attended).

"In an effort to enliven ideological work we organized for the members of the section committee, the branch bureaus and municipal councillors a seminar devoted to this question. It was attended by 80 persons," the Blanc-Mesnil Communists report. In a brief introductory speech the reporter told of the efforts of the bourgeoisie to mask the exploitation of the working people and stressed the need to start a widespread movement in our country to end the regime of personal power and to restore genuine democracy. The speaker also spoke of the difficulties in the international Communist movement.

"Thirty-five comrades participated in the discussion that followed. The representatives of many branches told of their experience in ideological work among Party comrades."

The French Communist Party is giving every encouragement to these undertakings and expresses the hope that they will serve as a pattern for many branches.

Conference of three continents

THIS ISSUE OF the journal is being prepared for the printers before the convocation in Havana of the first conference of the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The holding of this conference (January 3-10), which will be attended by representatives of revolutionary organizations in some 80 countries, is an event that gives embodiment to the cherished aspirations of the peoples fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It also meets the requirements of the present stage of the world revolutionary movement when history demands of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America solidarity, unity and action more than ever before.

The conference agenda, which was drawn up in Cairo in September 1965, includes issues which are a clarion call to all fighters for national independence, democracy, progress and peace. They include: the fight for the complete liberation of the peoples and their right to self-determination; consolidation of national independence and sovereignty of the countries of the three continents; intensified struggle, including armed struggle, against imperialism and colonialism; support for the just struggle of the peoples of Cuba against U.S. imperialism and its docile tool the Organization of American States; dismantling of foreign bases on the territories of the countries of the three continents and the struggle against the policy of military pacts; actions against using, testing, making and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, and for the destruction of all stockpiles; the movement for general disarmament and world peace; the struggle against apartheid and racial segregation in all forms, support for the Negro people in the United States; ways and means of helping the liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America in general, and the peoples waging the armed struggle for independence in particular.

The agenda advances as the most vital and pressing problems of the anti-imperialist struggle on the three continents those connected with the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, the African colonies of Portugal, Southern Rhodesia, South Arabia and Palestine. Considerable attention is also devoted to economic, social and cultural problems in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Also discussed will be the principles

of joint struggle for economic independence and against the economic exploitation and economic aggression of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism; measures to overcome the consequences of colonial rule; the question of agrarian reform in the countries of the three continents; planning and utilization of internal resources to ensure economic independence, and those questions whose solution will ensure solidarity and make possible mutual assistance of the developing countries of the three continents. Very important in this respect will be the discussion of the basic principles of economic and technical cooperation between the countries of the three continents on equal and mutually advantageous terms, elaboration of a new economic policy in the relations between them and the rest of the world, and also of a concept of peaceful coexistence for the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

With a view to raising the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to a higher level it is planned to take a decision on *political* and *organizational* unity of the people in their common struggle for national liberation, reconstruction, prosperity and peace. The appeal, signed by the chairman and general secretary of the conference preparatory committee, states: "The imperialist strategy of those who want to arrogate to themselves the right to dominate the world is a challenge to the people of the three continents. This strategy is reflected in the fierce attacks made on independence, national sovereignty, progress and peace in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, the Congo, Palestine and other countries. The conference will find the ways of meeting this challenge."

Although the struggle in each of the continents has its specific features the solidarity between the peoples of these continents is steadily growing, for they are all threatened by a common danger and a common enemy, they all suffer the same hardships.

In the face of U.S. imperialism's intensified aggression and global strategy, and with the neo-colonialists resorting to all kinds of maneuvers designed to crush the national liberation movement and undermine the independence of the young states, it is essential for the peoples to have a revolutionary global strategy; that they have a common language and

act jointly in the world revolutionary movement. The most striking cases requiring this unity (to cite only two examples) are Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

A more appropriate venue for the first conference of the three continents could hardly have been chosen. Its historical significance is also determined by the fact that it "will be represented," to quote Ben Barka, chairman of the preparatory committee, "by two streams of the world revolution: the stream which takes its source from the October Socialist Revolution and the stream of the national liberation revolution." As noted earlier, the conference will be held in Cuba which is celebrating the seventh anniversary of its revolution which embodies with remarkable force the two streams, and whose people not only gave an example of valiant and victorious resistance to U.S. imperialism, but also initiated the building of socialism in Latin America.

The fact that the decisions concerning the

agenda and organizational matters were unanimously approved by the preparatory conference in Cairo has greatly contributed to the unity of all revolutionary forces. Preparations for the conference are proceeding under the keynote of unity. Furthermore, considering that the conference will be attended not only by some 100 delegations from Asia, Africa and Latin America but also by observers from more than 50 international and national organizations of these and other continents (including observers from the socialist countries of Europe), it can be said that never before has international solidarity of the people been expressed on such a broad scale. Now that the national liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism has become so powerful this conference may be said to embody the militant slogan advanced by the great Lenin: "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!"

