

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



In this issue:

Wilson's crisis

—John Gollan

**Communists of advanced capitalist
countries discuss their problems.**

—a symposium

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OUR 100th ISSUE

This is the 100th number of our journal. The first came out in September 1958. Since then we have carried articles and other materials from 118 countries. Our Editorial Board and the fraternal parties have sponsored in this period 26 exchanges of views on current theoretical and political problems, and the materials of these exchanges have been published in the journal. **Problems of Peace and Socialism** is now published in 33 countries in 26 languages, and it is read in 142 countries.

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COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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problems of peace
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Wilson's crisis

JOHN GOLLAN

A NEW POLITICAL situation is developing in Britain which is of the greatest importance. Up to the beginning of the year the general feeling in the Labor movement was still one of satisfaction at having thrown out the Tories after their thirteen years of government, in the course of which their imperialist and anti-working class policy had aroused growing discontent among the people. This feeling of discontent and desire for a change was still the dominant mood in the General Election of March 31, 1966, which resulted in a Labor majority of 97.

Now, only a few months later, the Labor Government is moving into collision and struggle with ever-growing sections of the organized Labor movement because of the consequences of Government policy.

The difficulty which the Government finds itself in is due to the deep crisis of British imperialism. This demanded from the Government radical and far-reaching solutions of an entirely new character. But instead it has acted as a traditional right-wing social democratic administration of capitalism, making no attempt to solve the basic issues which have brought Britain to its present position. The economic crisis, therefore, is also expressing itself in growing struggle within the labor and trade union movement.

The Crisis and Wilson's July 20th Measures

The crisis of British imperialism is not new. Nor is the nature of Wilson's July 20 measures. But what is new is the savagery with which the Labor Government is pressing ahead with its economic and political attack on the working class and the trade unions.

Britain's crisis, deep-rooted ever since the end of the second world war, has affected

Labor and Tory Governments alike. Its basis has been the attempt to maintain the financial power of the City of London, with its connections all over the world, and Britain's imperialist position, with sterling as a world currency.

Everything—except military expenditure—has been sacrificed to this aim. Economic difficulties and persistent balance of payments deficits have been met, by both Labor and Tory Governments, by the notorious "stop-go" policy, alternating attempts to encourage industrial activity with measures to slow it down. As a result Britain's growth rate has been the lowest in the capitalist world.

The immediate roots of the present crisis are the overseas military expenditure of some £350 million annually, and the investment of capital abroad to a similar amount.

Harold Wilson's entire Government policy has been geared to save the pound against increasing pressure due to the continuous balance of payments deficit while refusing to cut seriously the military spending abroad or British capital investment abroad.

This policy has led to massive borrowing abroad to bolster up the pound, with constantly increasing interest charges, although the foreign loans help to overcome immediate difficulties.

There is no doubt that the willingness of the United States and the international bankers generally to grant these loans is due to the fear that the collapse of the pound might have repercussions on the stability of the dollar and other currencies which they would be unable to control.

But such vast loans as they have given to Britain are not given without terms. Despite official denials, it is clear that the Labor Government's general attack on the standard of

living of the people is being carried out amongst other things, in order to satisfy the foreign moneylenders.

Even before the July measures the Chancellor of the Exchequer was already turning the screw. In his Budget speech in May he spoke of the aims of achieving a strong pound, a steadily growing industrial strength and full employment. On this basis, in addition to appealing for support of the Government wage freeze policy, he introduced the Selective Employment Tax which has the aim of reducing internal consumption by £300 m. a year.

Although the tax is levied on employers, it was clear from the start that it would lead to a general increase in prices as the employers passed on the tax, and would affect everything in working class consumption. It was thus in effect a further advance in indirect taxation, at the same time as money wages were to be frozen. As William Davies, Financial Editor of *The Guardian*, wrote on May 5: "A Tory Chancellor might well have produced the same sort of Budget. This may seem unsatisfactory to Labor supporters . . . But it certainly reassures foreign banking opinion."

For a brief period it appeared that the Government had satisfied its foreign financial backers by this new tax and attack on working class standards. But it was not to be.

On July 20, Wilson introduced his new measures. They were threefold: (a) to cut consumption by a further £500 m. a year by an extensive credit squeeze and increased indirect taxation; (ii) to completely freeze all wages by law for six months to be followed by a further six months of severe restriction on wage increases; (iii) as the necessary condition of all this, still more penal provisions against the trade unions.

There is no doubt that these savage measures, the most widespread attack on working class conditions of any post-war British Government, were prepared in direct collusion with the foreign bankers.

It is significant that, according to the *Financial Times* of July 19, Callaghan, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was visiting Europe in order to give the Group of Ten Bankers an explanation of the new deflationary package then being prepared by the Government (and announced by Wilson on July 20.)

In an interview on BBC Television, Pierre Paul Schweitzer, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, made clear that the support of the Fund for the pound was based in "the undertaking by your Government to take any additional steps which would be needed in the judgment of your Government, namely, to achieve in proper time your balance of payments equilibrium." The finan-

cial journalist who interviewed Mr. Schweitzer added, "There is not the slightest doubt that if Mr. Wilson had not acted as he did, we would have seen a major run on sterling—leading very possibly to forced devaluation." (*The Guardian*, October 6, 1966).

The Prices and Incomes Bill, which in reality is anti-trade union legislation, with its compulsory clauses and penalties affecting the trade unions, was already being discussed in Parliament before Wilson announced his measures. This bill, now an Act, requires that all proposed changes in prices and wages be reported to the Minister of Economic Affairs, who may refer them to the Prices and Incomes Board, and such changes may not be made until four months after notification unless the Minister gives his consent. Penalties for implementing changes without the Minister's consent are laid down for employers and trade unions, and for anyone taking part in a strike to enforce such a change. Part IV of the Act, which was added by the Government after Wilson's speech of July 20, is related to the period of absolute standstill (July 20 to December 31 1966) laid down by Wilson. It empowers the Minister to make "directions" requiring an employer to pay wages no higher than those he was paying before July 20, even if he had contracted to do so (thus prohibiting wage increases already agreed to by the employer). Two such orders have so far been issued.

The Results of July

The clear intention of the Government was to increase unemployment. It should be noted, moreover, that before these drastic measures were decided on the economy in general was in difficulties.

In the first half of 1966 Britain's economy was virtually stagnant, the small advances in one month being cancelled out by the next month's figures. The index of industrial production between March and August 1966 stood at an average of 134, compared with 137 in the last quarter of 1965 and the first quarter of 1966.

With Wilson's July 20 measures, and the coming into operation of the Selective Employment Tax on September 1, the economy took a sharp turn for the worse. At first affecting the motor car industry and consumer durables, the growing crisis spread to steel and manufactures of components. Tens of thousands of workers were dismissed or put on short time; the number of unemployed rose by 97,000 between September and October, reaching a total of 437,000.

The Government's talk about "redeployment" of workers instead of the real term

"unemployment" was exposed by the fact that only a very small proportion of the dismissed workers were able to find jobs. In any case the theory that the Government's measures would lead to the transfer of workers from service to manufacturing export industries was smashed by the fact that the motor car industry was the first victim: this industry, the most up-to-date and automated in Britain has been one of the main earners of foreign currency through its large exports.

At the beginning of November the motor car industry was in a state of virtual chaos with 100,000 either out of work or on short time or on strike to enforce work-sharing instead of unemployment.

No one can say how high unemployment is going to go. The Government has spoken about half a million, *The Economist* of a million.

All that is certain is that the crisis is deepening every week. Even the right-wing-dominated Executive of the Trades Union Congress has called on the Government to review its policies in view of the drastic results. The TUC forecast 600,000 unemployed before January.

Talk of a coming recession is widespread. A survey made by the Confederation of British Industry (the main employers' organization) of the views of its members on present industrial trends was summarized in *The Times* of October 21, 1966, under the heading "Deeper into the Gloom." This shows that 67 per cent of the companies consulted were less optimistic than in June, four months earlier, about the prospects for their industries, and that 54 per cent were now working below capacity. Capital expenditure was expected to fall by half of those answering the question.

It is reported that by the end of 1966 steel output will be running at 10 per cent below the 1965 level, and that it is likely to fall further in 1967. A Board of Trade Survey of proposed investment shows a four per cent drop in 1966 and a fall of between seven and eight per cent in 1967.

These are only the first signs of the results of the Government's measures. It is practically certain that the economic situation will get worse in the coming months, leading to even greater unemployment and under-capacity working of manufacturing plants.

Despite these indications of stagnation or decline, the Government has taken further steps to force through its attack on wages.

One of the unions whose members had been refused advances in wages to which their employer had been committed before July 20 took legal action against the employer for breach of contract, and was successful. The

Government then brought into operation Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act, giving the wages standstill legal force and permitting employers to break previously agreed contracts for increasing wages. This invoking of the compulsory powers under the Act showed that apologists for the Government, who had said that although compulsion was authorized by the Act, it would not in fact be operated against the unions, had underestimated Wilson's intentions. The Government's action increased the growing resentment among the workers, and also to some extent among sections of employers, who felt that the compulsory measures overriding agreed settlements were endangering relations with their employees. Even productivity agreements under which wage increases were to follow concessions by the workers are now invalid.

What is clear is that the earlier stated aims of the Government, to get an expanding economy as the solution of all problems, have been put in reverse. George Brown's "National Plan," forecasting a 25 per cent increase in the national income by 1970, has been buried. The Labor Government resorted to the "stop-go-stop" approach, with the stops much more severe and lasting than in the years of Tory Government.

In a statement in Parliament in October, Wilson mentioned a figure of two per cent "acceptable" unemployment. Most people interpreted this figure as the upward level beyond which unemployment could not be permitted to grow. On the contrary, it is now clear that two per cent is the lowest level at which the Government wants to run the economy. There must be, always, on this basis, an unemployed army of 480,000 in the United Kingdom. The Government has in practice accepted the Tory thesis of a higher level of unemployment if the economy is to be run effectively.

In the past the Labor Party argued that the economy could best be controlled by a wages policy. The Tories argued that it could best be controlled by creating a reserve army of unemployed.

The Labor Government is operating both policies, and *The Economist* has commented that the Government has "moved significantly closer to the doctrine that the most efficient way to run the British economy is with a somewhat bigger permanent pool of unemployed. This glum doctrine is one with which most economists will now agree. Whether it should be with a permanent pool close to half a million, or with some other figure can be a matter to be settled by experience, after we have begun to re-expand production from its initial post-redeployment level."

Even so there is no certainty that the Government aim of "defending" the pound will succeed. Talk of devaluation is still in the air. Some leading capitalist elements and editorials in the press are questioning the basic policies being pursued.

Mr. Fred Catherwood, Director General of the National Economic Development Council, said that Britain's heavy foreign investment and high military spending overseas since the war have been largely responsible for its slow rate of growth. He added: "If these basic policies are changed so that we can eliminate our (balance of payments) deficit, then our underlying situation will be changed too, and will become much more similar to those of other countries which have had a high growth rate." (*Financial Times*, 20.10.1966)

The Wilson Government, like the Tory Government before it, is trying (without success) to get some change in the policy of the International Monetary Fund which would provide Britain with more "liquidity" — in essence with more loans, in whatever form they were given.

And in its desperate search for help from any quarter, the Government has once again taken up the question of Britain joining the European Common Market. It is carrying on negotiations both with the Six and with the EFTA countries for some form of agreement on what joining the Market would involve. But of course in such negotiations the Labor Government will try to maintain Britain's special imperialist interests, the role of sterling and of London as a financial center. This is being opposed by de Gaulle who sees no particular reason why he should bolster up either the pound or the dollar.

The Wilson Government is also negotiating for West Germany to meet the costs of the British forces there, but so far with very little success, in spite of threats that the forces might be withdrawn if no suitable arrangement is made.

The Growing Mass Movement

A result of the Government's policy was a growing mass movement among the workers, based at first on the wages standstill and interference with trade union bargaining, becoming more widespread and determined with each Government step to enforce it, and gaining increased strength when the employers began the large-scale dismissal of workers. But although the movement has been developing mainly on the economic front, there has been increasing realization that the economic and foreign policy are closely connected, and references to dependence on foreign bankers

and the "East of Suez" policy are frequent in the demands advanced by the workers.

The first decisive step in the struggle against the Government's policy was the seamen's strike, which started on May 16 and led to solidarity actions by the dockers and widespread sympathy by other unions both in Britain and abroad. The seamen's case for increased wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions was extremely strong. British seamen were among the poorest paid in Europe. From the first the Government supported the refusal of the shipowners to make serious concessions, and on May 23 it took emergency powers to intervene, and appointed a Court of Enquiry into the dispute. But the seamen, encouraged by the support of other unions, stood firm, rejecting both offers of concessions by the employers and the terms of settlement proposed by the Court of Enquiry. Eventually a compromise was reached, making further small concessions to the seamen's demands, and work was resumed on July 1, by which time over 20,000 seamen were on strike and a large number of ships were lying idle in the ports, the dockers refusing to handle them.

The Government's attitude during the dispute, and especially Wilson's activities, showed its determination to prevent any wage increases whatever. It became more and more bitter as the dispute went on, and the solidarity actions and financial contributions from other unions made clear that the wage freeze policy was being widely resisted in spite of all threats. The Communist Party and the *Morning Star* did everything possible to make the seamen's case known in the labor movement and to win support for the strike. Leading Communist seamen played an outstanding part in the strike. In the House of Commons on June 20 Wilson made an attack on the Communists — "a tightly knit group of politically motivated men" who, he alleged, were influencing the seamen's union executive committee to continue the strike. This allegation was replied to by the seamen's executive in a statement deploring "attempts by the Prime Minister to influence the course of our industrial dispute . . . by casting a slur on the integrity of the executive council." Subsequently Wilson refused to set up an official enquiry into his allegations against the Communists; the whole episode brought him further discredit among the workers. He attacked the Communist Party because he realized that we are an independent organized socialist force in the labor movement, and cannot be brought to heel by right-wing threats.

On July 3, the day before the publication of the Prices and Incomes Bill, Frank Cousins,

Minister of Technology, resigned from the Government, on the ground of his total disagreement with the policy expressed in the Bill. His letter of resignation to the Prime Minister stated that "the proposals in the Bill do not have any part to play in finding a solution of the economic problems . . . In our earlier talks on this subject, you agreed on the absolute necessity for developing a high wage level economy on the basis of prosperity . . . I made it unmistakably clear that I could not support legislation which could have the effect of restricting the rights of the trade unions to present claims freely on behalf of their members and to pursue such claims, at any level, to the best of their ability . . ."

Cousins therefore returned to his post of General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union which has consistently opposed the Government's wages policy.

Early in August, after Wilson's statement on July 20, the immediate results of his policy were shown in employers' announcements of "redundancy" and short-time working. This showed the complete fraud of the Government's repeated assertions that the wage freeze was necessary to avoid large-scale unemployment—the workers saw in fact that the choice was between employment and unemployment, and that unemployment was the direct result of the wage freeze and credit squeeze and Government policy generally.

When therefore thousands of workers were put on short time by the leading motor-car manufacturing companies, some of which also threatened dismissals of large numbers at a later date, and when dismissals also took place in other industries, the struggle against the Government's policy became sharper. There were strikes against dismissals, and demands that work should be shared out among the workers to prevent any being sacked. Again leading Communist car workers have been to the fore in this struggle.

Car delivery workers, threatened with the sacking of a third of their number, went on strike and the strike was at once declared official by their union. A number of other disputes began, largely to enforce work-sharing as against dismissals; the Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union declared, under pressure from union members, in favor of work sharing, in spite of Government declarations against it. Opposition to the Government's policy was widespread among the workers, and was reflected in the results of the Trades Union Congress in September and the Labor Party Conference in October.

Wilson, addressing the Trades Union Congress on its first day, declared that an incomes policy was the only guarantee against unem-

ployment, which might otherwise rise to 1½ or 2 million. He also warned that after the six months' standstill and the six months' period of severe restraint, it would still be necessary to ensure that "the planned expansion of incomes is related to the increase in national productivity" — thus foreshadowing a permanent wage freeze. This policy has since been confirmed by a statement from Crossman that an incomes policy is the new pattern in industrial relations and that if the Government has its way there will be no return to the conditions existing before July 20.

In the Congress, although the General Council obtained majorities for its support of Government policy, there was a substantial minority against it, with the Transport and General Workers' Union leading the opposition. The section of the General Council's report supporting the wage freeze policy was only approved by a majority of 344,000 — 4,567,000 against 4,223,000 — and it was widely stated that some of the unions' votes in favor of the wage freeze were cast in violation of decisions taken by the annual conferences of the unions.

A resolution moved by the National Union of Mineworkers opposing the proposed compulsory legislation of the Prices and Incomes Act, was only lost by 474,000 — 4,209,000 for; 4,683,000 against.

This minority of some four million votes was a striking feature of the Congress: it was also noticeable that in addition to the Transport and General Workers' Union and other unions organizing workers "by hand," the opposition included all the unions organizing workers in the professions. Apart from the resolutions on economic policy, a resolution calling for the cessation of American bombing of North Vietnam, and supporting "any action the Government or the United Nations Organization may take to bring about peace," was adopted without opposition.

Four weeks after the Trades Union Congress came the annual conference of the Labor Party, which opened on October 3. The dismissals and short-time working were then in full swing, and also the workers' resistance. A mass lobby of a thousand workers from the large motor car factories with London dockers and transport workers, had gone to Brighton, where the Conference was held, to challenge Wilson's policy, and he was compelled to meet a deputation after at first refusing to receive it, though he refused to commit himself to any change. The demonstrators against Government policy held meetings and marched with banners around

the Conference hall, giving great encouragement to the militant delegates.

On the evening of October 4, Wilson and the Cabinet decided to bring Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act into operation, although the policy was to be debated in the Conference next day. The voting at the Conference showed a majority for the Government's policy of about four million against the opposition of 2½ million on the various resolutions; but on the question of work sharing as an alternative to sackings, the opposition to the Government's policy secured 3,289,000 votes against 3,137,000—a majority of 152,000 against the Government and the Labor Party Executive. The Government and the Executive were also defeated on their East of Suez policy and withdrawal of troops, and on a good resolution from the Fire Brigades Union on Vietnam.

Since the March 1966 General Election the position in the Parliamentary Labor Party has changed considerably. Many new left Labor MPs were elected, and the inhibitions which led the left MPs to refrain from serious attacks on the Government after the 1964 election, with its narrow Labor majority, are less apparent. In April, 64 MPs signed a motion regretting the Government's support of America's war in Vietnam; and 59 MPs signed an amendment opposing the Prices and Incomes Bill in July. Some 30 MPs abstained from voting on that Bill in its later stages. In October, 28 MPs abstained from voting on the Order bringing into operation Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act. Apart from these abstentions, there has been continuous opposition to the Government's policy in private meetings of the Parliamentary Labor Party, and strong criticism by the lefts in speeches in the House of Commons. In addition to the number of MPs who have taken the deliberate step of abstaining from supporting the Government on important issues, there is a much larger number opposed to its policy.

In the course of the campaign against Wilson's policy, ideological questions are coming up—especially what is a socialist approach to the immediate problems, and what is socialism? In reply to the left accusations that the Government has departed from socialist principles, the Editor of the *New Statesman* published an article in its issue of September 16, 1966, under the headline "How Labor Blundered Into Socialism." It argues that "prices and incomes regulation . . . has true socialist blood in its veins" and that "the choice is between a jungle economy . . . and a civilized society in which the state supervises and rationalizes the brutal, natural process

of economic bargaining."

As a contribution to the discussion on socialism that is taking place in the movement, and especially among students and the youth, we have published a booklet in 20,000 copies outlining the case for socialism and the way towards it.*

There is a growing consensus of opinion in the Labor movement not only on the need for a new policy, but also on what the alternative program should be. Our 29th Party Congress (November 1965) put forward as a basis for discussion a program for a united left and progressive movement, in which the main points were: rejection of the incomes policy and of legislation to curb the trade unions; a price stop; end Britain's support for the American war in Vietnam; cut military expenditure; extend the social services. Similar points appear, in one form or another, in various policy statements made by left Labor and in trade union resolutions, in the Left Labor MPs' amendment proposing an alternative policy to the Prices and Incomes Bill, and in Cousins' letter of resignation to the Prime Minister. They are points on which the broad mass of the lefts in the Labor Party are united to a greater or lesser degree, and they are undoubtedly supported by the progressives in the trade unions.

But political unity between the various forces involved is still difficult to achieve. Nevertheless the trend is clear, and the movement is finding various important forms of common action.

In the trade unions the progressives are acting together with the aim of winning a majority of the members for opposition to the Government's measures and in defense of trade union rights.

On the factory floor, the direct struggle against Wilson's policy and its results is being led by shop stewards of various unions and political outlooks taking common action and explaining to the workers the need to fight.

Then there is the general mass movement sponsored by Shop Stewards committees against the anti-trade union Act and the Government's dictatorial, anti-democratic attitude. This body has already organized two Parliamentary Lobbies and will have a National Conference on December 3.

The feeling aroused on these issues among the industrial workers gives added strength to the existing mass movements, such as the various organizations working against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the British Government's support of it, the peace organizations and the Campaign for Nuclear Dis-

*The Case for Socialism in the Sixties by John Gollan.

armament, which is now active on all peace issues, the movement against apartheid and racism, the tenants' movement, and the campaign among women against rising prices. Regional representative conferences on Vietnam are being increasingly organized in the main areas. Of especial importance is the developing unity of the youth and students. The Youth United Action embraces the Young Communists, the Young Liberals, the L.P. Young Socialists, the Youth CND, and others. The students have started a Radical Alliance with Labor, Liberal and Communist students.

In all these movements the Communist Party has been active. We issued 400,000 leaflets, "A Policy to Solve the Crisis," against Wilson's July cuts; a pamphlet, "The Great Wage Freeze Ramp," which sold particularly well in the factories; our Executive Committee in September adopted a program "The Alternative to the Freeze" which was distributed in 350,000 copies; a pamphlet "We Want 40: the Case for the Seamen"; and 100,000 copies of a leaflet "Calling All Housewives." In addition, large numbers of leaflets were issued by our District Committees on particular issues arising locally, and there has been a continuous series of public meetings, including numbers of factory-gate meetings, to explain the causes and results of the Government's policy and showing the need to fight against it.

In June we held a meeting of representatives of Party factory branches from all parts of the country in which experiences were exchanged and the decisions taken to work to establish a further 50 factory branches. Twelve so far have been organized. And the Executive Committee of the Party decided to open a campaign to double the membership of the Young Communist League—a practicable aim in the prevailing atmosphere among the youth, and one towards which important advances have already been made.

In the developing situation of continuous struggle on many fronts, the Party membership is just starting to grow, but still too slowly. In September our Executive Committee issued a Political Letter to all members of the Party, outlining the issues before the Labor

movement and the new situation since the General Election, and calling on the Party for renewed public activity to develop the mass movement, acting jointly with all on the left, and to increase the membership of the Party and the Young Communist League and the circulation of the *Morning Star*. In October we had 389 applications to join the Party—the best October result for three years.

The new political situation in Britain is not a passing phase. Wilson has tried to give the impression that his measures against the workers and their trade unions are temporary, designed merely to tide over the country's immediate economic and balance of payments difficulties, and that when the position improves the policy will be dropped.

Other Government spokesmen have made it clear that Wilson is aiming to carry forward the incomes policy even after the "emergency," and to create a permanent pool of unemployment which he expects to be about half a million.

Callaghan makes optimistic statements about ending the deficit in the balance of payments in 1967; but it is difficult to see how, with the cutting down of production and investment resulting from the Government's policy, Britain's position can be much improved. In any case the burden of accumulated foreign loans will remain, and will be used by the Government to justify the perpetuation of the present restrictive policies.

In the immediate future, unemployment and short-time working is likely to rise to a new high level, and the fight against it, already being waged by tens of thousands of workers, will grow more stubborn. When the period of complete standstill comes to an end, and the period of "severe restrictions" on wage increases follows from January 1, 1967, the struggle for higher wages will inevitably grow in intensity. In these circumstances the growing opposition to the policy of the Government and the move to the left in the Labor Party, trade unions, Cooperatives and among the youth, will give new opportunities for the development of the unity which is so vital for Britain's future and the strengthening of the Communist Party.

For the independence and progress of Cyprus

E. PAPAIOANNU

THE PROGRESSIVE Party of Cypriot Working People (AKEL), the party of our working class, is the successor to the Communist Party of Cyprus, which was founded in 1926. As in other countries, the establishment of a proletarian party in Cyprus was an historical necessity, the natural result of economic, social and political development.

Emergence of the Workers' Party

After the Turkish Empire ceded Cyprus to the British colonialists in 1878, feudal relationships on the island began to give way under the pressure of rising capitalism. A local bourgeoisie (mostly commercial) came into being and the working class began to take shape. Exploitation by foreign and local capitalists and national oppression helped to awaken the working people to the need for struggle and organization. But because there was no working-class party the organizations which sprang up often fell into the hands of demagogues of all kinds.

Such was the situation when in 1917 the Great October Socialist Revolution took place, exerting a powerful influence on the development of all the countries of the world. The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, for instance, saw in the fact that the slaves of the vast tsarist empire had broken their chains and created a new, free state an example to follow in their own national liberation struggle.

This event which shook the whole world could not leave Cyprus untouched. Here too the objective conditions ripened for the working class to set up its own party. The Communist Party was founded and began at once

to organize the workers into trade unions and rally them to fight for better conditions. It organized actions for higher wages, shorter working hours, a higher standard of living, progressive labor legislation, reduction of the peasants' tax burden, for the transfer of the land to those who tilled it, against the tax tribute paid by Cyprus to British colonialism, and for heavier taxation of companies exploiting the country's mineral wealth. At the same time the Party waged a struggle for liberation from the colonial yoke.

After the uprising against the British occupation in October 1931 many leaders of the Communist Party and nationalist organizations were exiled. The British authorities unleashed a veritable reign of terror. The Party had to go underground but it did not give up its struggle.

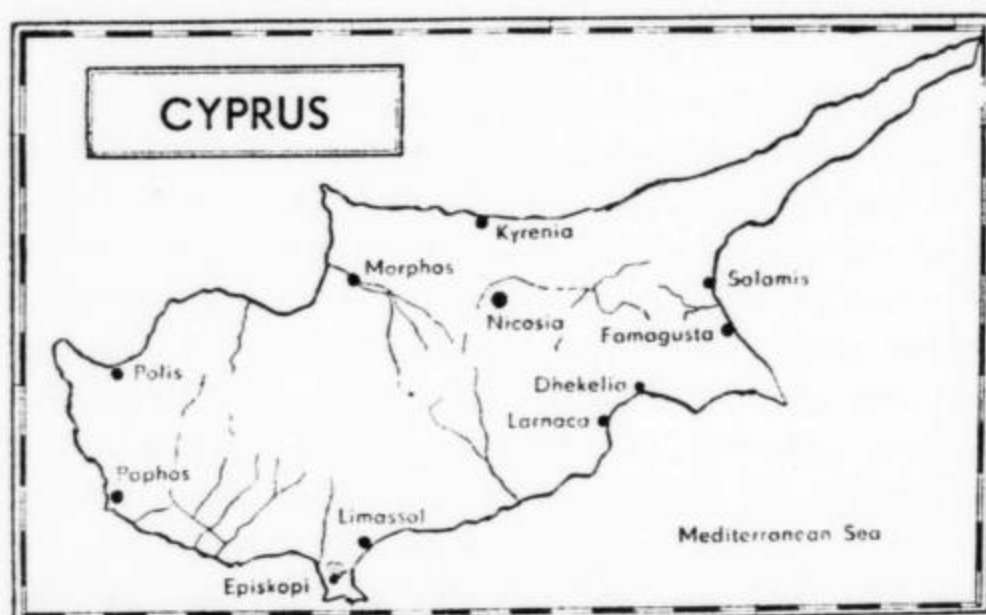
On April 14, 1941, in line with a decision to that effect taken by the illegal Communist Party, AKEL was founded. Its establishment in the conditions of the anti-fascist war was a landmark in the history of the Cypriot working-class movement. With the founding of AKEL the Communist Party emerged from the isolation to which it had been doomed by illegality and persecution by the British colonialists, and was again in a position to rally the broad masses of the working people to fight for the economic, national and social interests of Cyprus.

AKEL As the Successor to the Communist Party

The two parties functioned on a parallel for a brief period. But the Communist Party soon dissolved itself, urging its members to

join AKEL, which it characterized as the party of the Cypriot working class. AKEL grew into a mass party with close ties with the working people. Its immediate concern was support of the anti-fascist liberation struggle. It organized anti-fascist work among the people, and took an active part together with other progressives in the anti-fascist committees of the time. It urged its members and the public generally to volunteer for the army to fight the Hitler fascists. Nearly 700 members of AKEL, including 11 members of its Central Committee, responded and fought against the armies of Hitler and Mussolini on the North African and Italian fronts.

With the establishment of AKEL the national liberation movement in Cyprus began to make headway as never before. This was due not only to the favorable international situation but primarily to the fact that the arena of struggle had been entered by an organized and disciplined working class in close alliance with the peasantry and other



sections of the working people. By organizing general strikes, meetings and demonstrations, our Party made a decisive contribution to the fight for national liberation.

At its Eighth Congress in 1953 AKEL advanced a minimum program aimed at building a united liberation front striving above all to resolve the national question and to bring about reunification with Greece—moreover, an unconditional reunification without compensation or granting bases on the territory of Cyprus to any foreign power—while rejecting any association with the aggressive, imperialist NATO. Regrettably, however, the patriotic forces were unable to achieve unity.

On December 14, 1955, at a time when the national liberation organization was gaining momentum and EOKA (the national organization of struggle for the freedom of Cyprus) had begun to go over to armed action, the despotic regime of Field Marshal Harding* unleashed a of persecutions against AKEL and

other organizations such as the Progressive Youth Organization, the Peasant Union and the Democratic Women's Organization. In the course of one night 135 Party workers were arrested and the headquarters of the Party and other organizations as well as the offices of the Party paper *Neo Demokratis* and the Left newspapers *Embros* and *Anexartitos* raided. The Party and the other organizations involved were outlawed.

The imprisonment of the leaders of the AKEL, its outlawing and the persecutions generally made things difficult for the Party but did not break it. Regardless of the hardships, AKEL made an important contribution to the national liberation struggle. Together with other progressive organizations, it organized political actions, strikes and demonstrations. There were scores of general strikes and mass demonstrations against executions of patriots, against arrests and the terror instituted by the British colonialists. Many heroes gave their lives in this struggle.

When in the beginning of 1959 the British and American imperialists, in collaboration with the Greek and Turkish governments, engineered the Zurich agreements, AKEL opposed them, for they truncated the independence of Cyprus and left important bases on the island in the hands of the British imperialists.

Our Party correctly assessed the Zurich and London agreements, making it clear that they were the reflection of the balance of strength between British imperialism and the Cypriot people at the time. Supported by the Menderes government in Turkey and the Karamanlis government in Greece, the British imperialists were still in a position to impose these agreements on the people.

After these agreements were signed in February 1959, the Central Committee of AKEL declared that although they put an end to colonial rule in Cyprus, the national question remained unresolved, for the settlement offered by the agreements did not correspond to the national aspirations of the people, denied them the fruits of the liberation struggle they had waged for so many years. And even if colonial rule came to an end with the establishment of the new Cypriot state, this did not mean final liberation from the yoke of imperialism, which retained military bases in our country. Moreover, the retention of Greek and Turkish troops in Cyprus and insistence on a compulsory alliance with Turkey and Greece, as well as other anti-democratic and reactionary stipulations of the Zurich and London agreements, confirmed the conclusion that the independence of Cyprus was not complete and that, conse-

*The British governor at the time.—Ed.

quently, the struggle waged by the Cypriot people at this stage remained basically an anti-imperialist national liberation struggle.

The Tenth Congress of AKEL held in March 1962 examined the substance of the Zurich agreements and on this basis elaborated the program of the Party. "Inasmuch as the stage we are going through is basically one of anti-imperialist, national liberation struggle," the program stresses, "imperialism and its accomplices remain the chief enemy of the Cypriot people. The main aim of the general line of AKEL at this stage is full independence for Cyprus. To achieve this aim it is necessary to pursue an anti-imperialist foreign and home policy, a policy directed at putting an end to the political and economic dependence of Cyprus as well as to imperialist influence, abolishing the military bases, putting political and public life on a democratic footing and ensuring the economic regeneration of Cyprus.

"The motive forces in the fight for the achievement of the main objective are the workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie, in a word, the entire people—Greeks, Turks and Armenians—with the exception of those who have aligned themselves with imperialism. All these forces should join in a united anti-imperialist front. The foundation of this front will be the alliance of the workers and peasants which unites the overwhelming majority of the people.

"The working class will play the vanguard role in uniting all patriots and will be the leading force in the struggle for the complete independence of our people."

By complete independence AKEL means the achievement of a situation when the Cypriot people are the sole and unquestioned masters of their country vested with the right to order their own future based on the principle of self-determination.

Assessing the Constitution derived from the Zurich agreements the program of AKEL declares: "The powers granted under the Zurich agreements to the President and Vice-President, apart from the fact that they are excessive and run counter to the spirit of democracy, create a dual power and a serious threat to the country, which is likely often to find itself in an impasse and in a state of political stagnation. Democratization of political and public life and the affirmation of human rights are the best guarantee of progress for the Cypriot people and of the success of their struggle for complete independence. The Constitution of our Republic with its anti-democratic stipulations and the preservation of privileges not only encroaches

on the fundamental rights of the people but is a source of dissatisfaction, conflicts and political stalemate."

Experience has confirmed the line and perspectives set forth in the AKEL program. The anti-democratic constitutional provisions enabled the Turkish deputies to paralyze the municipal councils in connection with the income tax law and to set up separate municipal governments for the Turkish minority. It became steadily more patent that the regime established by the Zurich agreements could not function normally. The British and U.S. imperialists were quick to take advantage of this. They were the inspirers and organizers of the Turkish Cypriot uprising of December 23, 1963, which marked the beginning of the bloodshed of the past three years.

Thanks to the staunch struggle waged by the masses, the army and the government, and to the support and solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces, primarily the mighty Soviet Union, the people of Cyprus were able to stand up to imperialist aggression and insurrection on the part of the Turkish Cypriots.

AKEL and the popular movement as a whole played an important role in the rehabilitation of the country and in solving economic and other problems following the declaration of independence. The Cypriot people owe a great deal indeed to AKEL and its flexible tactics of full support of every positive step taken by the government and constructive criticism of every move and decision running counter to the interests of the people.

The Party of the Cypriot working class, which began as a handful of Communists without any theoretical grounding, now has a membership of 14,000 and wields considerable influence among the people.

Needless to say, in the 40 years of its existence the Party has not been free from mistakes. Owing to political immaturity, both the leadership and the membership committed sectarian errors and suffered from leftism. But taking a serious approach to these errors, the Party was able to correct them, each time accumulating experience of value for the people and their cause.

If the standard of living of the Cypriot working people has improved, this is above all due to the existence and activity of the Party of the working class. And if the national liberation struggle is what it is today, genuinely anti-imperialist in content, this too is primarily due to the contribution made by the Party of the working class.

AKEL is the standard-bearer of culture and progress in Cyprus, the champion of the people's interests, and fighter for national liberation. Today it is a politically mature

party guided by the invincible scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, illuminating the path of the Cypriot people in their struggle for national liberation and a happy life. As the Party of the working class, AKEL has its own program and its ultimate aim—the building of socialism and communism. At the present stage, however, its chief efforts are directed at ensuring the completion of the national liberation struggle.