Jose Manuel FORTUNI

The fight for economic co-management

THE NINETEENTH CONGRESS of the Communist Party of Austria discussed, among others, a document on the issue of workers' participation in management (Mitbestimmung).

THE PEACEFUL ROAD TO SOCIALISM AND STAGE-BY-STAGE OBJECTIVES

The document derives from the orientation on the peaceful road to socialism. The changes taking place in the world and in the balance of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as a result of the rise of the socialist world, the consolidation of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the successes of the liberation movement in the colonial countries, make this orientation both possible and necessary. And this in turn determines the possibility and necessity of setting and achieving stage-by-stage objectives — of which one of the most important and topical is workers' participation in management. The document shows how the demand for curbing the power of capital, for regenerating and extending democracy, can be placed on a concrete footing and realized in a specific sphere.

In this respect we proceed from the experience of the Austrian working-class movement, from the concepts of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the meeting of the

Communist parties of the European capitalist countries held in Rome in 1959. Our Party holds that the workers, who comprise over 70 per cent of the gainfully employed population, should have a say in economic management. Economic growth, full employment, progress of science and technology, the use to which the national income is put are all issues to which the working class cannot be indifferent. The view is still widespread in our country that the working-class movement should not bother itself with managerial functions as long as the social system remains capitalist and as such is out of harmony with the present-day conditions, possibilities and requirements of an industrially developed country.

The document was adopted after a long and thorough pre-Congress discussion. The discussion stressed the significance of the question, and at the same time it pointed to the numerous political, psychological and practical difficulties still standing in the way of management participation.

Some comrades, who accept the basic idea of the peaceful road to socialism as a general political and theoretical guide, have doubts when it comes to applying the conclusions arising therefrom. The worker-functionary is assailed by the fear that, by intruding into the sphere of managerial prerogatives he may be

forced into a position of being a class adversary, of accepting the ideology of social partnership.

However, the demand for a share in management is not entirely new for Austria. Way back in 1921 a conference of the production councils of metal-workers and clerical employees in industry demanded that the councils should have a say in the socialization of enterprises "in order to thwart any attempt to restore the capitalist system." Similarly, this demand was voiced by a conference of production councils in 1945. The Fifth Congress of the Austrian Trade Unions in 1963 also called for a bigger say in management.

THE DEMAND FOR CO-MANAGEMENT AS WE UNDERSTAND IT

It goes without saying that there is a world of difference between the demands of 1921 and 1945 and those of today. In those early days the demand for participation in management, the first feeler in this direction, was designed to accelerate the revolutionary developments of the day and pass over to the direct struggle for power. Now, however, in the absence of an immediate revolutionary situation the prospect is that of a fairly long interval between the achievement of co-management and the winning of power. But the new things in capitalism in Austria, the rapid advance of science and technology, growing state intervention, the policy of economic growth, nationalization and many other factors *make it possible* to foresee the achievement of this far-reaching intermediate objective even in the present, non-revolutionary situation. Moreover, the current developments lend emphasis to the struggle for co-management and for curbing the power of the monopolies, for every success in this struggle changes the correlation of forces within the capitalist state in favor of the working class, thereby creating the conditions for the peaceful transition to socialism.

The document adopted by the Congress defines this task in the following way: "The co-management by factory and office workers which we envisage is based on the right to genuine control and participation in deciding all matters pertaining to economic, financial and investment policies on the scale of the enterprise and at higher levels. The aim is to curb the power of the monopolies and to ensure at the present stage the winning of positions of power by the working people."

This demand, submitted in this concrete form being new for the Austrian working-class movement, has engendered many doubts and even forthright rejection. The doubts and the reservations are understandable — a point made by the document — and neither the pre-Congress discussion nor the Congress debates cleared them up completely. And while the Congress adopted a decision on this score, the discussion is to be continued, since it will promote a deeper examination of the problems

and a better explanation of our arguments in the Party organizations, primarily in the enterprises. Here we shall try to set forth the principal objections and express our attitude to them, bearing in mind of course that the final answer must await an analysis of the practical experience in the fight for co-management.

IS IT POSSIBLE TO CURB THE POWER OF CAPITAL?

"Under capitalism, worker participation in management is impossible because the employers will never agree voluntarily to relinquish part of their power in favor of the workers."

Objections of this kind are widely current. But in one respect the workers in all capitalist countries, including Austria, have repudiated them long since. In the sphere of social policy and labor legislation the power of the employers has long been restricted. Since the law on production councils provides that the latter be informed of each case of hiring or dismissal, that dismissals are permitted only in absolutely definite conditions established by law, since the working day is limited and the right to paid holidays guaranteed, since it is forbidden to sack expectant mothers—these and many other provisions, agreements and laws of the same nature constitute an effective curb on the power of the employers. None of these rights was voluntarily "conceded," each had to be wrested from the employers in struggle, even though the struggle did not always take the form of strikes or demonstrations.