Imperialism Is the Main Enemy of the Peoples

AKEL and the people of Cyprus are waging a determined struggle against the schemes of the British and U.S. imperialists to dismember and enslave our country through the agency of NATO, a struggle for the right of the people to order their own destiny, without foreign interference and without the presence of foreign military bases. The main enemy of the Cypriot as well as all other peoples of the Middle East is imperialism, above all British and American.

The British wanted Cyprus primarily because of its strategic importance. When they had bases in Egypt and controlled the Suez Canal, Cyprus served them as a base protecting the canal and generally the route to India and other British colonies. After they were ejected from Egypt and other Middle East countries, the importance of the island became greater still. Today it is Middle East oil that interests the British monopolies most of all.

U.S. imperialism attaches no less, if not more, strategic importance to Cyprus. For one thing, American oil interests net far bigger profits in the Middle East than in either North or South America, where extraction costs are three times as great as those in this part of the world. Moreover, the U.S. capitalists have been extracting copper ore in the Skuriotia-Mavrovuni area in northwest Cyprus since 1926; the company operating there has already netted more than £150 million in profit.

Since France's withdrawal from the NATO military organization, the Mediterranean in general and its eastern part in particular have loomed bigger than ever in the NATO strategy. As is known, developments in Cyprus considerably weakened the southeastern flank of this organization (Greece and Turkey). Now NATO is seeking a solution of the Cyprus question which would strengthen this flank, making the island a NATO strategic base and a link between this imperialist bloc and CENTO.

Under the Zurich agreements the British

imperialists were given the right to hold 99 square miles of Cyprus territory and to maintain 32 military bases on the island, and also the use of all the roads, airfields, seaports and the air space for military purposes. At Akrotiri (one of the main British bases) they have the biggest military air field in the Middle East. This field, incidentally, was used as a base of operations during the British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956, and also for the military provocations against the people of Yemen and Aden.

Moreover, Cyprus is a center of British and U.S. espionage and subversive activity against the United Arab Republic, Syria and the other Arab countries which have thrown off the imperialist yoke and launched out on the path of independent development. During British rule the U.S. imperialists were given the right to maintain three radio transmitters for subversive purposes, and since then the latter have been using the island as a center of their espionage activity in the Middle East.

The British and U.S. imperialists hope that possession of strong bases in Cyprus will enable them to step up their campaign to bring about the so-called Islamic pact which they have been advocating for a long time. It is easy to see why they should allot Cyprus a place of exceptional strategic importance in this respect.

Needless to say, the imperialist interests of Britain and the United States clash at times. But for all that, circumstances have long compelled British imperialism to play second fiddle and to follow in the wake of the U.S. imperialists.

In their efforts to split and defeat the national liberation front the neo-colonialists are making full use of anti-communism.

The U.S. imperialists have allocated 20 million for anti-Communist propaganda in Cyprus. U.S. money is used to corrupt the press and political leaders in order to divert the liberation movement from its main purpose—struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. Pretending to be sympathetic towards the national liberation movement, the anti-Communists are trying to scare the national bourgeoisie with the bogey of a "Communist threat" and to foment strife within the nation as a favorable climate for their schemes.

Anti-communism weakens the anti-imperialist, national liberation struggle and creates conditions favoring conciliation with and subordination to imperialism. And since Middle East oil draws the imperialists like a magnet, they are bound to encourage anti-communism in all the countries of this area, Cyprus included. As the most consistent

fighters for national liberation, the Communists are the main target of the imperialist and neo-colonialist attacks.

The Turkish Minority

One of the means used by the imperialists to subjugate Cyprus is chauvinism, provoking conflicts between the Turkish minority and the Greek Cypriots. The Turks account for roughly 18 per cent of the island's 603,000 inhabitants. The first clashes between them and the Greek Cypriots were provoked by the British colonialists in 1958. Later the British engineered, jointly with the U.S. imperialists, the revolt of the Turkish Cypriots which has been going on since December 1963.

The theory has been advanced that peaceful coexistence of the Turkish and Greek communities is impossible. This myth, invented by no means fortuitously, is part and parcel of the imperialist scheme to dismember Cyprus and doom it to NATO bondage. The argument of the imperialists and their henchmen is that the Greek majority is encroaching on the rights of the Turkish minority.

The facts, however, refute these allegations. Both groups of the population have lived for decades without conflict. Even today there are villages and enterprises where peasants and workers of both nationalities work side by side in perfect harmony. It is imperialism with its notorious divide-and-rule doctrine that has sown confusion and strife. The claim that the democratic rights of the Turkish Cypriots are in jeopardy is a plain lie.

On October 11, 1965, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus delivered to the United Nations Secretary General the following government declaration: "The Government of the Republic of Cyprus, considering that the basic rights and freedoms it has proclaimed and which extend to all citizens irrespective of nationality, religion, language or sex, and the communal privileges accorded the various communities of national minorities in Cyprus, and also the internal legislation and international guarantees of these rights and privileges will be a positive step towards removing the anxiety of the national minorities in regard to their future, and taking into account the corresponding sections of the report of the United Nations mediator in Cyprus, declares its readiness:

"to give effect in Cyprus to (a) basic rights and freedoms according with the international declaration on human rights; (b) autonomy for all national minority communities extending to education, enlightenment and religion, questions connected with the status of the

individual in society and other similar problems; (c) parliamentary representation of the minority communities in conformity with the recommendations of the United Nations mediator."

At the same time the government agreed to international control through the United Nations over the implementation of these measures.

The declaration was followed by a charter specifying the rights and guarantees in detail.

Clearly, the democratic rights of the Turkish Cypriots are in no way threatened; on the contrary, the Greek Cypriot side and the government agree that these rights be effectively secured.

Our Party has always pursued towards our Turkish compatriots, who constitute the principal national minority in Cyprus, a policy of rapprochement, friendship and cooperation capable of creating a climate of mutual trust. This policy strikes a blow at the imperialist plans for the dismemberment of Cyprus and ensures the conditions necessary for the solution of the Cyprus question. In the decisions of its Eleventh Congress held in March 1966, AKEL stressed: "Consistently pursuing this patriotic policy, our Party headed by the Central Committee, has tirelessly worked for its implementation. Our Party played a significant role in combating chauvinism whatever its sources, and also in urging the government officially to submit to the United Nations a declaration on minority rights. Our Party calls upon the government to take concrete practical steps to help our Turkish compatriots to return to their homes and to engage in their normal occupations without fear for their lives and property . . .

"Endorsing the policy and activities of the Central Committee in relation to the Turkish minority, the Congress underscores that it is the urgent patriotic task of every member of the Party and every patriot of Cyprus to work tirelessly to bring the Greek and Turkish Cypriots closer together, to create normal peaceful conditions for their coexistence, friendship and cooperation, for these are the necessary condition for the peaceful solution of the Cyprus question."

Unity is the Key to Success

If the Cypriot people have so far succeeded in preventing the dismembering and fettering of the country and in foiling the invasion plans, this is due above all to two important factors: the unity of the people, the army and the government and their resolve to rebuff the aggressors, and international support and solidarity.

From its inception AKEL has been working for unity in the national liberation struggle. The minimum program it elaborated in 1953 could have served as a basis for the unity of all popular forces irrespective of ideological or other differences had not the Party's proposal been rejected by the leaders of the national bourgeoisie, who clung to their policy of no cooperation with the Communists.

It should be admitted, however, that sectarianism manifest at the time in the activities of the AKEL did not facilitate unity. Aggravation of the class struggle and mutual recrimination made it impossible to create a climate conducive to unity.

But AKEL did not give up its efforts. For instance, during the national liberation struggle in 1955-59, our Party, correcting its sectarian mistakes, consistently worked for the unity of the people. The progress made in this respect is primarily due to the work done by the AKEL and other patriotic organizations. The stand taken by President Makarios and other leaders of the national bourgeoisie of course greatly facilitated this progress.

Unity in Cyprus today takes the following form. On the basis of the proclaimed policy of seeking a solution to the national question without territorial or other concessions, and of respect for the people's inalienable right to self-determination, AKEL supports President Makarios and his government. Although neither AKEL nor persons close to it ideologically take part in the government, the President receives representatives of our Party from time to time and discusses with them diverse problems arising in the course of the national-liberation struggle. AKEL representatives likewise meet with members of the Makarios government, and the parliamentary group of our Party cooperates with the deputies of the Patriotic Front. Trade unions cooperate with one another in examining problems affecting the workers. The same happens in the peasants' and handicraftsmen's unions.

This is evidence of the growth of unity both in the national liberation movement and in the struggle for the day-to-day interests of the people. The dominant spirit in Cyprus today is that of unity and cooperation. There are, of course, corrupt anti-communist, pro-NATO elements who are seeking to divide the people, but they are not finding any response.

In the struggle both for national liberation and for the immediate demands of the masses our Party pursues a steadfast patriotic policy of unity, concentrating its fire on the main enemy of our people—imperialism. Consistently and resolutely upholding its line, our Party works to rally together all the patriotic forces

for more effective action against the imperialist plans for enslaving our country.

The Eleventh Congress of AKEL declared: "Congress notes the big contribution made by the Party and all patriots to the achievement of unity of action in the national liberation struggle. Welcoming the national unity and cooperation dominant today among all sections of the people, Congress urges the Party to cherish and to do its utmost to preserve the progress made in building national unity, and to work untiringly to strengthen this unity. In working for the creation and organizational crystallization of the united patriotic front our Party should employ flexible tactics without allowing any compromise in matters of principle. In this front all Cypriot patriots — Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites, both men and women, irrespective of political, ideological and other differences — should find their place. The working class with its militancy, dedication and vanguard role should win the confidence of this front and become its heart and soul. Moreover, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry should be the cornerstone of our united national liberation, anti-imperialist front.

"Our Party's attitude to the Makarios government is also a component of the policy of national unity. . . . Its consistent support of this government is dictated by the interests of the national liberation struggle of the Cypriot people. Our Party supports the government since it sees eye to eye with it on the most important thing—the national policy of independence and self-determination. But this does not mean that it agrees with all the activities and policies of the government.

"Congress endorses this attitude towards the government and calls upon the entire Party to continue just as openly to support the government on the basis of the joint line aimed at independence and self-determination. At the same time our Party should continue to criticize, constructively and always bearing in mind the interests of the national liberation struggle, any decisions, actions or shortcomings of the government which in the Party's opinion do not accord with the interests of the Cypriot people and their fight for national liberation."

Experience shows that in order effectively to build popular unity the Party needs something more than a correct general line. Correct tactics are equally essential. Sectarianism and doctrinaire attitudes are the most dangerous enemy of unity. It cannot be built through hurling invective at political opponents. Unity can be strengthened only by serious, painstaking effort, by the personal example of Party workers and members in

their daily activities among the people.

Even when criticism becomes necessary, it must be conducted in a form that will help to promote unity, not prevent it.

Needless to say, unity is not an end in itself. It is the means for the achievement of the goal, and the most effective means at that. Because of this we should cherish and extend our achievements in this sphere. AKEL will draw on its rich experience to strengthen the cohesion of the people against their main enemy—imperialism—and for genuine national liberation.

* * *

The people of Cyprus have a difficult path

ahead, a path of struggle against strong imperialist powers bent on maintaining their bases on the island, of struggle against the subversive activities of the imperialists and their henchmen.

As it observes the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the party of the Cypriot working class, AKEL is raising still higher the banner of anti-imperialist struggle, of unity and national liberation, fully confident that, the difficulties notwithstanding, with the support of the people of Greece and other countries, in particular with the help of the socialist world and the non-aligned countries, the national liberation struggle of the Cypriot people will triumph.

Strikes

1966: OCTOBER, NOVEMBER

In the capitalist countries, the working people, upholding their rights, fighting against monopoly oppression and for satisfaction of their demands are, as in the past, resorting to strike action.

Below is a far from complete chronicle of the strike movement in recent months, but even this gives an idea of the scope of the battles fought by labor against capital.

USA. On October 3, 14,400 workers in a number of enterprises of the General Electric Company downed tools despite appeals by President Johnson. In mid-October another 30,000 employees of this company went on strike.

CANADA. Over 5,000 workers of the Air Canada Company were on strike for more than a week in mid-November. The strike practically paralyzed air transport in the country.

ITALY. On October 2, hundreds of ships sailing under the Italian flag were confined to port—as a result of a strike by crews. On October 6, one million workers—machine-builders, metalworkers and iron and steel workers—declared a general strike which paralyzed several branches of the economy. The end of

October saw a week of struggle by 400,000 farm laborers, sharecroppers and tenants in Sicily.

FRANCE. Mass meetings, demonstrations and strikes took place in the country on November 23 in connection with the National Day of Action and Manifestation of Working People.

SPAIN. In the Asturias, Barcelona, La Coruna, Madrid and elsewhere thousands of workers fought against dismissals and employers' sanctions in October-November by organizing strikes and demonstrations.

BRITAIN. Thousands of auto workers at the Vauxhall works in Luton were on strike for several days in the second half of October.

GREECE. All over the country 180,000 builders and workers of associated trades held a one-day strike on October 13. Mass meetings in support of the strikers were organized in Athens and other towns.

BELGIUM. 100,000 civil servants struck work on November 10.

URUGUAY. On October 7, 10,000 builders declared a 72-hour strike. They were joined by transport workers and workers in other industries. On October 11 the country was affected by a general strike in which 200,000 took part.

PERU. On November 2, 30,000 fishermen began a long strike.

COLOMBIA. A four-week "hunger march" of Colombian teachers, whom the government had not paid for months, ended on October 20. The marchers covered a distance of 1,600 kilometers.

ARGENTINA. Some 220,000 railwaymen and 20,000 seamen held a 24-hour strike on November 9. Solidarity with the strikers was voiced by a number of important trade unions.

SOUTH AFRICA. In mid-October, miners in the main goldfields were on strike for more than a week.

Communists of advanced capitalist countries discuss their views

An exchange of views on the subject "Fight Against State Monopoly Capitalism, for Peace, Democracy and Socialism, and the Place of Reforms," took place in Prague over November 1-3, 1966, under the auspices of the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism."

The gathering was attended by representatives of 16 Communist and Workers' parties: the Communist Parties of Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the Swiss Party of Labor, the Communist Party of the United States.

* * *

The exchange of views was opened by G. Frantsov, Chief Editor of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. On behalf of the editorial board of the journal he thanked the Central Committees of the parties which had sent their representatives to the exchange, and also the participants.

The political situation, Frantsov said, makes it imperative for representatives of the fraternal parties to meet from time to time to exchange views on the issues of the day. Such gatherings are a sign of the growing unity of the world Communist movement and of the fact that the need for this unity is dictated by the logic of contemporary development. Attempts to undermine this unity with the ultimate aim of destroying it comes up against this objective logic which is an expression of our conscious will. There is no doubt wide prospects are opened for meetings of representatives of fraternal parties and, as we see it, it is the task of our journal to help to the best of our ability towards the realization of these prospects. We shall be happy should our efforts in this direction prove fruitful.

A somewhat new situation is emerging in the capitalist world today, a situation that has already been partly discussed in our journal but which requires further examination. Needed in particular is an analysis of such phenomena as the inflation in a number of capitalist countries and the drive of big capital against the rights of the working class; the

growing struggle of the working people for a bigger say by their trade unions in response to the changes in the sphere of technology, for a bigger say in the enterprises and in the management of the economy.

Then there is the growing aggressiveness of imperialism and the increasing threat to peace, as seen primarily in the war in Vietnam. In this connection the demands for an end to U.S. aggression are becoming more insistent and the movement of solidarity with Vietnam is spreading. This in its turn affects internal developments in the capitalist world, the alignment of political forces in the various countries and on the international arena.

A sound approach to the problems posed by the present situation, in the opinion of many comrades, will help to promote the growth of the Left, to consolidate and unite it and to increase the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the working people in the capitalist countries.

These points have been discussed in general outline in articles in our journal by a number of comrades. Perhaps it will not be out of place to recall them here.

The journal has highlighted the growing struggle to enhance the role of the working people in political and economic life in capitalist society. The fight for reforms is another expression of this tendency. Lenin once said that the Bolsheviks support those reforms which "undoubtedly enhance the independence,

class-consciousness and militancy of the proletariat." (Lenin, "Once Again About the Duma Cabinet") The system of reforms for which the Communists are working could, in the process of their implementation, gradually lead to a reconstruction of capitalist society, which, as Lenin put it, "affects the *foundations* of the state system, and not just parts of it, the *foundations* of the edifice and not an outbuilding, not merely one of its storeys." (Lenin, "May Day Action by the Revolutionary Proletariat.") The class struggle of the working class is steadily closing in on the foundations of modern capitalist society.

In the course of this struggle certain tendencies—in some cases more in others less pronounced—can be discerned: the working class is battling for the right to decide the political, social and economic destinies of society. The struggle assumes different forms. The workers are not as yet always aware of the actual, far-reaching aims of this struggle, and the social reformists are doing their utmost to hinder the growth of the workers' class consciousness.

A manifestation of this intensified struggle of the working class for a say in shaping the destiny of its country is its greater participation in election campaigns, the growing number of Communist deputies in the parliaments of some countries, and, in some cases, participation of Communists in government. In Italy and France the Communist deputies play a big role in the political life of their respective countries. We rejoice in the latest gains of our Finnish, Swedish, Swiss and other comrades in this sphere.

A similar trend can also be observed outside of parliament. The working class is fighting more and more insistently for the right to share in the management of enterprises. The social reformists want to steer this process towards "social partnership," a device the capitalists are trying to use to bribe the top trade union leadership and certain sections of the workers.

The struggle for the rights of union committees in the enterprises or organizations such as the shop stewards in Britain continues. The working class and its organizations are intervening in resolving issues formerly considered the prerogative of the employer, "trespassing"

on his "immutable" property rights. No wonder the employers are beginning to resist this process with increasing energy. The National Council of French Employers, for example, has categorically declared that "in the matter of enterprise management there can be no sharing of the power" (see issue No. 9, 1966). Similar voices can be heard in West Germany and other capitalist countries. The capitalists feel that here the very foundations of capitalist society are challenged.

Essentially the economic struggle of the working class has a profound social significance. The so-called "incomes policy" implies the fixing by the state of limits to wage increases in all branches of industry. Such is the general line of the capitalists. But the working class has no intention of accepting any limitation of its economic struggle. In other words, it has no desire to agree to the present division of the "national cake" between workers and capitalists. Here, too, it is demanding a bigger share, its right to income accruing from the development of the productive forces. But this struggle is bound to encounter obstacles raised by the state and the social system in bourgeois society. Such are some of the trends in the development of the struggle of the proletariat.

Questions concerning the management of public life, of the bourgeois methods of this management, are coming to the fore in the capitalist world. And even many bourgeois theorists have had to admit that some of these methods are no longer suitable. The working class is reaching out — true, not confidently enough as yet — toward these levers of management. And the impact on the capitalist world of the socialist countries presently introducing new methods of economic management, depends on the success of these experiments, on the growing economic and social might of the socialist countries. Thus by the logic of history the two mainstreams of contemporary development — the socialist countries and the working class of the capitalist world — merge into a single trend on the success of which largely depend the constructive endeavors of the new states that have thrown off colonial yoke and effective support of the struggle against all colonialist machinations.

Contributions to the discussion follow.

THE WAY TO THE MASSES

WILLIAM KASHTAN

General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada

THE SUBJECT MATTER we will be discussing is of considerable importance to all parties in the advanced capitalist countries.

What is involved is the way to the masses,

the way to unite the working class and its democratic allies, and step by step, weaken monopoly, oust it from its positions of power, and facilitate the process of advance through

the struggle for democracy, to socialism.

All Communist and Workers' parties have rich experience in this regard. It goes without saying that the experience varies, corresponding to the level of consciousness of the working class and the problems requiring solution in each country arising from the policies of state-monopoly capital. Nevertheless, our discussions both in their generalities and in their concreteness should help all the parties.

We are faced with a complex situation and with skilful enemies who, through the mechanism of state-monopoly power, are striving to smooth out the inner contradictions of capitalism and save it from inevitable defeat in its competition with socialism and its own working class. This includes a conscious policy directed towards achieving economic growth as well as a conscious policy of making minor concessions to the growing demands of the working class and other sections of the people. These concessions are in fact an integral part of the efforts of state-monopoly capitalism to maintain its hold over the people, slow down class and revolutionary consciousness and isolate the Communist and Workers' parties from the masses.

These policies have had their effect on the working class, particularly where Communist and Workers' parties are small and not able directly to head the struggles of the working class. It has strengthened, temporarily, belief in capitalism, and has tended to dull socialist consciousness. On the other hand, because state-monopoly capitalism cannot resolve its inner contradictions except at the expense of the working class and broad sections of the people, it has not been able to dampen the class struggle or the strivings of the people for a better life. The fact is that the contradictions are becoming more acute.

A *new socio-economic situation* providing *new possibilities* and involving *new difficulties* has taken shape in recent years in the advanced capitalist countries.

State intervention in economic life and social relationships has become extensive and multiform. This to a large extent accounts for the prolonged period of high economic activity and the more or less rapid growth of the economy in nearly all the developed capitalist countries, and also for the absence or decline, as in the case of Canada, of mass unemployment. The monopoly capitalists, acting both through the government and directly in industry, have been compelled to make concessions to the workers in the socio-economic and to some extent in the political sphere.

The possibility for this was created by the scientific and technological revolution, the rapid growth of the productivity of labor as a result of this revolution, and ruthless exploitation of many peoples of the so-called third world. These concessions were wrested from the capitalist class by the militant actions of the working class and in turn were

influenced by the changed balance of class forces in the world arena and on the scale of the separate countries.

At the same time, the growing strength of the organized workers leads to a situation where the bourgeoisie tends increasingly to refrain from making concessions and seeks, with the aid of the state, to curtail democratic and trade union freedoms in order to prevent the working class from winning its demands. This is associated with the economic difficulties experienced by the capitalist countries (growth of inflationary tendencies) and the accentuation of the aggressive policy of imperialism.

In a number of countries, including our own, governments have in varying degrees adopted deflationary policies directed to bringing about planned unemployment as a regulatory device to weaken the positions of the working class. In this changing economic climate and their growing economic difficulties, monopoly and the state already have imposed or are striving to impose restraints, guidelines and controls over wages as part of an ever-growing offensive on living standards and trade union rights.

In this highly complex situation the class consciousness of the workers in the West is undergoing a certain evolution.

There is a growing radicalization and increasing purposefulness in the struggles of the working class as well as a turn to the left, politically, among sections of the working class. While there is no Chinese wall separating the process of radicalization and the trend to the left, the dominant current apparent in Canada today is that of an upsurge of radicalization and militant action by the working class. What is characteristic of this upsurge is that the majority of workers strive for reforms within the framework of capitalism and do not yet challenge capitalism itself. The desire and pressure for reforms grow. This applies both to those countries where the majority of the workers are socialist-minded, though as often as not in a vague, indefinite way, as in Western Europe, and to countries where the majority of workers do not as yet envisage the socialist alternative (USA, Canada).

Contradictory developments have emerged in the recent period. The new forms of state-monopoly policy ("the affluent society," policies of economic growth, "planning," etc.) stimulate tendencies by a part of the working class to "integrate" with the existing regime, to give up struggle. At the same time the problems and contradictions engendered by the boom, the scientific and technological revolution, automation, inflation prices, the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and the gains of the working people themselves heighten in the working class the striving towards change, for far-reaching reforms, which acquire a socio-political and not only an economic, trade union character. Because of this

most of the latest efforts to promote class collaboration have failed.

The working-class movement is on the upgrade in Canada and in other countries. The workers want substantial wage increases and shorter working hours and by their militant actions are able to improve their living standards. Other demands, too, are beginning to be put forward, such as improvement of the system of education, health care, pensions, vocational training, etc.

Of particular significance is the movement for democracy in industry, for fuller rights for the workers' organizations (trade unions, shop stewards' committees) in the enterprises, aimed at curbing the high-handedness and arbitrary actions of the employers. The workers are advancing these demands especially in connection with automation and other technological changes and in the struggle for "working rules" in the USA and Canada. It is a measure of the growing consciousness of the working people that the struggle for job security, that is, the right to the job, has been placed in the forefront by the workers and linked up with the demand to curb monopoly and expand the rights of workers and their unions when technological changes are carried out. This is an area of struggle to which many Communist parties, ours included, attach considerable importance.

In Canada as in a number of other countries the class struggle has led to the emergence and development of what is called a "new left." This trend embraces sections of youth, largely student youth, and a growing body of intellectuals, mainly from the universities, who are becoming more active in public life.

This development is enhanced by a considerable upsurge of militant action on the part of young workers in industry. It was these sections of the working class which sparked the unofficial strikes in numerous industries in Canada and by their actions sharply condemned union leaders who tried to make deals with employers. This phenomenon, arising from the influx of large numbers of young people into industry, has given additional stimulus to the demand for an end to right-wing policies and for adoption of more militant policies by the trade union movement.

At the same time among substantial sections of the young people there is a growing questioning of the "establishment" and of the status quo, a feature of which is, as yet, the absence of a clear perspective. Young people show a willingness to fight for a just cause but reject the idea of becoming part of a political party, including our own party. This impartial criticism of our Party needs to be heeded. Our Party cannot ignore or close its eyes to these currents and trends or to the criticism made by those of the young generation which will shortly comprise 50 per cent of the Canadian population, a generation which has had its own experience, its own judgements and

values which are different from those of the past.

The arena of struggle is widening and going beyond strictly economic issues. As the working class and other sections of the working people, through their militant struggles, are able to wrest concessions from monopoly and to some degree modify the extremes of capitalist exploitation, they have begun to advance other demands. Democratic freedoms, human rights and human dignity, alienation — these are increasingly coming to the fore in debate and in action.

There is widespread disrespect and disregard for laws which working people consider to be unjust and weighted to uphold the rights of monopoly at the expense of the people. This finds its reflection as well in growing opposition to the use of the courts and judiciary in labor disputes.

That the arena of struggle is growing is to be seen particularly in the widespread opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam and to the efforts of U.S. imperialism to act as world policeman and prevent the peoples from deciding their own destiny without outside interference. The actions of the U.S. Government have opened the eyes of large numbers of Canadians, young and old alike, to the ugly nature of imperialism. The struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and for peace has become an important factor in stimulating anti-imperialist and left currents in Canada and, at the same time, has strengthened the demand for an independent course for our country, economically, politically and in foreign policy—free from U.S. domination and control.

Such, then, are the contradictory aspects of the situation in which our Parties in the developed capitalist countries find themselves. On the one hand, there are factors which give rise in some sections of the working class to a striving "to live at peace" with capitalism, and on the other, there are objective forces at work in the opposite direction.

This makes it incumbent on us to work out programs based on the *real* contradictions of *present-day* capitalism, not the capitalism of yesterday, programs unencumbered by outdated slogans. For this it is necessary to make a thorough, creative, non-dogmatic, Marxist study of contemporary capitalism, its development and its concrete problems and contradictions. As we know, this work is already under way, though not on a sufficiently extensive scale.

Our programs, however, should not merely be based on an analysis of present-day capitalist reality and its problems; they should also take into account how this reality with all its contradictions is reflected in the thinking of the diverse sections of the working class and other laboring classes. In order to work out adequate programs we must get to know and correctly understand the peculiarities of the class consciousness of the working masses

and first and foremost of various sections of the working class.

How has the high level of economic activity and relative improvement of living conditions affected the thinking of the working class and other sections of society? What is the effect of a certain degree of job security (especially in countries without wide-scale unemployment)? And how is the greater striving for security, often threatened by technological progress, manifested? How do the workers look upon the threat to their gains and the possibilities for extending them? What changes have there been in the way the working class and other sections of the working people understand the concepts of freedom, equality, respect for human dignity, etc.? How are these strivings manifested in practice?

All these aspects need to be examined in elaborating our program.

It can be said that the development of state-monopoly capitalism, the changes in the nature of production, that is, the scientific and technological revolutions and the evolution of the workers' thinking underscore the possibility and the need to wage a struggle on a national scale to extend the democratic rights of the people, to win reforms. These include broader democracy in industry, democratic economic planning (this implies restriction of the power of the monopolies), and democratic reforms in the spheres of education, pensions and public health. These include, too, the extension of the democratic rights of the trade union movement. All these demands in the long run will, if realized, strengthen the positions of the working class in contemporary capitalist society. Today many objective factors prompt the trade unions to exert growing pressure on the state and in this way to introduce political elements in what formerly was basically a purely economic struggle.

A more thorough study of the situation in the developed capitalist countries would no doubt open opportunities for deepening the old, and advancing new, democratic tasks.

Communist and Workers' parties have had varied and rich experience in the struggle for reforms. All of us can learn from both the positive and negative sides of these experiences and the extent to which they have facilitated the revolutionary process. Experience in our country shows that under pressure of the mass movements the capitalist class is prepared to go to some lengths in the way of acceding to the demand for reforms in the interests of maintaining its system. Experience also shows that some measures of reform are supported or even initiated by monopoly with the aim of strengthening capitalism and making it work more effectively in the interests of capitalism as a whole.

In some countries nationalization is far advanced as a result of the victories and advances of the working-class movement. But, as we know, monopoly when it is in power uses

nationalization not to advance the interests of the working class but those of state-monopoly capitalism.

How do we cope with this problem? Too many workers are not prepared to support this demand because where there is nationalization, they often do not see it as a step forward but rather a means which cramps their ability to fight, limits their ability to strike, limits their ability to make economic advances. Instead, therefore of a process of growing support for nationalization there is an opposite current against nationalization amongst workers. How to face up to that?

It is interesting to note that there are at the same time currents of opinion among sections of workers in industries calling for nationalization. But that is not typical of the working class as a whole. We do not see the issue of nationalization as an immediate issue of united action at least in Canada. And yet we need to find those intermediary demands, including forms of struggle, which help the working class in its struggle against monopoly and for an extension of the democratic rights.

We have examples in our country of nationalization that the bourgeoisie carried through. Electric power, for instance, in Canada has been nationalized under public ownership for years. It was the capitalist class that carried through public ownership of energy, and for understandable reasons. They want cheap power to lower the cost of production and they carried that through. Now, of course, in the general sense, it likewise serves the interests of the people as a whole. And one can estimate that similar measures of that kind will be carried through by monopoly when it suits its overall class interests.

When we speak of reforms, therefore, we take as a starting point those reforms which facilitate the revolutionary reconstruction of society—reforms which the working class and its politically conscious detachments wrest from capitalist society and which both weaken capitalism and enhance the role of the working class, helping the latter to realize its own strength and the part it is called upon to play.

On the other hand, revolutionary phrasemongering and impatience which substitutes wishes for a real analysis of the objective situation and the level of consciousness of the working class, and seeks for shortcuts to bypass stages of development, is out of keeping with the demands of the epoch and can only inflict damage.

The main problem arising before the Party in elaborating its program is how to make it the program of the masses, how best to stimulate progressive mass movements and to enter the mainstream of these movements. There is no single, simple answer to this question. What is clear, however, is that the better our programs accord with the real situation and the deeper they are rooted in the sentiments of the working people, the sooner

will they give them their support.

An important question in this connection is that of the practical ties between the Party and the masses. We believe that we have not yet completely rid ourselves of elements of sectarianism (mostly in the practical, not theoretical, sense). At times the emphasis is placed on work within the Party, and not on work among working people. We have not yet fully rid ourselves of a certain "fear" of the masses.

In working for far-reaching cooperation with other forces in the working-class movement, primarily with the Social Democrats, we come up against the difficult problem of how to retain our identity in the eyes of working people when we advance a program of peaceful transition to socialism, democratic reform, etc. In Canada we are faced with this problem in connection with the New Democratic Party, whose stand on a number of home and international issues is quite progressive. Clearly, if the workers do not see any essential difference between us and the Social Democrats (or New Democrats) they will give preference to the stronger, bigger and more traditional party.

On the theoretical plane the difference between reformism and our reform program is easy enough to see. For the reformists, reforms are an end in themselves, since they either lose sight of socialism as the ultimate goal or merely pay lip service to it. The revolutionary party, the Communists, see in reforms not only achievements in themselves, but seek to make each deep-going reform a *step towards the final aim*—socialism. The Communists regard active mass struggle as an essential condition for the achievement of radical reforms. They put forward a program calling for a complex of far-reaching reforms which would shake capitalism and lead the working class forward step by step in its struggle against capitalism.

There is no doubt, however, that it is far from easy to show the working class and other sections of the working people in practice what the difference is between our program of reform and reformism.

This question is of considerable importance particularly for parties which, like ours, are small and do not as yet play a sufficiently effective role in the political life of the country. There are no easy answers here, nor any shortcuts. From our experience we need to pursue the dialogue, strengthen the fight for cooperation, particularly in industry, in the trade unions and in the battle for peace and democracy and at the same time correct tendencies to water down ideological differences or criticism of right-wing policies. It is by a correct and all-sided approach that left currents will be stimulated and strengthened and the struggle for working-class unity advanced.

The prospects of the struggle waged by the Communist parties of the developed capitalist countries depend to no small extent on the situation in the countries belonging to the

socialist world system and in the international working-class movement. It is patent that every achievement and, conversely, every setback of the socialist system and the Communist movement as a whole greatly affects the situation in the Communist parties of the capitalist countries.

In saying this, however, we must nevertheless ask the question: why are a number of parties not yet mass parties? Why are the mass of working people not as yet turning to them? What are the obstacles standing in the way? Do they include the contradiction between the objective situation which dictates new ways of working and tendencies on our part to think and work under the conditions of the past?

It seems to me that in the new conditions the Party has to change itself, change its image to reflect the strivings of the working class and the leftward moving currents in our country in terms of the issues, ideas and ways of bringing about social change. This is essential if our Party is to strengthen its influence and win for itself those forces which desire fundamental change. In this way we may find the answer to transforming our Party from a propaganda party into a mass political force in our country.

In our country we face a contradictory situation. The slogans of our Party, the ideas of our Party, are taken up by the democratic forces, by the organized labor movement and, in one way or another acted upon. Our ideas are accepted but, by and large, our Party is not accepted as yet by large numbers of workers. Why? This is a problem, perhaps it is a problem only for our Party, although I believe other parties may be confronted with somewhat similar phenomena.

In other words a revolutionary process corresponding to the level of the development of our country but which is part of a worldwide process is taking place, but our Party, apparently, seems to be unable to become a beneficiary of that process in the immediate sense. Therefore it seems to me that the problem here is not simply one of new methods of work or of a new style of work nor is it one of changing the organizational structure of the Party. Maybe these aspects should be examined by our Party and, perhaps, by other parties too, but I don't think this is the crux of the problem. It seems to me that the problem goes much deeper. The question we need to ask ourselves here is what are the objective roots of that problem?

I think the general mood, and certainly that is true in Canada, is for radical reforms but not for revolution in the classical sense. The workers and other sections of society show a readiness to fight for democratic and radical reforms and, depending upon their strength, to make gains in this struggle. On the other hand, they see our Party as the party of revolution when they think that the problems they need

to solve are problems of democratic advance. The workers show a desire for change. But that desire for change does not express itself in the desire for revolutionary change in the classical sense and in the way which they understand revolution, nor in the way in which it has taken place in a number of countries. I think we need to ask ourselves: does conservatism today express itself in a failure to adapt the work of our Party sufficiently to the present situation and whether we still tend to think in ways which were applicable for the past but which do not correspond with the present stage of development?