Even before winning most of these *social* rights, the working class won its first *political* rights. The battles for the right to organize, for freedom of the press and assembly and, lastly, for universal suffrage were more difficult and dramatic, but each success detracted from the power of the bourgeoisie.

But not one of the successes achieved in the social or political sphere resulted in breaching the *economic* sphere of capitalist domination. Despite everything, the employers' "master-of-the-house" principle retained its force. So far economic problems remain the exclusive prerogative of the employer or his representatives. Thus, the fight for worker participation in having a say in economic, financial and investment policy is a fight not simply to extend existing rights but to win *new* rights for the working class, and hence for curbing the power of the capitalists.

NOTHING NEW?

This brings us to the second objection raised by members who query why we describe as "new" something that has always figured in our aims. These comrades evidently fail to see that there is a difference in kind between the traditional trade union fight for better conditions and the fight for a say in management, that the conditions for this new aim have come

about solely as a result of the basic political and economic changes of the postwar. It is also true, of course, that appreciation of these changes was retarded by dogmatic stagnation which prevailed at the time of the personality cult, with the result that the conclusions were drawn somewhat late.

The changes are set forth in part in the materials prepared for the Nineteenth Congress of our Party, and here it will suffice merely to recall them. First place, understandably, is held by the new balance of world forces, the rise and consolidation of the socialist world which is a constant challenge to capitalism. Although we often referred to this in the past, nevertheless the profound influence exerted by socialism on capitalism was often overlooked.

Other features are the numerical and organizational strengthening of the working class in the capitalist countries, the success of the liberation movement in the colonial countries, as a result of which the ability of the capitalists to maneuver has been greatly restricted, the broad movement for peace which makes it exceedingly difficult for the imperialists to seek a "military solution," and, last but not least, the powerful development of the productive forces as a result of technological progress, automation, atomic power and the development of the chemical industry.

All this has been accompanied by far-reaching changes in the structure of the working class, in its outlook and at the same time in the political and economic methods of the bourgeoisie. It was only after some delay that the working-class movement began, on its part, to draw conclusions from the changes for its strategy and tactics. The orientation on the peaceful way to socialism, on achieving strategic stage-by-stage objectives along this road, such as workers' share in management, are some of these conclusions. They derived from these changes, and for this reason they signify a fundamentally new orientation.

DO THE EMPLOYERS FAVOR WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT?

During the debate at the Congress the warning was voiced that the demand for a share in management is approved not only by Social Democrats but also by the Catholic Church and even by the West German employers; hence the doubts.

A propos this we must say that a militant slogan cannot be depreciated by the fact that it is advocated, sincerely or otherwise, by other social groups as well. Does the fight for peace become "dubious" because some American business man or Catholic priests also take part in it and, in some instances, even march at its head? For our part we are glad that this is so.

Needless to say, in the fight for co-management this kind of "united action" with the employers is unthinkable, for any extension of the rights of factory and office workers signifies, as mentioned above, a restriction of the

rights of the employers. One is impossible without the other. The employers, too, are well aware of this, for if they consider it expedient at times to give verbal approval to workers sharing in management or, in their terminology, the "right of wage and salaried workers to have a say," the facts show that in the main they are determined to fight to the last ditch for the privilege of being "master of the house." Thus, Dr. Kottulinski, a leader of the Association of Austrian Manufacturers, said in an address to trade union functionaries that "a modern industrial state needs economic co-management and the joint responsibility of large economic groups, including wage and salaried workers." But in spelling out this rather vague concept, he immediately narrowed it down by saying: "In Austria co-management is already practised in quite a big way. There is no need to extend it, for this would mean fundamentally changing our economic system. The boundary of co-management lies where the genuine decisions are taken, which should remain the function of the employer to be performed at his own risk."

The attitude of the Manufacturers' Association was announced in even clearer terms in an editorial in *Die Industrie* (June 4, 1965), which says: "The inviolable foundation of free enterprise is its control of investments." And it is precisely on this "inviolable foundation" that we wish to encroach! For this there must be resolute struggle against the employers which can be successful only if it develops into broad movements of the masses, into large-scale unity in action by the working class. This idea underlies the Congress document on co-management where it says: "For this reason the fight for co-management is part of the class struggle and one of its forms. Shared management and social partnership are diametrically opposite concepts!"

MANEUVERS AND ILLUSIONS

Some of our comrades are apprehensive that the demand for a share in management might give rise to illusions concerning the "common interests" of workers and employers and thus play into the hands of the ideology of social partnership. These doubts have a certain justification and cannot be dismissed out of hand. The employers are eager to harness those production councils that take no exception to this and in the guise of co-management use them in their own particular interests. Then there are some Right-wing Socialists who will certainly try to interpret the slogan of "co-management" as confirmation of co-partnership.

Should these attempts to misinterpret or abuse the fight for a share in management impel us to renounce this demand? Or is it not far more reasonable to carry on the fight by showing that the demand for a share in management has nothing in common with the false interpretations placed on it? These are questions which we must answer.