We are confronted with the question: How can a revolutionary party work in non-revolutionary conditions, that is, in conditions when the mass of the working people have not yet reached the level of revolutionary conscious-

ness or the desire for fundamental revolutionary change of society. It is this aspect of the problem we still need to work on, particularly from the standpoint of how in these conditions to bring about such changes that would make it possible for parties to grow and strengthen and develop their ties with the working-class movement. Of course, each Party has to settle this question by itself and has to start on the basis of the needs of its people and the needs of its country and the needs of its working class.

We hope that the discussions here and the continued discussions by parties may help us to find the roots of the problem which, it seems to me, afflicts not only a party like ours but perhaps many other parties in the capitalist world today.

URGENT DEMAND OF THE TIME

ERKKI SALOMAA

Member Political Bureau and Vice-Chairman, Communist Party of Finland

FINLAND IS A RELATIVELY highly developed industrial country where the overwhelming majority of the population earn their livelihood by their own labor. Industrialization has left the rural population in the minority. At present the agricultural labor force, including both the wage workers, of whom there are comparatively few (some 30,000), and the farmers together with their families, constitutes 29 per cent of the total labor force.

The number of wage and salary earners, including civil servants and professionals, is about 1,580,000, of which industrial workers account for nearly 900,000. The majority of the latter, totalling some 600,000, are engaged in engineering and paper-making. The engineering industry employs the largest number, while the woodworking industry holds first place for volume of output in terms of value.

Since 1938 Finland's industrial production has increased roughly fourfold, and output per worker 2.3-fold. The general trend of concentration of capital and transition to state-monopoly capitalism evident on the international plane has clearly asserted itself also in the economic life of Finland. This can be seen if only from the fact that our economy is controlled by 20 big capitalist families. Another indication is that the 24 biggest firms account for 42 per cent of the total industrial payroll.

The majority of our population live in cities and towns. There has been a considerable migration to urban centers from the eastern and northern districts where the employment level is low. At present only 15 per cent of the popu-

lation live in northern Finland which accounts for 51 per cent of the country's territory.

In the last elections held earlier this year the People's Democrats lost some ground, receiving just over 500,000 votes, or 21.2 per cent of the total. The turnout at the polls is generally rather high in Finland. In the last election, for instance, 2.37 million voters, or 83.92 per cent of the total, cast their ballots. The results of the voting afford an idea of the situation in our country. The Social Democrats, who led at the polls, carried some 645,000 votes, or 27.2 per cent. The Social Democratic opposition, which joined in an electoral bloc with the People's Democrats, received 61,800 votes. The biggest bourgeois grouping — the Center Party — with mainly a rural following polled over 500,000 votes, or 21.3 per cent of the total. All these parties are represented in the present government, while the workers' parties have the majority in parliament.

The Communist Party is a comparatively large party with 45,000-50,000 members. The various People's Democratic organizations have a membership of about 100,000, many of whom are also members of the Communist Party. The trade union movement, if we take into account all organizations classified as professional associations, including those led by bourgeois elements, unites about 650,000 people. The unions whose executives have Communist majorities have a membership of about 90,000; these include the country's biggest union — the building workers', with 61,000 members. In all 43 per cent of all working people belong to trade

unions. The percentage is higher among industrial and building workers — 75-80 per cent.

Although the People's Democrats (including the Communists) have proportionately more supporters in the poorer districts of northern Finland, the overwhelming majority of their following consists of workers in the industrial areas, including many comparatively highly-paid skilled industrial and building workers. Generally speaking, workers of this category play a prominent part in the trade unions and in the People's Democratic political organizations. Hence it can hardly be said that the People's Democrats find their support among the lowest-paid groups, while the better off workers back the Social Democrats. The latter have a sizable following in such low-wage branches as the textile industry, agriculture and trade, and also among the petty-bourgeois sections of the working people and middle class elements who as often as not vote Social Democrat. The People's Democrats have very little support among the lowest-paid categories of government officials, clerical workers and professionals.

The question of the fluctuation of the living standard is not a simple one. We cannot say there has been a steady deterioration of the conditions of the working people. On the other hand, the inherent tendency of capitalism to lower the standard of living of the working people is clearly evident. According to data collected by the economic department of our Central Committee there has hardly been any change in real wages in recent years. Although there have been annual wage increases the cost of living has gone up proportionately. Official figures indicate that in the year ending this autumn the cost of living index rose by about five per cent.

Finland has some labor laws superior to those in other capitalist countries. But at the same time we face such phenomena typical of capitalist society as unemployment, arbitrary closing of enterprises, and the insecurity attendant upon all this. The contradiction between capitalist property relations and social development is glaringly manifest.

In the postwar years many important reforms which had figured in the program of the working-class movement for decades have been realized. In our time progress, the realization of the most urgent social changes, presupposes restriction of the capitalist property relations.

The deepening and extension of Communist influence among the working masses and winning supporters for our Party in a society such as ours is connected with the solution of the multiform problems confronting it. Changes in the population structure, the rapid growth of certain categories of the working people and the increasing urbanization accompanying this, as well as the changes in the way of life due to technological and economic development have a direct bearing on the conditions in which the working-class movement functions.

In this connection I should like to make the following points:

1. The peasant question has acquired an essentially new aspect. The peasantry is no longer the majority of the nation, and its composition differs from that of the agricultural population which formerly made up the bulk of the population. In effect, there are no big farmers. Although big capitalist associations own land, they do not cultivate it to any appreciable extent. Most farms are either operated by the farmer and his family or employ only a few laborers.

It is no longer enough for the Communist agrarian program to advance the demand for more land and subsidies for the small farmers and subsistence peasants generally. We must take a realistic attitude to the decline in agriculture and demand jobs for those who no longer can make a living on the land. The slogan of the day is industrialization and the guarantee in this way of earnings for the population of the depressed areas.

As before, organizing the agricultural laborers in unions and in political organizations is a task of the day. But this category is so few in numbers that the question is no longer of decisive importance. Depending on the season some 30,000 to 130,000 lumber workers are engaged in felling, most of them owners of small farms. Organizing this category of workers, partly engaged in agriculture, is a difficult job.

Urban growth and the growth in the numbers of wage earners naturally expands the sphere of influence of the working-class movement. But it should be noted that the new groups of wage earners are not yet fully alive to the need to join working-class organizations.

There still is not full clarity on how to win over the rural working people, both those leaving the villages and the older generation remaining behind. Our former attitudes and former slogans are obviously inadequate.

2. Mechanization and automation have altered the conditions of our organizational and ideological work in the enterprises. For one thing, the work groups are smaller. Intensity of labor is such that little time is left for talks and discussions of topics of general interest. On the other hand, as a result of the concentration of industry and the disappearance of the smaller enterprises, the workers are now concentrated in the bigger enterprises, which makes them easier to reach.

Formerly we Communists inveighed against rationalization and automation. But we could not stop the process. Today the performance of the workers is judged and the payment for labor fixed on the basis of work study. Our people have had to learn something about these methods in order to be able to carry on a more effective struggle against the employers. But we have not succeeded in preserving the former wage conditions. The trouble clearly is that we have been slow in going into the methods of calculating production costs and wage rates in an industry which is being moder-

nized. As it is we can hardly offer any other basic method of struggle than strikes of all kinds.

There is reason to hope, however, that provided due attention is paid to this question new methods of work can be evolved in enterprises where the labor processes are mechanized to the maximum and which are being automated. Our forms of trade union and other work have remained practically the same as they were in the past, though essential changes have taken place in industry.

3. The mode of life of all working people has likewise undergone changes. I have in mind not only the higher standard of living which the bourgeoisie is making so much of. That such an improvement has taken place compared with the years of depression is an indisputable fact. But besides this there are other changes in the life of the working people which should be taken into consideration. Our mistake most likely is in approaching the wage worker of the present decade with the same yardstick we used in the past, regarding certain changes in his way of life as negative and hence reprehensible.

Finland offers a good example of how technological progress with TV sets, refrigerators and automobiles having become consumer staples, and how better housing affect the way of life. The additional leisure, too, makes its imprint. Moreover, the influence of the mass media, especially the radio, TV and the press, is also quite different from what it was before.

Many of the traditional and useful forms of activity no longer attract people, and especially the youth. For instance, workers' organizations rarely hold successful socials nowadays, unless they are something out of the ordinary in one way or another and well advertised. The Communists and People's Democrats do not find it easy to attract people to take part even in May Day celebrations and demonstrations. The Social Democrats gave up organizing May Day demonstrations some 20 years ago. We cannot expect to be able to preserve many of the existing forms of activity or to improve the functioning of workers' organizations by reviving obsolete methods of work. It is imperative to conduct our ideological and organizational work in keeping with the present-day conditions.

The problem facing us is that of finding an approach to people, both during and after working hours, that would enable us to bring our viewpoint home even to those who are least of all interested in politics. Our mistake probably consists partly in that we do not always realize that others may be able to exert a greater influence on the modern man by using more popular and attractive forms of activity. The situation in this respect is a far cry from what it was at the time of the ten- or twelve-hour working day.

In my opinion, working people today are more interested in politics than they were in the 'thirties, for instance. Nor do I hold that

this interest or the number of our supporters will decline in the future. The trouble is that we are somewhat behind the times. In particular the development of the mass media has produced methods of moulding opinion which make things difficult for us. Formerly it was police terror and intimidation that hampered our organizational, propaganda and ideological work. Today the obstacle is the indoctrination of the public mind which our enemies finance so lavishly.

4. Despite the chronic unemployment, the closing down of enterprises and other developments, the bulk of the working people feel more secure. Credit buying has become common. There is a good deal of home-building on long-term credit. Although people are heavily in debt they acquire property of one kind or another. Consequently, the worker, fearing to lose what he has acquired, becomes apathetic to struggle. He is only too pleased if he can win a wage increase without a strike.

On the other hand, the worker who has more possessions than his counterpart in the 'twenties or 'thirties is economically hamstrung to a greater extent. These considerations made themselves felt during the last campaign for wage increases. It is difficult to know what to do under the circumstances. We cannot sit back and wait for a world crisis during which the workers would lose whatever possessions they have and be impoverished to a point where they are ready to rise in defense of their rights without hesitation or fear of the sacrifices involved. We must approach the question of the readiness to fight from the standpoint of the present conditions, realizing that the worker who has regular work and a 40-hour week, and who enjoys the benefits of a social security system, has a different attitude to struggle.

5. Another problem is that of winning support among the new categories of workers. Against the background of a steady increase in the overall labor force, the numbers of clerical and mental workers are growing particularly rapidly. Due to technological progress, new occupations have appeared in industry, in building and in other branches. So far we have not been able to make enough headway among these new groups. We still orientate almost exclusively on the traditional categories of industrial workers. Yet it is these who win over the new, growing sections that will carry with them the majority of the working population.

The tasks of the day in Finland, and most likely in other capitalist countries, are as follows:

1. The fight to broaden democracy should be extended to the economic sphere, in particular to the enterprises. At the same time the very concept of democracy should be elucidated and deepened. We should explain in greater detail and in keeping with the conditions in our country what we mean by democracy, how capitalist property is an obstacle to the deepening of democracy, why the striving for eco-

economic and social security, independence and well-being never accords with the aims pursued by the capitalists.

2. We should not confine ourselves only to denouncing the capitalist system, but should put forward proposals for reforms that can be realized within the framework of this system. This is the basic premise of the economic and political program adopted at the last Congress of our Party. These proposals include promoting those branches of industry of importance for the economy as a whole and changing foreign trade policy. The fight for full employment is inseparably connected with proposals and demands relating to our economic life as a whole.

3. The attitude and the role of the Social Democrats should be examined in detail. For years the Social Democrats were majority parties and headed the unions in many capitalist countries. And although their attitudes and the solutions advanced by them were often erroneous from the standpoint of the working class their following hardly changed. We should

make a thorough study of the principles, methods and efficacy of our educational, organizational and ideological work, taking into account the attitude and influence of the Social Democrats. Sincere cooperation with them does not rule out effort to win supporters and members for our Party among workers who still adhere to Social Democratic views.

4. It is imperative carefully to examine all the current slogans and tasks and reformulate them, with due attention to their relative importance. In all probability there are many new developments not yet studied by us and hence not tied up with our urgent tasks. On the other hand, we are still occupied with issues which have to one or another extent lost urgency and find no response among the masses. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries need detailed and flexible economic and socio-political programs. It is imperative to ensure that the practical work conducted day in and day out in the enterprises and in all other areas of public life should be in line with our principles and program of action.

FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SWEDISH COMMUNISTS

KNUT BAKSTROM

Swedish journalist

I SHOULD LIKE to dwell on some aspects of the experience of the working-class movement in our country. If this experience differs somewhat from that of other countries it is because of certain historical factors. I am not referring, of course, to such universally known facts as Sweden's non-involvement in wars in the past hundred and fifty years, or that the Social Democratic Party has been in office for nearly 35 years, although these facts undoubtedly form part of the general picture of the Swedish working-class movement.

The working-class movement has strong traditions. Sweden is an old industrial country. The percentage organized in the trade unions has always been very high. Discounting the anarcho-syndicalist group which is negligible, the trade union movement has always been united organizationally. This unity has been of cardinal significance. It helped to prevent the spread of fascism in the troubled thirties; it helped Sweden keep out of the war.

The trade Union Federation has a membership of over one and a half million and embraces 90 per cent of the country's manual workers. It caters solely to manual workers. This tradition dates back to the time when office workers were in a privileged position and their interests, consequently, were at variance with those of workers. As long as they enjoyed

these privileges the office workers saw no need for having their own militant organizations. With the development of capitalist rationalization and the scientific and technological revolution, office workers began to play a bigger role in production. In some of the leading industries they now constitute a third of the total labor force. No longer a privileged caste, their interests are at variance with those of the employers. Even foremen who enjoyed certain privileges threatened strike action last year if the demand for a wage increase was not met. Office workers are thus now a part of the working class and their class consciousness is steadily growing. They have their own unions affiliated to the Central Organization of Office Workers which has a membership of over half a million. In the beginning the two leading trade union bodies clashed over the question of affiliates and participated separately in collective bargaining.

Besides the aforementioned trade union centers a third one was established, the Central Union of University Graduates. Its members are employed principally in government or municipal offices. Beginning with 1966 their salaries were fixed on the basis of agreements, just as in the case of the salaries paid office workers in private firms. At present most of the members of this union are involved in labor disputes which often take the form of strikes

and lockouts. They are not actively supported by the two other Centers.

Thus we see that by adhering to traditions which are no longer acceptable the trade union movement has caused a division in its ranks, a fact which monopoly capital is taking advantage of. However, there is a growing demand for unity and coordination of the economic struggle. In view of chronic inflation workers are demanding a yearly wage increase and corresponding alterations in the collective agreements. On the basis of the general agreement signed thirty years ago between trade unions and employers on the procedure of revising collective agreements, collective agreements are now concluded which subsequently acquire the force of law. United action when revising collective agreements is all the more necessary considering that the struggle is waged against highly centralized and powerful forces. As a result of "free enterprise" monopoly capital controls nearly 90 per cent of the Swedish economy, mostly in the hands of 15 families whose absolute freedom of action can be restricted only given strong public pressure.

The effectiveness of production can be substantially increased even in conditions of capitalism. Thus, labor productivity per worker has risen by approximately 50 per cent in the past ten years. The increase was even bigger in small-scale industry (62 per cent). This is due to the fact that it has been found more expedient to concentrate highly rationalized and very often automated serial production in the smaller enterprises in the provinces. As a result of rationalization the number of the small and medium-sized factories of the ordinary type is dwindling.

Concentration of production may be seen from the fact that large-scale industry is gradually being located in areas around three cities — Stockholm, Goeteborg and Malmoe. For many years now one factory after another has had to close down. In most instances they are old, typically Swedish enterprises which were the only, or the main source of the local population's livelihood. Areas in the north have been particularly hard hit. Preoccupied with concentration of the economy, the monopolies are least of all concerned about the future of the local population and have made this the responsibility of the government and the communes. To meet this responsibility a government fund for developing new industries was set up. However, it also serves private interests. Thus, in the western part of Sweden one of the biggest monopolies is closing down a paper mill which provided employment for a large part of the local population, and is proposing instead to organize at the expense of the said government fund more profitable production on the premises of the same mill.

Another example. Ten years ago there were eight morning papers in Stockholm. Three of these, and for a while four, belonged to the working-class movement. Now only two of these papers, both bourgeois, have remained.

The other six had to close down because of insolvency.

These are only a few examples of the abnormal state of affairs in the country, due to monopoly rule which is steadily tightening its stranglehold. This process is impelling the working people and intellectuals to make a new appraisal of the situation. Hence the growing demand to coordinate the trade union fight and to put an end to the rivalry between the central union organizations, to carry out more reforms than hitherto. The Communists have long since been urging that democratic measures be introduced in the enterprises making it possible for workers to be better posted on factory matters, to participate in decision-making. This question is being widely debated in the country.

In this connection I should like to note that there is a growing understanding that the trade unions should not be involved in this system for this would restrict their actions in the economic fight. The movement for broader economic democracy and the right to participate in factory management should be made a political issue. In the same way the question should be raised of giving the workers a bigger say in decision-making in the economic sphere (this is all the more urgent in view of the abnormal trends in economic development caused by monopoly rule). This demand for reform, which has the significance of a structural reform, is making for increasing unity which, however, should be expressed more actively.

During the election campaign two years ago the Communists were the only ones to come out against rising prices. In particular, they proposed controlling prices and concluding an agreement on prices similar to the agreements on wages. Social-democratic propaganda declared this demand, which was also directed against the power of the monopolies, to be unrealistic. Subsequently, however, it received such widespread support that the Social Democrats made it the central issue in the 1966 elections. The Trade Union Federation too at its last congress decided on measures to combat rising prices.

— We hold that unity of the working-class movement should be based on growing understanding of the need for structural reforms and respect for each other's world outlook and party adherence. The opinion is current among the Social Democrats that this year's election defeat is due to their party's concessions to the monopolies, the direct result of its policy of class collaboration. Taking advantage of the feebleness of the Social Democrats' policy, particularly on the question of prices and housing, the bourgeoisie resorted to shameless demagoguery. Despite their electoral success the Communists could compensate only for part of social democracy's losses.

Anti-communism is one of the obstacles in the way to working-class unity. But we are learning to combat it effectively. Only a year ago the leader of the Social-Democratic Party declared that it should be "reported again and

again during the election campaign" that the Communists are disrupters. However, he soon realized that tactically this was not benefiting social democracy. Hence, its publication *Tiden* called upon those party officials engaged in the election campaign to refrain from repeating the old charges against the Communists, in particular that they are not democrats and do not represent the interests of the nation. Since the elections we have achieved a situation where the press and other mass media describe the bourgeois parties as belonging to one political bloc, and the two workers' parties to another.

Marxism-Leninism is steadily gaining ground in our country. It is not so long ago that the classics of Marxism-Leninism were ignored in Sweden. Not so today, with leading publishing houses putting out many of the works of Marx and Lenin to meet the growing demand for them.

This greatly helps to counter the "arguments" of anti-communism and to promote unity of action by the working class. We believe that this unity should be achieved before deciding on its forms.

RENEWED MILITANCY OF THE WORKING CLASS

GEORGE MEYERS

Member National Committee of Communist Party USA

I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE a few observations about the changing situation in the U.S. and then proceed to one or two problems of a general character.

The Peace Movement in the United States is waging a valiant struggle against the criminal war in Vietnam, even as it strives to increase its effectiveness.

A great number of mass demonstrations against the war have taken place in all parts of the country. Johnson, Humphrey and other political leaders who favor the war have had to face mass picket lines organized by the peace forces.

Church and civic leaders, students, educators and other intellectuals have come out publicly against this war. Many leaders of the Negro Freedom Movement have expressed their opposition.

It is true that the Meany-Lovestone leadership in the AFL-CIO has endorsed the war policies of the Johnson Administration, but there is another side to the picture.

Workers are refusing to sacrifice for the war. Trade unions are conducting militant struggles, including strikes, to support their demands for wage increases to meet the spiralling cost of living. Every trade union leader in the country has condemned Johnson's efforts to limit wages by imposing restrictive guidelines.

Important union leaders have questioned the war, and increasing numbers of workers are organizing union peace groups.

While the "hawks" on the ultra-Right are advocating further escalation of the war, even to the use of nuclear weapons, a substantial majority of the American people want the war ended. According to a very recent survey taken by the Harris Poll, 62 per cent want the war ended now.

Johnson may try to present a picture of invincible determination to continue to a mili-

tary victory, come what may, but he can't take the people with him. He can and will be forced to retreat as the world's peace forces strengthen and consolidate their all-sided support to the heroic people of Vietnam.

The Negro Freedom Movement, which began as a protest by Negro college students against discrimination in restaurants and other places of public accommodation, soon spread to a fight for political rights, especially the right to vote. The movement has now flowed over into the basic struggle for economic rights—the right to a job at decent pay, proper housing, medical care and the other necessities of life. The slogan "Black Power" is more a manifestation of Negro national pride, than of the separatist tendencies of the few who use it.

While there is no formal Negro-Labor alliance, the unity of action between these two vital movements has been demonstrated in various ways. Past political cooperation is continuing, and the Freedom Movement is working together with the Labor Movement on union organizing drives. Such a drive, based on Negro-white working-class unity, is beginning to take on momentum in the South.

The student movement, which sprang up in the early sixties, began as a "Free Speech Movement," against McCarthyite repression and influence in the nation's schools and colleges. It is active in the struggle for Peace, Negro rights, better educational facilities, and the rights of political minorities on the Left.

The Party achieved an important breakthrough against the wall of silence that had been imposed by the mass media controlled by Big Business, as Gus Hall and other leading comrades spoke to literally hundreds of thousands of students on college campuses.

The student movement has developed an advanced understanding of the role of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. It has displayed a new

radicalism and increased interest in socialism, but still has to be won to a fuller appreciation of the role of the working-class in modern society. However, not an inconsiderable number of sons and daughters of workers in college have been active in this movement. An appreciable number of former student activists are now working as organizers in the trade unions.

There have been some important developments in the Catholic Church in the last few years.

Sharp differences have developed between these in the Church who welcomed the initiatives of Pope John XXIII, and those who would retain the reactionary policies of the past. A debate is taking place between the religious leaders and laymen who believe the Church should be more in tune with the times, and the supporters of such reactionaries as Cardinals Spellman and McIntyre.

Some welcome developments are taking place. A number of Catholic religious and lay leaders are in active opposition to the war in Vietnam, contrary to past practices of giving unquestioning support to everything with an anti-Communist label on it.

Catholic priests and nuns are participating in the struggle for Negro rights. Many are active in the war on poverty. Sections of the clergy are supporting the struggles of the Mexican-American farm workers to organize into the AFL-CIO Farm Workers' Union, and other trade union organizing drives.

Members of other religious bodies in the United States are also participating in these democratic struggles.

The Communist Party, USA, early welcomed the initiative of Pope John, and publicly offered the hand of friendship to those in the Catholic Church who expressed the need of a break with the past.

Some have met us half way. As a result, there has been a principled dialogue between Catholic religious leaders and U.S. Marxists concerning the areas on which we agree and disagree.

Of course, it isn't always easy for us to break with our own past estimates of the role of the Church. Comrade Hall has labelled some past attitudes toward religion as "Ingersollism," not Marxism (Robert Ingersoll was a prominent petty bourgeois opponent of organized religion who lectured widely in the United States as an agnostic).

Quite an interest in socialism is developing on the campuses of Catholic colleges. A prominent publisher of Marxist books says these are now among his best customers. Recently, the well-known Communist, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, was one of the principal speakers at a Benedictine College near Pittsburgh, Penn.

A new mood of militancy characterizes the trade union movement today. There have been a considerable number of rank and file strikes caused by an accumulation of unsettled grie-

vances stemming from increased speed-up and problems caused by the introduction of automation. Several big strikes have been conducted for wage increases to meet the spiraling cost of living, in the face of charges that they are "hurting the war effort."

Company and union contracts involving millions of workers are expiring at a time when the militancy of the workers is on the rise. Big Business is attempting to stem the tide. President Johnson is resorting to the use of existing anti-labor laws, and plans are afoot to slip further anti-strike restrictions through Congress in the form of a compulsory arbitration law. Some bourgeoisie theoreticians have expressed concern that the workers might refuse to obey such a law.

There are a number of concrete examples of the renewed militancy of the working class as manifested in the trade union movement:

The determined struggle for wage increases to meet the cost of living, often ending in strike action; the growth of trade union membership after a long period of decline; the rising demand that the unions have more to say about the installation of automation and other technological changes in the interest of protecting job security and work standards; the beginnings of political independence, even within the framework of the two party system.*

On nationalization. Comrade Kashtan raised the question of the difficulty of mounting struggles for the nationalization of industry in Canada. I think our problems in the United States may be somewhat similar.

In our country, there are many forms of direct and indirect subsidization of a great number of industries by the Federal Government. The railroads, shipping industry, and a number of others would collapse without it. A number of giant corporations, particularly in the munitions industry, have the Government as their biggest customer. The knowledge gained in research projects initiated and sponsored by the Federal Government, is turned over to private concerns for exploitation and profit.

Despite this there is little support among the workers for nationalization. The Communist Party has only been able to raise this important demand in a formal way. I think there are a number of reasons for this.

First, there have been some bad experiences on the question of "government ownership" in our country, as well as some positive. Temporary "nationalization" has been used to break strikes on the railroads and in the coal mines. The government took these industries over to force the strikers back to work, but there was no change in management, and profits continued.

Government workers are surrounded with all

*Comrade Meyers' article on the problems of the trade union movement in the United States will appear in one of the next issues of the journal.

sorts of legal restrictions against the right to strike. For these and other reasons, many workers feel that nationalization will restrict their ability to struggle for better wages and working conditions.

While the Tennessee Valley Authority has been very helpful for the economy, there are many instances of corruption and inefficiency in such situations as municipal control of transit systems, etc.

Many otherwise knowledgeable people believe that nationalization in other capitalist countries only takes place when an industry is no longer able to function profitably, but when its services are needed by other capitalist enterprises. The newspapers frequently carry stories critical of nationalization in other countries and try to place it in a bad light.

I would like to propose that an article, or a series of articles, appear in the *World Marxist Review* describing the struggles for nationalization in other capitalist countries and how such struggles benefit the working class.

There is a question which is under some discussion in the United States, the theory of the "Aristocracy of Labor," the corruption of sections of the working class. As this theory is used by some left forces in the United States, it seems to always take on an anti-trade-union, anti-working-class character. (In my own opinion at the present time there is very little room for the application of this theory in our country.)

The question has not been discussed by the comrades here, and it may not affect other

parties. If it does, I think the *World Marxist Review* should also stimulate further discussion on this matter.

Finally, on the question of reforms. Capitalism still has the ability to respond to the mass struggles for reforms, no matter how reluctantly. First, they meet demands with an adamant refusal, then seek to water them down, then grant grudging, partial—and often temporary—concessions.

Big Business quickly tries to hide its defeats, describing concessions forced from them as gifts, and further proof of the superiority of the "free enterprise system" over socialism. At the same time, it is laying plans to negate the gains made by the workers.

The Communist Party, USA, firmly supports the mass struggles of the people for economic reforms and the extension of democratic rights. We believe that such struggles, even for partial reforms, lead to struggles for more advanced reforms, rather than instill a sense of passivity. In the course of these struggles many workers will learn to see the need for socialist solutions as the only permanent answer to their needs.

Mass struggles for reforms help strengthen and unite the working-class and other democratic forces in America, in the continuing struggle against the monopolies, and are a prerequisite of the struggle for socialism in our country.

The convening of this seminar is most timely, and the discussions taking place can surely strengthen the general struggle for peace and socialism everywhere.

A PROGRAM OF SOCIAL CHANGE

JOHN ALAN SANDY

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AUSTRALIA IS A HIGHLY developed, industrial, monopoly capitalist country with a small population, 11 million, living in a vast area favored by great natural resources. Living standards are relatively good and a high degree of bourgeois democracy prevails.

For 17 years Australia has been governed by the Liberal Party — a conservative reactionary party — in coalition with the Country Party.

The great bulk of the population are workers, either industrial or white-collar. No wars have been fought on Australian soil, nor have any types of revolutions occurred. Hence it is a country somewhat unique in the world.

Over the past 70 years the labor movement has been strong but dominated by reformist ideology — the great majority of workers his-

torically giving their political allegiance to the Australian Labor Party, a reformist social-democratic party. The trade union movement is strong and traditionally militant and forms the backbone of the ALP.

The Communist Party is weak numerically, having only 5,000 members, but we have a very big influence in the trade union movement, holding very many full-time T.U. posts.

The Party, as a result of 47 years of activity, has won an integral place in the nation's political life and has earned prestige and affection among advanced sections of working people providing a firm foundation for further development. Nevertheless Party membership, votes and press sales have all seriously declined over the past 20 years.

This state of affairs has led us seriously to consider our policies and methods of work.

We believe that the general tendency of Australian economic and social development is creating new objective possibilities for a *left-wing coalition of social forces cooperating in action for basic reforms in monopoly capitalist society* and, in this action, creating the potential force for socialist transformation of the existing social order.

This is the concept which the Central Committee of the Party is placing before the membership for discussion and debate leading up to our 21st Congress next year. Is this concept correct and if so how should the Party work to realize its achievement?

Technological and other changes in the post-war years have had profound effects on the Australian economy and on the class forces.

The character of further economic and social changes is ultimately determined by the fact that ownership and control of production, trade, finances and administration remain in the hands of a narrowing oligarchy of powerful capitalist groups.

The massive inflow of foreign capital has given foreign concerns almost 40 per cent control of all secondary industries and an even greater share of mineral, oil and coal extraction. The result is a grave loss of economic independence. Vital decisions affecting Australia are now made in New York and London.

Modern monopoly capitalism is unable to realize the great possibilities inherent in technological change because the main consideration is making bigger profits.

Mechanization and automation are being introduced in Australia piecemeal, without national planning or consultation with the workers and their unions about their future or their rights. Political life and democracy also are influenced by these changes. The machinery of government more and more openly acts mainly in the economic and political interests of big business.

Decision-making is concentrated in fewer hands; most citizens are alienated from any control over the policy levers which determine their lives. This, combined with growing militarism, the undeclared war in Vietnam and the ultimate threat of nuclear war, leads to a certain frustration, apathy and lack of social concern which is an underlying cause of many social and moral problems of contemporary Australia.

The moral crisis of our times is expressed in the sordid commercialization of relations between people and much of contemporary culture. It is expressed in the ever-growing gap between the conventional morality preached by the ruling class and the reality of how its power is exercised — with widespread fraud and corruption, the use of napalm and other "advanced" technological barbarity in Vietnam in the name of "freedom", the spending of huge sums on war while hundreds of millions in the world are hungry.

The essential question deciding the nature of a society is the relation in which the various social groupings stand to the means of production.

Of approximately 4¼ million listed in the 1961 Census figures as the Australian "work force," about 3½ million (or 80 per cent) are workers. Of these, 2.3 million are industrial, one million "white-collar," and 170,000 rural workers. Between them and the six per cent listed as employers stand a declining number of self-employed, about 10 per cent.

The industrial working class is decisive for the functioning of modern society as the class whose work produces its material values and keeps transport and communications flowing.

Industrial workers are growing numerically, and are the most highly organized. They are the most important social class and political force in the struggle for reforms within capitalism. They are the central social grouping in the combination of forces interested in the socialist transformation of Australian society, they comprise the class most capable of decisive political change.

Non-industrial wage and salary workers, taken as a whole, are the fastest growing part of the work force.

The white-collar grouping is not homogeneous in social composition but ranges from the mass of low-paid clerical workers and shop assistants up to the relatively few administrators of capitalist enterprises and governments. Besides the clerical and commercial workers, there is a wide range of specialists, planners and technicians working in big enterprises and for governments.

Many of these people have a potentially anti-capitalist position, both from material interest and from the clash of their humanist and scientific concepts with the narrow, limiting pursuit of profit by the monopolist enterprises, and with the associated policies of Federal and State governments.

The shape of possible development in this whole grouping is apparent in the growth of white-collar and professional unionism, and its growing cooperation with the industrial unions in campaigning as well as in arbitration cases.

It cannot, however, be assumed that the great social and economic changes taking place will automatically compel identification of the mass of white-collar workers with industrial workers.

Australian unionism has long been a powerful industrial and political force. The trade unions, whose primary concern is the workers' economic interests, unite over 2,000,000 workers of all shades of political opinions. Defense and improvement of wages, hours, leisure and work conditions and the defense of basic trade union rights and practices against government intervention and penalties will continue to occupy the main attention of the unions. But technological change, monopoly growth and control of society create new conditions and new tasks for the unions.

Today, defense of workers' economic interests raises such responsibilities as the assertion of workers' rights to intervene in planning and management of industry and technological change; challenge to the employers' sole right to decide employment and conditions; the necessity for union activity to go beyond narrow limits of arbitration advocacy, negotiation and even the usual concepts of industrial action; development of adequate research departments which can advise and equip the unions with information on which up-to-date policies can be based.

The conservative coalition government has survived because the labor movement has been divided and irresolute in its opposition to the government.

There are deep divisions in the ALP itself. A split occurred in the ALP in 1954-55 with most of the extreme right-wing elements leaving or being expelled to form the Democratic Labor Party, an extremely reactionary party based mainly on Catholic support. Hence the policies of the ALP have tended to be more progressive evidenced by official opposition to the war in Vietnam and to conscription. There has been a considerable strengthening of the left in the ALP, militant and socialist-minded, more coherent and determined than in the past.

New radical elements from the growing middle strata are entering industrial and political activity in increasing numbers. Although this is usually within the framework of the established peace movement or labor movement (particularly the emerging new white-collar unionism) it also sometimes assumes an independent form. This is expressed in independent peace initiatives, development of radical journals and publications, and an important growth of a not yet sharply defined but nevertheless palpable radical left in the universities, academic, literary and art fields. This important new development tends naturally to associate itself in the main with the various parties and trends in the labor movement, enabling both the labor movement and radical intellectuals to effect a much-needed cross-pollination of ideas and to coordinate campaigning for radical social changes.

A growing contribution to the constructive solution of the problems of society comes from important trends in the religious communities, including the Catholic Church, which is tending to become the biggest church in Australia. The progressive religious trends concerned increasingly reject capitalist ethics. Differences between conservative and progressive trends in the churches express the impact of today's issues upon all ideologies, creating new conditions for dialogues between, and common action by, all who seek radical social reform.

The struggle between right and left, both in its broader forms and within the labor movement, increasingly centers around anti-communism. Anti-communism, heavily financed, is more and more the banner and pretext for the most reactionary policies, while those standing

for progressive domestic and foreign policies find themselves faced with the need to advocate policies and undertake actions which are similar to, or parallel with, those advocated, supported or initiated by the Communist Party.

The main need for the whole of the Australian left today is to develop a commonly-agreed set of proposals for radical social reforms and an independent Australian foreign policy.

I will have time only to mention (and not develop) the points:

- An independent foreign policy renouncing all military and political alliances which commit Australia to intervention in Asia against the national-liberation movement; the withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam and insistence on the immediate observance of the 1954 Geneva Agreements in respect to Vietnam; opposition to the arms race; the development of peaceful coexistence of nations with differing social systems, and greatly increased assistance to the developing countries to overcome the gap between rich and poor nations.