The Party Congress opted for the latter. The document it adopted contains a section dealing with this issue. Special attention is paid to the widely-debated problem of joint responsibility: "*Co-management does not signify common responsibility for the prosperity and profits of the employer, it signifies exerting direct influence on the economic, technical and political development of our country, for which we have always felt responsible. . . . Today factory and office workers shoulder the entire burden of the incorrectly distributed investments. Our aim is to have a say in determining or planning investments based on a long-term plan drawn up by the trade unions and the workers' councils. The working class also assumes its share of responsibility for the economic decisions in the adoption of which it effectively participated.*"

This formulation draws a clear distinction between genuine co-management and its abuse in the interests of the employers. The boundaries of a sham "common interest" in economic growth, in the progress of the enterprise, etc., reveal themselves immediately when the question arises of taking account of the interests of the entire economy. The employer, who is motivated solely by his striving for profit, inevitably finds himself at variance with the common economic requirements, which can be consistently taken into account only by the working class—on the scale of both the enterprise and the state. Hence the fight for co-management is aimed at restricting the rights of the employers through extending the rights of the workers. The aim is to curb the power of the employers by winning positions of power by the workers that will enable them to be in command of the production and extra-production levers of the economy.

In this orientation towards winning the right to shared management both on the scale of the enterprise and at a higher level our attitude differs substantially from that of the advocates of social partnership. The latter want to restrict shared management to supra-production issues, i.e., coalition committees, parity commissions of the two ruling parties, and so on. But genuine democracy in the economy, which must be a result of the shared management, is possible only if the workers

take part in decision-making and support those decisions with action.

The subsequent development of the fight and the experience gained in it should become the basis for further deliberation and conclusions. However, the decision of the Party Congress indicates that the Austrian Communists, while fully realizing the difficulties involved in the matter of clear definition as well as the danger of someone sliding down to the ideological positions of co-partnership, are stepping up the fight for shared management. Only in this way can the new conditions, possibilities and needs be determined in full measure.

PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE

Although the demand for co-management as a militant aim has not yet been fully grasped by the masses, the workers in the nationalized enterprises have in recent months exerted a great deal of influence on economic solutions affecting their interests. Thus, the Voest concern had to abandon its plans to close down one of its enterprises, the Krems iron and steel plant in Lower Austria, as a result of the protest march to Vienna organized by 1,200 of its employees. The intention of the West German Siemens concern to take over enterprises of the nationalized Austrian power industry was frustrated by a large-scale campaign. The demand that the nationalized oil industry should have its own distributive machinery, which had been rejected for years, was ultimately complied with after a series of demonstrations and deputations to the Finance Ministry held in the spirit of unity by the oil workers, and under their threat to initiate a broad strike movement.

In these instances the old idea that Communists should steer clear of economic solutions affecting the enterprises where they are employed or of economic management in capitalist society generally, was overcome. However, in all these cases it was equally proved that shared management cannot be the outcome of agreements in the spirit of social partnership, but can be won only in the fight against the employers.

Alfred MARGULIES

In defense of Algerian patriots

WORLD OPINION IS perturbed about the fate of the arrested Algerian patriots Hocine Zahouane, Bashir, Hadj Ali, Mohammed Harbi and others.

These men are known for their active participation in the national liberation struggle of their people. After the liberation they worked selflessly with their compatriots to build the new state, its economy and culture.

"The revolutionary of 1964," wrote Bashir Hadj Ali, "is one who fights, undaunted by difficulties, prejudices and sectarianism, to put into practice, together with the people, the program of the Front."

Hocine Zahouane and Mohammed Harbi, members of the National Orientation Commission, made a signal contribution to the triumph of socialist ideas in Algeria.

When Ben Bella was removed on June 19, 1965, many patriots expressed their dissatisfaction over the fact that the Constitution approved by the people had been violated. They called for the steady implementation of the basic points of the Algerian Charter, adopted by the First Congress of the National Liberation Front, and for the continued development of the socialist revolution.

The new leaders expressed themselves in a similar vein. In his speech on the occasion of the formation of the new government, Prime Minister Boumedienne said that its aims were to "put an end to the vestiges of colonialism, strengthen our national independence and build a socialist society in which justice will reign."

Statements of this kind naturally led the people and world progressive opinion to hope that the June 19 events would not result in any major change in home and foreign policy, that Algeria would remain in the van of the fighters for social progress, democracy and freedom and against colonialism and imperialism.

In July 1965 Boumedienne said: "Let everybody know that the people will judge us not by our speeches but by our deeds, and by our deeds alone." However, so far the deeds by no means always tally with the statements. After June 19 some circles in Algeria set out to divide the anti-imperialist forces, to strike at the Left, to slow down the victorious advance of the Algerian people. It is obvious that because of the pressure brought to bear by these circles a number of patriots and democrats have been arrested, among them the glorious sons of our people Hocine Zahouane, Bashir Hadj Ali and Mohammed Harbi.