- A comprehensive program for national development, free of foreign domination and under the control of the Australian people, including a radical redistribution of the national income.

- A program of social reforms, in the fields of education, health, social services, housing and cultural facilities.

- A program for the development of a new quality of social life.

The Communists have no desire to *impose* their ideas or program; on the contrary, we believe that it is not only possible, but essential, for a commonly-agreed program and course of action to be hammered out in the process of campaigns and activity on immediate issues.

It is our belief that experience in such activity will convince wide and diverse groups of the need, first, for *parallel* action and then for *united* action.

The new conditions of political struggle already developing will promote a favorable atmosphere for discussion and debate on long-range and far-reaching solutions to the issues stirring the public conscience. This will necessarily lead to consideration of socialist transformation as the only alternative to a continued narrowing monopoly of control and dominance of overseas interests. Thus, such fundamental questions will arise as: what socialism is, how it is to be achieved, what form of state is necessary, how to carry through the necessary social revolution in conditions of the greatest possible democracy, how to prevent civil war developing through the use of violence by defenders of wealth and privilege.

Democratic advance and radical reform within capitalism require the greatest possible clarification of issues within the *labor movement*. This will make impossible the return of right-wing supremacy and force the right wing to choose further division or removal from leadership, both in the trade union movement and the ALP. This will clear the way for the

left forces to carry on the struggle for decisive social change. New possibilities will arise for cooperation between a Labor Party which has clarified its position and become more left, and a Communist Party which has creatively developed Marxist theory and considerably extended its mass support.

This possibility of unity in action of the working class parties, at present hampered by great difficulties, prohibitions and inhibitions, is nevertheless the hope for a new relationship between the labor movement and the other social groupings which are potentially forces for social change. If this can be achieved in practice, the possibility of finding a specific Australian way to socialism will be greatly enhanced.

This cooperation in Socialist Australia would be the core of a coalition of different social and political groupings which would *share the leadership of the new society*. These may well include, besides trade unions and other people's organizations, *other political parties* which may be formed to represent interests of classes and social groups other than the working class in industry and offices.

Such a coalition could safeguard political freedom, avoid the danger of a monopoly of power and ensure mutual supervision of all parties committed to building the socialist society. This commitment does not preclude different concepts of socialist theory and practice, nor political differences which must be resolved democratically within the socialist constitution and laws which would be adopted.

Socialism in Australia, achievable only by conscious actions of the majority, need not copy other experiences rigidly. Indeed, this is impossible because conditions are different in Australia, because the very success of other socialist states enables an easier advance once political power has been won by the working people, and because errors of the past are better understood and so can be avoided.

Today there is a great need for a more challenging presentation of the ideas and aims of the Communist Party.

The Australian capitalist form of society, while maintaining a considerable economic expansion, has failed to provide stable and secure prospects for the people.

There is both need and opportunity to explain and discuss more realistically the ideas of scientific socialism among the forces of the left—among Communists themselves, among trade unionists and unorganized workers, in the Labor Party, among intellectuals, young people and others who are increasingly frustrated by life as it is today.

It is necessary to counter and to defeat the expanded and refined efforts to defend the existing system by ideologists of the Establishment, including attacks on socialist countries and in particular an unceasing anti-Communist propaganda campaign which relies not only on crude distortion but also on the use of facts carefully angled and subtly presented.

The vigorous projection of Communist ideas—above all the ideas of democracy, peace and socialism—should pay sober heed to the difficulties that preclude quick and easy results. But it should banish a certain defensiveness on the part of many Communists, born of violations of socialist ideals, disunity in the world Communist movement and a lack of sufficient creative Marxist thinking to keep pace with changing reality in Australia and the world.

This more vigorous challenge to capitalism by Marxist socialism in the battle of ideas will have certain requirements.

There must be a creative advancement of Marxist thought, in the course of application of its basic principles to Australian reality.

There must be deeper, more comprehensive critical analysis of the existing society, dealing not only with the basic economic-material sphere, but also with the war-oriented foreign policy, democratic issues, cultural development, human dignity, ethics and values, and the distortion of men's social relations and attitudes by all the effects of capitalist practice.

In particular, analysis should illuminate the reality of exploitation in present and developing conditions, since its basic relevance is continually emphasized in industrial conflict despite some advances in living standards, limited unemployment and higher educational standards.

In general, the ascendancy of the ideas of socialism in the increasing contest with the ideas of capitalism will not be assisted by crudeness and oversimplification, such as a tendency to classify all ideas as either purely capitalist or purely working-class.

Similarly, the unthinking labelling of non-socialist intellectuals as "bourgeois intellectuals" is damaging and largely false. True, most intellectuals at present accept, and many willingly serve, the existing system, but most also display integrity, in their own fields, and increasingly suffer frustrations generated by the operation of the system.

The actual arguments of those with other points of view should be met in a reasoned way, on the basis of study of the matters at issue, the use of facts and well-documented arguments and couched in a language understandable to Australians, avoiding clichés and jargon. It is necessary to learn from others, on the understanding that Communists have no monopoly of the truth—even in regard to themselves—nor do they always know the truth.

Today we, in the capitalist countries particularly, are waging the fight in conditions vastly different from when Marx and Engels wrote or even Lenin. And unfortunately in the past 30 years there has been a stagnation of theoretical work certainly in Australia and generally in the Communist movement. Theoretical revitalization is necessary, free from the stultifying inhibitions of dogmatism and doctrinairism.

Another matter that we believe is worthy of much attention (and which does not receive adequate attention either from us or, I believe,

many parties in Western Europe) is that of the underdeveloped countries where living standards are often abysmally low and hunger is widespread, and the problem of what the highly developed richer capitalist countries do about it.

This is a matter which the parties of the advanced capitalist countries need to deliberate and produce policy and activity around.

Lastly some words about the U.S. and Australian aggression in Vietnam. This is undoubtedly the most vital and immediate issue in world politics today. It is important not only for the Vietnamese people but can also mean a tremendous defeat and isolation of American imperialism and consequent advance for the progressive forces of the world.

The Australian government has committed troops to assist U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people and is conscripting 20-year-old men to fight in Vietnam.

This has divided the Australian nation — a tremendous debate is occurring. The ALP, many national church bodies, church leaders, prominent academics, the TU movement, and a

big majority of students are opposed either to the government's policy on Vietnam or to the introduction of conscription for service in Vietnam.

Demonstrations, debates, public meetings are a daily occurrence and the movement is very broad, culminating in a series of very big demonstrations on the occasion of the recent visit of President Johnson to Australia. These demonstrations were described by American correspondents as the biggest Johnson has faced.

However, the movement is not yet a majority movement. But the issue of Vietnam is the biggest political question in Australia since World War Two. It is the first time for a great many years that huge numbers of people including the Labor Party opposition have opposed the government on a foreign policy issue, providing wonderful opportunities for united action. We believe that the development and extension of the movement against American aggression in Vietnam is perhaps the biggest immediate struggle facing the revolutionary movement in the advanced capitalist countries.

DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY

ARNE PETTERSEN

Member Secretariat Central Committee of Communist Party of Norway

I SHOULD LIKE to dwell on matters relating to the character and significance of the struggle for reforms in Norway.

The demand for reforms can be presented in two ways. It can be presented in the reformist way and thus serve the state-monopoly system in the long run since such reforms are no more than an attempt to iron out the contradictions between labor and capital, between the people and the monopolies. This is the policy of class collaboration in the new conditions of today. But the demand for reforms can be advanced from revolutionary positions, thereby serving the fundamental interests of the working class — the abolition of capitalism and the transition to socialism — which is what broad sections of the population want. The revolutionary approach to reforms heightens the contradictions between labor and capital, between the monopolies and the people, sharpens the class struggle, develops the class consciousness of the working class and the people generally, gives them confidence in their own strength and, in the present conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, leads to a search for ways of advancing from capitalism to socialism.

The above applies to the advanced capitalist countries generally and especially to those

where bourgeois democracy is more developed and where democratic traditions are strong. In these conditions democracy will cease to develop unless it is extended to include the economic sphere as well. By this I do not wish to say that political democracy cannot develop further in a country like Norway, for example. Much has still to be done before the formal democratic rights won by the people through generations of struggle can become real. But the important thing for us at present is to shift the struggle for democracy more and more to the sphere of the economy.

For Marxists it is clear that genuine democracy — government by the people — can be achieved only when the basic means of production pass in one or another form from private to public ownership. But in this case, too, democracy will not come of itself. Our theory, the experience of the international working-class movement teaches us that this cannot come about without establishing the political domination of the working people. Of course, this is not the same as governmental power exercised by the Social Democracy founded exclusively on a parliamentary majority. We have ample practical proof of the correctness of our theory in this respect: positive, in those cases when the working class and its allies

have taken power under the leadership of revolutionary Marxist parties and are building socialism and communism; negative, where a parliamentary majority under the leadership of reformist Social Democracy has introduced no fundamental change in society.

The reformism of Social Democracy does not lead to socialism. Notwithstanding all its reforms, exploitation and class society continue to exist. In practice reformism helps to prolong the existence of capitalism and aggravates the profound class contradictions. The gulf between monopoly capital and the people widens.

There is no revolutionary situation in Scandinavia. The question of the direct transition to socialism is not on the order of the day. The political prerequisites for this do not exist. The fact that the revolutionary section of the working-class movement enjoys little support in our country bears this out. However, an interesting process is taking place which may prove to be more significant than the temporary setback in the parliamentary struggle. The people of Norway have begun to realize that our "fabulous" democracy, our "welfare state," with all its positive aspects, represents the outward trappings rather than the essence of democracy. The people see that class struggle is by no means a thing of the past, that power is passing more and more into the hands of big capital.

The result is that the conditions for a broad democratic offensive against the dominant position of big capital are maturing. We can say that a contributing factor in this respect was the success of the bourgeoisie in the general election. The defeat suffered by the working class parties has acted as a stimulus to search for new ways and means. And the bourgeois policy of the government, which essentially differs in no way from Social Democratic policy, has further underscored the need for a new, alternative policy of a more progressive nature.

Realization of this is leading more and more people to the conviction that the power of big capital must be restricted and the democratic rights of the people extended. Many people understand this to mean that the very first victory should immediately increase the influence of the working people. But the more politically mature know that democratization is a stage-by-stage process, one victory leading to another, a process whose exact course is not yet known in every detail but the realization of which, all the way to the abolition of class distinctions in our country, is the task of the revolutionary forces.

The task at the present time, then, is to curb the power of monopoly capital and extend the genuine democratic rights of the people. And it is here that the question of democracy in industry arises as an important stage of the democratization process in Norwegian conditions today. Industrial democracy tops the list of all the demands for reforms.

Projects and program theses on this question have been advanced by all the three working class parties and also by the Radical bourgeois Venstre party. There is no need to dwell here on all these proposals. Permit me to speak only of how, in my opinion, we Communists should approach this problem.

Industrial democracy, or democracy in production as we often term it (the precise meaning of these concepts has not yet been accurately defined), should be implemented both "from above" and "from below." Power over the economy of society as a whole implies power over the individual enterprises. Democratization of conditions in one enterprise should be seen as part of a process involving the whole of political and economic life.

In the opinion of the Communists, this means changing the present conditions of production, of *changing*, but not of *abolishing* capitalist property relations generally. It is not a matter of restricting the property rights of the bourgeoisie *all along the line*, but of *restricting the property rights of monopoly capital*, its huge profits, its right to dictate its own terms. It is a matter of controlling its financial operations, its swallowing up of smaller enterprises, of controlling its entire investment policy, which is essentially anti-democratic.

Genuine democratization requires that the credit system—the big privately-owned banks, insurance companies and **credit institutions**—be placed under the control of the state and the people. Some of these institutions should be nationalized. At the same time steps should be taken to democratize individual enterprises, primarily the bigger ones, where the power of monopoly capital is concentrated. Some of these should also be nationalized.

The Storting, the municipal councils, the trade unions and other organizations in which the workers are represented should be given direct control over the nationalized big banks and big enterprises. Effective control should be established over investment in large-scale industry, in economic development and foreign trade. Control over agreements between the big enterprises on prices and production, regulation of profits, a democratic tax policy aimed against big capital and democratization of the political, administrative and educational bodies of the state are also essential measures. Further, an electoral system ensuring proportional representation for the different parties and expansion of municipal self-government should be introduced.

The radio, television, the schools and other media influencing the moulding of public opinion should be democratized. More prominence should be given to progressive ideas in public debates and educational institutions.

The growth of popular influence at the expense of big capital will undoubtedly affect Norway's foreign policy as well—her attitude to foreign capital, to NATO and to the capitalist integration in Europe. However, I cannot

dwelling now on this aspect of the matter. I must confine myself to questions of internal policy.

The central demand here is for democracy in industry. In the opinion of the Communists, this question is directly linked with that of democratic rights—the degree of influence and the right to take decisions which the workers can win at the enterprises—and also the influence they can exert on the economic and political forces in a society where capitalism still exists as a system. The problem is in what forms these rights and this influence should be expressed.

The issue, then, is to achieve a limited objective, a partial victory. However, the movement that can be developed around these objectives will, in the course of the struggle, advance new goals and will not rest until the entire power is in the hands of the people.

The demand for industrial democracy should not be directed against the small manufacturers who themselves participate in one form or another in production and, like the workers, are interested in restricting the power of monopoly.

This proposal envisages primarily democracy in enterprises employing 200 or more workers. There are 255 such enterprises in Norway. They account for about one-third of the workers, nearly 60 per cent of the investment and approximately 40 per cent of the total volume of production. Attention, then, *should be concentrated on big capital*.

A common feature of all the proposals for industrial democracy is that the workers should have their representatives on the boards of the enterprises. The share of representation in the different proposals ranges from one-third to one-half of the membership of the board.

The employers' associations, which have vigorously opposed all such proposals, refuse to make a single concession. This is indeed the only question on which they have taken a completely negative position. On all other questions—wages, hours, holidays, working conditions—they have always been prepared to make certain concessions at times of high business activity. But when it comes to restricting the right of authority, the right of management and any other reforms which would effectively restrict their *private property rights* they are adamant.

Is not this stand taken by the employers in itself an indication of something? Does it not prove that the demand for industrial democracy, as we pose it, is not reformist but revolutionary? What other explanation can there be for this attitude on the part of the employers?

But it is not only the employers who object to democracy in industry. Some sections of the workers, too, are against it, for other reasons, of course. They feel that the presence of workers' representatives on the boards of the enterprises would injure rather than benefit the

workers' cause; that the workers' representatives would be placed in the position of hostages of the employers, that they would find themselves caught between the hammer and the anvil.

Of course, these and similar objections should be taken into account. However, our main task in this connection is to show that industrial democracy is a demand of a different kind than, say, the usual demand for wage increases. We must show that a *political* struggle can develop around this issue, and that to win this struggle can mean for the common people the initial step towards the reconstructing of the *social system* itself.

The question, then, is not just a matter of a few more democratic rights in addition to those already won. It is a demand which, ultimately, could lead to inroads on the framework of capitalism.

However, we are not advocates of industrial democracy in the general sense, through participation of the management of the enterprises, e.g., factory committees. We advance several concrete points, which include the following:

- the establishment of factory committees should not lead to any restriction of the democratic rights previously won by the workers: the right to organize, the right to strike, freedom of speech in the enterprises;

- workers and representatives of the government and municipalities should be allotted half (51 per cent) the places on factory committees and management boards; the administration of the enterprise should consist of specialists who have no share or any other property rights in the enterprises;

- the entire personnel of the enterprise should be guaranteed the right to control budgets, the utilization of profits, etc. Their representatives on the factory boards should have the right to report on the decisions taken by the board to meetings of all trade union members working in the enterprise.

The factory committees could play an important part in the fight to broaden democracy, and by focussing attention on the **big** enterprises, would make possible concrete steps toward checking concentration of power in the hands of a few giant monopolies, power which should be broken before all else. The smaller enterprises play a lesser role in this respect: their owners are already participating to some extent in the struggle against big capital. If the same demands are made on them as on the big capitalists they could easily become a source of support for monopoly capital in its resistance to any form of democratization.

In order to avoid any misinterpreting of our views on the question of industrial democracy let me, in conclusion, say this:

Now, as in the past, the laws of class struggle operate in our country. The top circles of the big capitalists do not give up anything

voluntarily and are vigorously resisting any limitation of their private-property rights. This is demonstrated by the attitude of the reactionaries and the Rightist Hoyre party to the demand for democracy in industry. It is also evident in the negative attitude adopted recently by the employers' organizations with regard to the setting up of an official committee to study the question. The proposal obtained a majority in the Storting, and was supported by the Prime Minister on condition that the central trade union organizations and the employers' association gave it their backing. The unions did so, but the employers' association flatly rejected it.

It should be emphasized that if genuine democracy is to be won, the working class and other sections of the population engaged in production must eschew the policy of avoiding struggle, a policy emanating from the right-wing of the Workers' Party and based on the assumption that class struggle in our country is a thing of the past.

The Communists should regard it as a paramount task to explain that those who preach

class collaboration are, in effect, hindering the process of democratization, concealing the actual class contradictions and attempting to reconcile labor and capital, which is as futile as attempting to reconcile fire and water.

Only by recognizing the antagonistic character of the class contradictions and that class struggle is the motive force of social development will the working class and all working people be able to move forward towards a democracy of a higher order.

The task of all Communists and Socialists is to head the struggle of the peoples against big capital, for a broader democracy. They should work for the building of a *movement* strong enough to change the balance of forces between workers and capitalists, between the people and the monopolies, and seek to consolidate the change through legislation. Such, in general is how matters stand with regard to the fight for reforms and their role at the present time. The unity of the working class and all democratic sections of the nation is an indispensable condition of this struggle.