The whereabouts of these patriots is not known. They are not allowed visits by relatives, lawyers or representatives of world public opinion. According to press reports they have been subjected to torture. The lives of the patriots are in danger.

This state of affairs cannot but alarm all friends of Algeria. There is anxiety for the fate of the arrested patriots, for the future of the Algerian revolution. Progressives throughout the world are closely following the developments of the political and class struggle in the country. Their hope is that ultimately freedom and justice will triumph.

Historical experience teaches that the genuinely free development of a country, the rallying of the entire nation to build its independent economy, and a socialist reconstruction of society, are possible only in conditions that allow for unfettered initiative, in conditions of full revolutionary democracy. Hence those protesting against the repressions and urging the liberation of Hocine Zahouane, Bashir Hadj Ali, Mohammed Harbi and other patriots are upholding the ideals of the Algerian revolution.

M. AHMADI

Constantina Perez

ANOTHER SPANISH HERO has fallen victim to the Franco terror. On October 14, 1965, the heart of Constantina Pérez de Bayon, a valiant woman from legendary Asturias, one of those who fought shoulder to shoulder with their husbands and sons for a truly human life, for a free and democratic Spain, ceased to beat.

Tina, as her comrades and friends knew Constantina Pérez, perished when she was only 37 years old. But she lived her short life as a true patriot and revolutionary.

Constantina Pérez, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, proved to be a militant fighter especially in recent years by taking part in the strikes and demonstrations of the Asturian miners now known throughout the world.

The young woman was constantly persecuted, repeatedly imprisoned and tortured. The Franco assassins were aware of her staunchness and courage, but they also knew that she was seriously ill.

In 1963 Tina was arrested together with Anita Brana, also a miner's wife. The two women were subjected to brutal torture. Enraged by the defiance of the two women, the jailers decided to humiliate them by cutting their hair. These actions caused a wave of indignation both in the country and abroad. Many prominent personalities and organizations protested against the methods employed by the Franco police.

Upon her release Constantina Pérez became even more active in the struggle. On March 20 last year, when a demonstration for the release of arrested miners was held at the Trade Union House in Sama de Langreo, Tina marched at its head. And again she found herself in prison. Tina's health gravely deteriorated: torture does not pass without leaving its traces. Her torturers, fearing that in the event of her death in jail they would have to bear the responsibility, temporarily released her, but not her sixteen-year-old daughter, Blanquita, who was arrested together with her mother.

The repeated torture, the moral and physical suffering experienced by Constantina Pérez accelerated the fatal outcome, as is confirmed in a letter written by her a few hours before her death. The letter addressed to the Communist Party of Spain is a moving document of her fidelity to her Party, the working class and the people. "Let me be the last victim tortured by the Franco hangmen!" she de-

clared. "I have lived as a Communist and as a Communist I will die. Let me be buried under the banner of my Party."

The death of Tina is a heavy loss for the Communist Party, for the miners and workers of the Asturias, and for all the people of Spain. Gone from us is one of the finest and best, a woman-Communist who embodied the noblest qualities of the heroic and long suffering women of Spain. Her life was an example of selfless struggle for the happiness of the miners, of the people.

The example of Constantina Pérez will inspire this struggle until final victory is won, and her name will be etched forever in the memory of all sincere fighters for the freedom of Spain.

F. A.

* * *

STATEMENT BY CONSTANTINA PEREZ

"I, Constantina Pérez, wife of Bayon and mother of Blanquita, before my death wish to send warm greetings to all members of the Communist Party of Spain, and especially to its Central Committee headed and led by our Chairman Dolores Ibarruri and our General Secretary Santiago Carillo.

"At the same time I appeal to the heroic miners of the Asturias, Riotinto and Puertollano, to the Madrid metal-workers, to the Catalonians and Basques, to the peasants of Castile, Extremadura and Andalusia, to the valiant students and professors of the Spanish University, to all women and mothers who are fighting in one way or another against the Franco dictatorship, to all Spanish emigrants who left the country for political or other reasons.

"I declare to all of you that my health was completely wrecked after March 20 when the assassins of the Franco regime beat and tortured me together with other women and my daughter Blanquita in the Trade Union House in Sama de Langreo, after which they threw me into prison. The Franco butchers alone are responsible for my death. Let me be the last victim tortured by the Franco hangmen!

"There is only one thing I wish to say to you: fight for unity!

"Long live the policy of national reconciliation!

"Long live the general political strike!

"Long live the Communist Party of Spain!

Tina Pérez de Bayon."

The imperialist offensive and the forces of progress

AS WE CROSSED the threshold of 1966 we looked back over a year of mounting anti-imperialist struggle although the general picture has not been one of unrelieved success for the forces of democracy and progress, for the development of the world revolutionary process.

The growing aggressive trend in the policy of U.S. imperialism has heightened world tensions. The flames of the war now raging in Vietnam have cast their lurid glow over the entire globe. U.S. aggression is having a predictable impact on the political life of many countries, including the United States itself. The centrifugal tendencies within the system of imperialist military-political alliances have become more pronounced.

At the same time the political and economic organizations of West European capitalism, spearheaded against the socialist world, against the revolutionary forces, continue to operate. However, they are showing definite signs of debility. The situation in Western Europe is marked by the mounting struggle among the leading imperialist powers for hegemony on the European continent and the growing insistence of West Germany's claims to possession of the nuclear weapon.

In this situation the United States is making a dramatic effort to rally its allies under the banner of imperialism and aggression, at the same time stepping up reaction at home, clamping down on the democratic forces and resorting to diverse anti-Communist measures. The imperialists are working hard to whip up anti-democratic feeling in the countries situated in the forward positions of the national-liberation struggle. Witness the jubilation over the outbursts of anti-communism in Indonesia or the Sudan. In assessing events in these countries there is one thing that must be borne in mind, namely, that the unity and the consolidation of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces are inconceivable without the participation of the Communists. Anti-Communist crusades, whatever guise they may assume, are first and foremost crusades against the liberation movement, against the developing revolutionary process.

The offensive launched against revolutionary

and liberation movements makes it more than ever imperative to build a united anti-imperialist, democratic front, for the struggle against world imperialism and colonialism can be won only by the combined efforts of all revolutionary forces.

Let us trace the development of events on two sectors of the active anti-imperialist struggle in the past year.

AFRICA: THE CONFLICT GROWS SHARPER

The second half of 1965 witnessed a number of important changes on the African continent.

The Third Assembly of the heads of state and government of the African countries in Accra was an undoubted success. It dealt a telling blow at the disruptive designs of imperialism and its agents.

But in the southern part of the continent the storm-clouds thickened. The minority of white supremacists in Salisbury, with the tacit approval of world imperialism, proclaimed the "independence" of Rhodesia, thereby asserting their dominion in that country.

On November 11 Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, declared that his government was no longer subordinate to Britain and assumed full power. The "independence" of 220,000 European settlers dooms to virtual slavery four million indigenous inhabitants of this ancient country which the Africans call Zimbabwe.

The declaration of "independence" enables the racists to impose on Rhodesia a replica of the regime existing in the neighboring South African Republic; reservations for the non-white population, pass laws, compulsory labor, total exclusion of Africans from political life—in a word, all the attributes of apartheid as practised in the South African Republic. Ian Smith has openly declared that "our position is the same as that of South Africa."

Some of the responsibility for the racists' usurpation of power lies with Britain. Britain gave them armed forces, it imposed a Constitution on Rhodesia under which the African population is virtually deprived of the franchise. The chief reason for the attitude of the British Government is that the imperialist monopolies have a direct interest in preserving

the rule of the exploiting white minority in that rich African country. The Smith regime, for all its "rebelliousness," is a guarantee that the monopoly interests and the fabulous profits derived from the exploitation of the natural resources and cheap labor will be safeguarded.

The unilateral declaration of independence by the racists evoked indignation throughout the world. The governments of the socialist countries have refused to recognize the Smith regime and have declared their support of the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for the right to order their own destiny.

Many African states have taken a clear-cut stand on the question. Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the UAR, declared that his country considers itself at war with the Rhodesian government, and as a first step is closing the Suez Canal to Rhodesian shipping.

"We consider all African countries at war with Rhodesia," said President Sekou Toure of Guinea. "Guinea already has military contingents prepared for this purpose." Ghana, the Congo (Brazzaville) and a number of other African countries have offered to send troops to the assistance of the people of Zimbabwe.

The British monopolies are anxious at all costs to prevent any active interference by African countries in Rhodesian affairs, since this could undermine their own positions in that country.

In order to mollify public opinion, the Wilson government proposed applying economic sanctions against Rhodesia. The calculation is simple: either the sanctions will be ineffective and in the meantime the status quo can be restored, or—at worst—under the pressure of economic difficulties the Smith government will fall and power will be taken over by more moderate and flexible politicians from the same white minority who will grant restricted rights to Africans without infringing the positions of monopoly capital.

Washington's policy toward Rhodesia is an exercise in hypocrisy. While condemning racism and declaring support for the economic sanctions, the U.S. government has confined itself to a single gesture: it has placed an embargo on exports of arms to Rhodesia (which has no shortage of arms and has not been receiving any from the United States since 1963) and on the import of Rhodesian sugar (6,000 tons a year), a move which in no way affects either American or Rhodesian economy. On the other hand, the U.S. monopolies continue to receive an uninterrupted supply of Rhodesian chrome and lithium.

How little effect economic sanctions can have will be appreciated if it is remembered that Rhodesia has allies not only in Western imperialist circles, but in the South African Republic. The Portuguese colonialists, too, give every support to the Smith regime which serves as a sort of bridge between Salazar's possessions in Mozambique and Angola, where the popular struggle for liberation is spreading.

The world press long ago carried reports of a secret agreement between Smith, Verwoerd and Salazar. The formation of a "White Africa" military-political alliance for the purpose of checking the national-liberation movement is by no means excluded.

This growing activity of imperialism in Asia and in southern Africa is affecting the political life of all the African countries to one or another degree. A tense political struggle is underway in the Congo (Leopoldville) where the imperialists are continuing to juggle with their puppets. A plot to overthrow President Sekou Toure and restore the reactionary regime was recently discovered in Conakry. In the Sudan, the Constituent Assembly, under pressure from the Al Umma party, the Moslem Brothers—a fanatical organization—and Right-wing elements of the National Unionist party, has banned the Communist Party.

Experience shows, however, that the hopes of the reaction are doomed to be disappointed. The agents of imperialism in Africa are becoming more and more discredited in the eyes of the people. Political and social conflicts are growing more acute. Class consciousness among African workers is growing, and the peasantry and middle classes are being drawn into the struggle against neo-colonialism for the development of the revolution in Africa.

BATTLE FOR VIETNAM

The Pentagon strategists and their Saigon puppets have repeatedly changed their plans for crushing the national-liberation struggle of the South Vietnamese people. The formula for the latest escalation of this colonial war, marked by extensive participation of U.S. armed forces which makes the war a purely American undertaking, is "search and destroy." This new tactic is designed gradually to wipe out the manpower of the Army of Liberation by the combined numerically and technically superior U.S. and Saigon forces.

But the U.S. command often fails to carry out even the first part of the formula, let alone the second. Of course, the steady build-up of U.S. forces in South Vietnam makes things far more difficult for the popular struggle and involves heavier losses. Nevertheless, the past few months have witnessed some new big victories for the Liberation Army and the guerrilla forces.

The world knows by now the outcome of the battle in the Pleime area. The invaders had thrown picked troops into the fight, cynically informing newsmen that the purpose of the operation was "to kill as many guerrillas as possible." But the plan miscarried. The troops, landed by helicopter, walked into a trap and instead of being able to announce victory, the U.S. press had to report a "new record" in U.S. casualties.

In general, U.S. losses in manpower and material are growing. In November alone the South Vietnamese patriots smashed four in-

fantry and four armored battalions. In two months the invaders lost 8,700 in killed and wounded and 120 of their tanks and armored carriers were destroyed. In the same period raids on U.S. air bases put some 300 aircraft out of commission. On a single night in late October 57 airplanes (including 47 jet fighters) were destroyed at the big U.S. bases in Da-nang and Chu-lai.

Moreover, the United States is paying a heavy price for its bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. By December, 815 U.S. airplanes had been shot down over the DRV. Not without reason do the U.S. pilots call the bombing raids over DRV territory "suicide missions."

The autumn successes of the troops of the regular Liberation Army and guerrillas are an indication of a change in kind in the war. In extending the hostilities the aggressors relied on their technical equipment, on superiority in the air and on the sea, assuming that this would be sufficient to achieve their object. They were extremely anxious to avoid land fighting. But they find themselves bogged down in ground operations in which the freedom fighters, operating on familiar terrain with the support of the people, have the clear advantage. The Americans are now reaping the bitter fruits of their war, paying for their crimes with the lives of their men and officers.

Only recently official Washington propaganda was confident that the dispatch of further reinforcements would be enough to break the back of the Vietnam resistance and that the war would be a "walkover." But things have turned out somewhat differently. American newspapers have had to report heavy losses instead of the anticipated victories. Nor can the Pentagon strategists place much reliance on their Saigon "allies." In ten months of 1965 as many as 87,000 men deserted from the Saigon army, and the number of desertions is steadily growing.

This explains the gloomy prediction of the Washington political leaders that this will be "a long war," and that Americans must be prepared for sacrifices. The U.S. press has begun to speak anxiously about a "second edition of the Korean war" which would necessitate bringing the number of U.S. troops engaged in Vietnam up to 400,000.

The utterly immoral nature of the war against the people of Vietnam and the wanton sacrifice of American lives have engendered grave discontent among the public in the United States. Criticism of Johnson's war policy is

coming from all sections of the population. The peace movement is making headway, and people are demanding that the government put an end to the "dirty war," withdraw all U.S. troops and recognize the right of the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs.

Striking evidence of this awakening of public opinion was the March on Washington for peace in Vietnam, the biggest peace demonstration in the nation's history and a political event of the first magnitude.

The March on Washington, as Sanford Gottlieb, one of its organizers, observed, was proof that a substantial number of Americans, who cannot be dismissed with some sort of label, are opposed to the war in Vietnam. It is noteworthy that among those who took part in the March were political leaders who, while not noted for progressive views, nevertheless are opposed to Johnson's war policy.

The sentiment of the 50,000 drawn from all the states of the Union who took part in the March was summed up by the children's doctor Benjamin Spock. The United States, he said, is making a great mistake by becoming involved in a war it cannot win, a war which in the long run will take a toll of tens of thousands of American lives, a war which was never in the best interests of America, and which has earned her the hatred of peoples everywhere. In demanding that the government try to win back the respect of the world by giving the Vietnamese the right to choose their own government, the American people are expressing their love for their own country, he said.

The March on Washington was an indictment of the aggressive policy of Washington by large masses of Americans who do not want to "make sacrifices" for the sake of the unsavory aims of the imperialists. And there is no doubt that this powerful demonstration will stimulate action by all progressive and democratic forces for peace. This is evidenced if only by the recent national conference of the representatives of nearly 140 public organizations opposing war, which drew up a program of further actions for peace in Vietnam.

All who value the cause of peace, who are opposed to imperialism and colonialism, and who wish to avert a new world war, are becoming increasingly alive to the need to unite their efforts to combat the aggressive policy of the United States.

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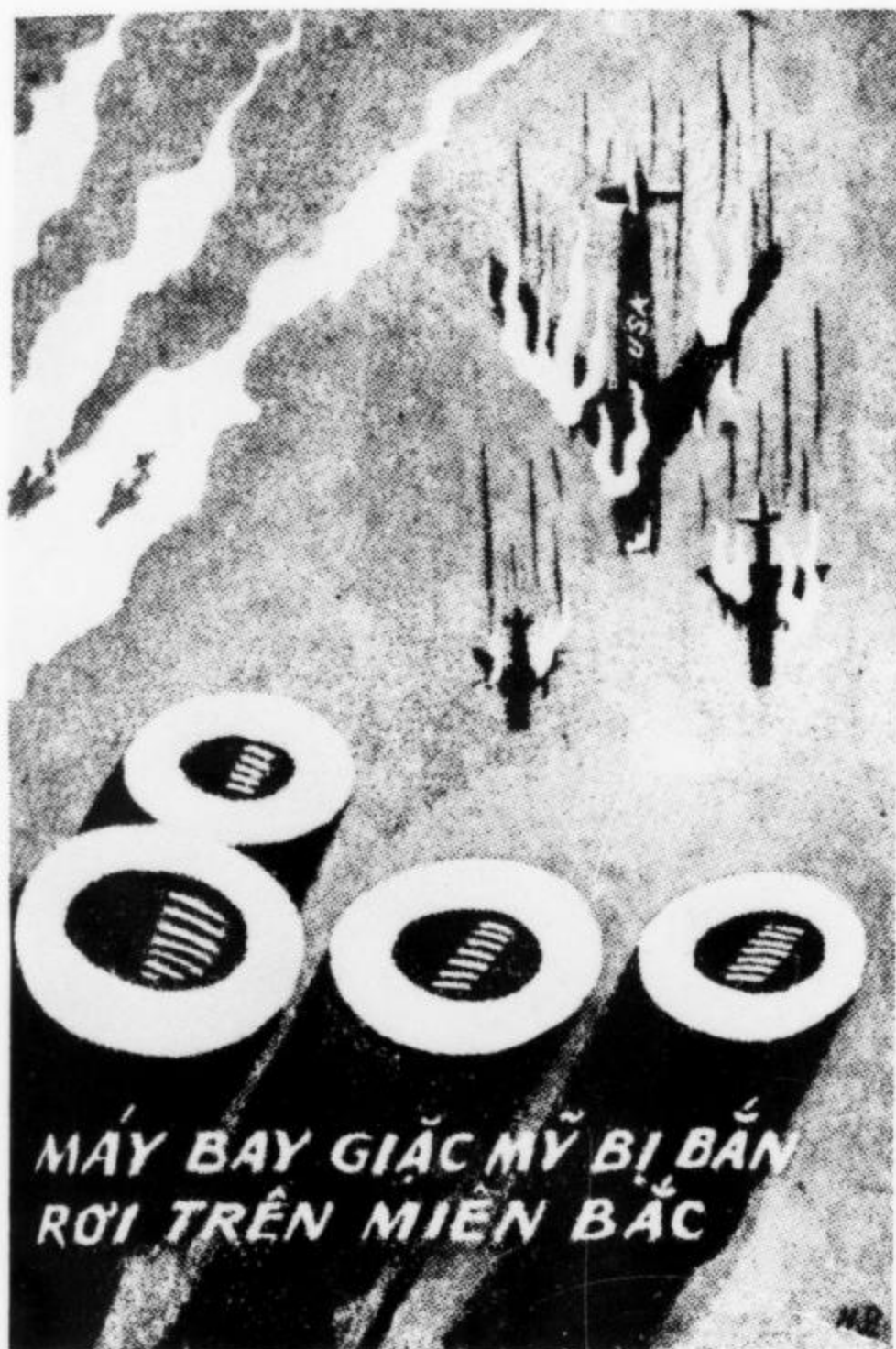
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