LIFE DISPELS ILLUSIONS

JEAN KILL

Member Presidium, Central Committee, Communist Party of Luxembourg

LUXEMBOURG is the smallest of the countries represented here, with an area of only 2,500 square kilometers and a population of 330,000, of whom 90,000 are workers. Its annual steel output, however, exceeds four million tons. Situated as it is at a strategic crossroads, Luxembourg has long been coveted by international monopoly capital.

Luxembourg has experienced what might be called a new industrial revolution in the past ten years, due largely to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community and the EEC, and also to the armaments policy pursued in Western Europe. Five of our iron and steel mills have increased their output from 2.5 to 4.5 million tons without any appreciable increase in the number of workers employed. Two of the biggest concerns — ARBED and HADIR — have merged. Under state auspices building is under way of dams, pumping stations, locks on the Mosel, a river port, airport, barracks, and office buildings for the Coal and Steel Community and other European bodies.

Factories owned by three U.S. trusts (Good-year Tire and Rubber, Dupont de Nemours and Monsanto) employ thousands of workers, not to mention those owned by other U.S. firms. State intervention in economic life has assumed unprecedented proportions.

The results of the boom are very much in evidence. The last islands of unemployment have disappeared. There is full employment, and even a shortage of labor power. At present one-third of the labor force consists of foreign workers. These circumstances have enabled the working class to secure better conditions and higher wages.

In the social sphere, too, the government has made many concessions. Pensions have been raised, and sickness, old-age and disability benefits have been extended to all occupations. A 40-hour week obtains in the mining industry, and 42 hours in many other branches. Wages, salaries and pensions are in most cases adjusted to the cost of living index. And recently the law governing paid holidays for wage and salary earners was substantially improved.

These developments have engendered new reformist illusions among the working people. The influence of the Communist Party and of the Communist-led united trade unions has declined. The Socialist Labor Party and the unions under its leadership have recovered their old positions and have gained more support among office workers, civil servants, etc. In the fifties this party twice entered the government, competing with the Christian Social Party. Carrying favor with the U.S. and European monopolies, it agreed to the introduction of general

compulsory military service, supported the sending of Luxembourg volunteers to Korea, and during the Hungarian events in 1956 joined in the anti-Communist witch-hunt. It advocated social partnership and the American way of life among the workers, and especially among the youth.

But this era is drawing to a close. The realities are dispelling illusions. Instead of the fall in the cost of living which the EEC was expected to bring about, prices are soaring and the purchasing power of wages, nominally quite high, is sinking. The pointless and generally hated military service costs our small country more than 500 million francs annually, while choice of our country as headquarters for the so-called European organizations has caused rents and real estate prices to rise phenomenally. A modest family house which cost 350,000 francs 15 years ago now costs one million. Speed-up has been greatly intensified in the new and modernized enterprises. Taxes and service costs are rising. Many workers are forced to do extra jobs after the day's work or during holidays to maintain their standard of living. Moreover, there is now talk about a recession and even of a crisis looming ahead. The iron and steel plants are not taking on new workers. And small mines which used to employ 50-200 workers have been closed as unprofitable.

This state of affairs, naturally, finds reflection in politics. The first symptom was the 1964 election, when the Communist Party made notable headway, winning another two new seats and bringing its representation to five in the 56-member Parliament. On a national scale our Party carried more than 10 per cent of the vote, while in the industrial area the percentage was 16 and in the capital eight. This was the best showing ever made by our Party at the polls. The Socialist Labor Party increased its parliamentary representation from 17 to 21, thanks to gains among the urban office workers and civil servants, and in agricultural areas where many small farmers have had to give up their farms and go to work in the new American factories. The present composition of parliament is as follows:

Government coalition:

Christian Social Party	22 seats
Socialist Labor Party	21 "

Opposition:

Liberals	6 "
Communists	5 "
Independents	2 "

The election results had a considerable psychological effect. The possibility emerged, provided correct policies are pursued, of the balance of forces both in Parliament and outside it being radically changed in favor of the working class in the foreseeable future. Our Party has steered a course, energetically and consistently, of building unity among the workers supporting the Socialist and Communist parties, of co-

operation between Socialists and Communists. Adopting a new Program and Rules at our Eighteenth Congress in April 1965 we removed some of the ideological obstacles to cooperation. We pointed to the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism in Luxembourg, declared against the one-party system and one-party state, and noted the possibility of decisive democratic and social reforms being carried out even before the abolition of capitalism. We went on record for the independence of the public organizations, in particular the trade unions, for respect for their rules and decisions, and against allowing factional groups in them.

Our efforts, it should be said, met with a certain response among the Socialists. A notable change has taken place in the thinking of the Socialist supporters, and especially among the younger members and officials of the Socialist Labor Party. A sincere desire to cooperate with us and to overcome the division in the working class movement is clearly, if slowly and hesitantly, asserting itself. This is particularly evident in the Socialist unions and youth movement.

A big step forward in this respect was the reunification of the Socialist and Communist trade unions after a rift that had lasted since the war. Since January 1 the Communist-led unions have formed part of a united federation of free trade unions after being readmitted without discrimination, on an equal footing. The two groups have united also in the factory committees, social security bodies and the Chamber of Labor, and they now represent two-thirds of all organized workers. At their last Congress the free trade unions elaborated a new program of democratic and social reforms, a program which breaks with the "social partnership" idea and refutes the notion that capitalism of today is a changed capitalism.

A pronounced leftward shift is to be noted among our youth. Young Communists and Socialists and the student youth generally have undertaken joint actions against military service and the war in Vietnam. Recently a joint delegation of Left youth visited the Soviet Union as guests of the Soviet Youth League. The delegation, which included representatives of young people belonging to the Socialist Labor Party, young trade unionists, students and the Communist youth, published on their return a sharply worded criticism of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Needless to say, there are still obstacles to be overcome. The leadership of the Socialist Labor Party is still in the hands of the Right-wing who cling to the government coalition with the reactionary Christian Social Party, to NATO and the so-called European organizations.

It is our task to pursue a firm and intelligent policy aimed at strengthening the unity of the Socialists and Communists regardless of the difficulties and obstacles, for there is no other way to bring about radical changes in political and social relationships. We are fully aware

how much the accomplishment of this task is facilitated by the successes of the socialist countries, the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, and the achievements and experience of the fraternal parties whose example

has already taught us much and from which we can still learn a great deal. The present round-table discussion sponsored by *Problems of Peace and Socialism* is undoubtedly a valuable contribution in this respect.

NEW METHODS OF WORK NEEDED

EDGAR WOOG

General Secretary Swiss Party of Labor

I TOO WOULD LIKE to extend my hearty thanks to the editors of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* for arranging this meeting and for inviting me to take part in it.

Permit me to make a few remarks on questions now being discussed in my country and primarily in connection with the forthcoming congress of our Party, that of amending our Party program. The present program, for example, states the following:

"Capitalism must be abolished and the working class alone in alliance with other sections of the working people can abolish it, inasmuch as it is the only class with a certain degree of organization, with the revolutionary vigor and the understanding of the laws of social development essential for the accomplishment of this task. After winning power, the working class will lay the foundations of its own rule, which it will exercise jointly with other sections of the working people until the final victory of socialism is achieved."

We believe that this formulation is too narrow. In common with other parties, we pose the question (as, incidentally, do our political opponents): what will be the situation in the country when the working class comes to power? Will the multi-party system be retained or will there be only one party?

Of course we do not know what the concrete conditions will be at the moment the working class comes to power. Nevertheless, we believe that we must stand for a multi-party system, and this means that the above formulation in our program should be broadened. We believe this to be necessary also in view of the changes that are taking place in the structure of the working population. For example, in 1964, the number of Swiss workers employed in industry was 31,000 fewer and that of foreign workers 133,000 greater than in 1960. The total of registered foreign workers in Switzerland in August 1966 was 650,000. To this should be added those foreign workers who had previously settled in Switzerland. And, lastly, there is the general tendency among Swiss workers to leave industry or to change their status from that of unskilled workers to technicians and white-collar workers — foremen, section superintendents or office workers — assuming administrative func-

tions, while more and more foreign workers are directly engaged in production.

The second question that is being discussed is our attitude to the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions.

"The Social Democratic Party, which unites a large part of the politically organized working class, is not, despite its substantial membership and electoral following, a genuine opposition," our Party program states. "It abandoned Marxism long ago, rejected the class struggle and made peace with the bourgeoisie . . ."

"The policy of the Social Democratic Party is influenced in large measure also by the Right-wing leaders of the Trade Union Federation, advocates of class peace, collaboration with the bourgeoisie and anti-communism. The Right-wing leaders of Social Democracy and of the Trade Union Federation are firmly ensconced in capitalist society and are little concerned with changing its structure."

True, the program points out that many workers in the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions "have remained loyal to socialism." Nevertheless, the formulation of this section is, on the whole, too negative. We must make a distinction between membership and leadership, and even between individuals among the leaders, since different political views exist both in the Social Democratic leadership and in the trade unions. We must underscore the need, and also the possibility of joint talks, joint demands and joint actions. It should be said that the wording of the program was influenced by the events that occurred in and after 1956. At that time, and especially in the German part of Switzerland, nearly all the members of our Party were removed from their posts in the trade unions and in some cases even expelled from the unions. The result was that subsequently, in 1959, when the Party program was drawn up, the rather one-sided formulations cited above were introduced.

The Social Democratic Party, with nearly 50,000 members, is the strongest in the country. We have only 5,000. In the last parliamentary elections in 1963 the Social Democrats polled 265,000 votes. Our Party which, it is true, had candidates in only five out of the 25 constituencies, got 23,000. Had we been able to contest

all the constituencies, which is impossible owing to the discriminatory laws in nearly all the cantons in the German part of Switzerland, we would have polled at least 50,000 votes. The Social Democrats have 53 seats in the National Council out of a total of 200; we have four. Our position in the trade unions is weak. We have not succeeded in restoring the positions we held prior to 1956. In 1964 the Trade Union Federation had a membership of 450,000, the Federation of Office Employees—116,000, the United Christian Trade Unions (Catholics)—92,000, the Land Union of Free Swiss Workers ("yellow")—18,000, and a number of other unions, a total of around 100,000. The trade unions as a whole unite 800,000 factory workers, office employees and officials, or 40 per cent of the working population. Work in the trade unions and the correct attitude of the Party to the unions is of the greatest importance, and this, too, should be reflected in our program.

At the present time there is a tendency in the unions not to let unorganized workers benefit from the gains won by the unions. We often have to explain to trade unionists that this attitude is detrimental to the unions themselves. Work should be conducted among the unorganized workers, primarily foreign workers, to convince them of the need to join trade unions.

Our Party, as Comrade Frantsov has noted, has gained some success at the polls. This is due chiefly to our defense of the interests of the workers, and also to the general improvement in the political climate in Switzerland. Anti-communism has lost ground. The efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to preserve peace and the feeling against U.S. aggression in Vietnam have contributed to a definite turn to the left in public opinion. Besides, we are the only party which consistently fights against the heavy military expenditure and for complete disarmament.

The next section of our program in need of reconsideration is that relating to crises. Here we have come up against some difficulties. The program states:

"Competition compels the capitalists to produce more and more cheaply. At the same time the purchasing power of the people cannot keep pace with the growing productivity of labor. Thus, there comes a moment when, owing to the insufficient purchasing power of the population, commodities cannot be sold...

"While certain changes are to be observed in the nature of crises these are expressed chiefly in economic upsets, the impact of which is lessened by governmental measures mainly through stepping up the arms buildup. However, the recessions occur more frequently than before and are not followed by a boom. This testifies to the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism." This was written in 1959 and is obviously too schematic. Perhaps the editorial board of the journal, by publishing some theoretical articles on the subject, could help us to

find a formulation more suited to the present situation.

Another question is that of the possible peaceful transition. Not being prophets we cannot predict how the transition will take place in Switzerland. We can only proclaim our political line, and work for the peaceful transition. We believe that such a possibility could emerge in Switzerland. The power of the bourgeoisie is still very great, and it extends far beyond the boundaries of our country. So long as this power remains unshaken, the balance of forces in the country will not change to any appreciable extent.

In Switzerland the transition to socialism will hardly take place earlier than in Italy or France, or in Federal Germany. Most likely there will be a complete or partial socialist "encirclement" of the country. This of course does not mean that we should sit back with folded arms and wait for this to happen, all the more so since the bourgeoisie has launched a general offensive against the working people's standard of living. The cost of living is rising and taxation is heavier, with the burden falling almost completely on the working people.

I listened with interest to what Comrade Pettersen had to say about democracy in the enterprises in Norway. I believe that we can learn a great deal from the experience of our Norwegian comrades. It is impossible to nationalize the monopolies without having a basis to start from. For this, political and organizational prerequisites must be created, and it is in this sense that the points made by Comrade Pettersen are valuable.

The question of the scientific and technological revolution is an important one. We should underscore more heavily that the bourgeoisie is using this revolution not for the good of the working people, not to improve their conditions, but exclusively to increase their own profits.

As regards the youth we face the same difficulties as those encountered by nearly all the parties. For a long time now our young people have not experienced material hardships after leaving school. School graduates often earn more than their parents. Some of our young people are active in politics. They take part in the movement against nuclear armament and in protest demonstrations against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. But they do not join the Party, nor even the youth league. The question of how to combine the activity and enthusiasm of young people, their search for the new, with the knowledge and experience of the older generation is a problem which occupies many parties, not only the Communists but the Social Democratic and bourgeois parties as well. Clearly, the difficulties can be overcome not by inventing organizational forms but by pursuing a correct policy, through the general activity of the Party, by finding a common language and using new forms and methods of propaganda.

As regards these new forms and methods, I

believe that we should use the new technical facilities provided by the press, radio, television and cinema. Modernizing our press is of prime importance. The sensational press is a powerful factor in the capitalist countries. It is filled with reports of crime, sex and sport, but all this is the wrapping for political indoctrination in small but effective doses.

I am not suggesting that we should go in for sensation in our press. But we can hardly expect to make headway if we continue in the old way. Our newspapers—I am referring to those put out by small parties—are practically the same as they were twenty or thirty years ago. They are far too dull and boring. New equipment and technology, of course, costs money, but if we do not spend money we cannot expect anything in return. The same applies to films which could be an effective means of propaganda enabling party organizations, especially the smaller and weaker ones, to make their branch meetings and public gatherings more attractive. But it is difficult to obtain good new films which would be both instructive and interesting. Would it not be possible to do something to improve things in this respect using the facilities of the socialist movie industry and studios producing short films?

In conclusion a few words about non-interference in the affairs of other parties. The question is clearly formulated in the Moscow documents of 1957 and 1960. We believe that this formulation is valid to this day. The parties should themselves define their policies in conformity with the conditions of their respective countries. But does this mean that no opinions should be expressed concerning the attitudes and policies of fraternal parties? Does not international proletarian solidarity also imply the right and the duty to state one's viewpoint? I believe that the answer is yes. For instance,

some days ago I read a statement by some comrades: "We are neither with China nor with Moscow." Is this a correct stand? No. The parties define their policies not after some ready-made pattern, but are guided by their own judgment as regards the content and usefulness of these policies. We are either for or against some particular policy because we consider it correct or incorrect, useful or harmful, because it either serves or damages the interests we uphold and the aims towards which we are striving. If on basic issues we declare our support for the policy of the Soviet Union, we do not do so because this policy emanates from Moscow. We support it because the policy of peaceful coexistence, the struggle waged by the Soviet Union to safeguard peace and to avert another world war is also our policy, a policy that serves our interests, the interests of the Swiss working class and the people generally. There is no other criterion. Events have taken place which have shocked us, for instance the disastrous turn in Indonesia. The right and the duty to express one's opinion might well help to avoid surprises and perhaps even to avert catastrophes.

One more suggestion. It might be useful to elaborate for groups of countries joint charters of social security to provide for such eventualities as accident, sickness, disability, unemployment, old age, maternity and other benefits. Such a charter could effectively serve us in our fight for the interests of broad sections of the population which are living in want and are looking to our Party for assistance. It could be not only a propaganda means, but could be a stimulus to concrete actions both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary; it could be a means of rendering positive aid to the thousands who cannot defend themselves and in most cases are faced with the seamy sides of society.

OUR JOB IS TO COMBAT EXPLOITATION

IB NORLUND

Member Executive Committee and Secretariat, Communist Party of Denmark

I THINK THIS discussion is very useful. Comrade Kashtan has posed many important questions in his paper. It can hardly be expected that all these questions could be answered at once. However, the reports presented by comrades from the different countries contain much valuable material which could be utilized in searching for the answer to these questions. The reports have made it clear that the conditions in our countries vary. But it seems to me that although the main, the most essential, problems differ from each other, basically they have much in common. And this means that

there are also the pre-conditions for a common discussion of these problems.

I will venture to deal with some features of the discussion presently under way in our Party on the struggle of the Danish working class. I shall not deal at length with our general political line, which essentially consists in developing the democratic struggle against state-monopoly capitalism — a struggle for minor and major reforms — into a struggle for socialism based on the general perspective and possibility of peaceful transition to socialism.

I think the main problem we are facing is

this: we have entered a new stage in the development of capitalism; state-monopoly capitalism and the technological revolution have social consequences. This means a further development of the class struggle in the course of which our adversary has been able to evolve a whole spectrum of new methods, while we are lagging behind both in the theoretical understanding of these methods and in the practical handling of them.

We shall not be able to overcome our difficulties unless we acknowledge, expose and combat the new forms of manifestation of the contradictions of capitalism, of the exploitation of man — linking this closely with the understanding of the need to end the capitalist system. Much still remains to be done in this direction.

In the past 10 years Denmark has experienced an unprecedentedly high level of business activity. Rate of industrial expansion has been higher than in most other capitalist countries. The problems of a highly developed capitalism have presented themselves rather suddenly.

Here are some figures on Denmark's development between 1956 and 1965 (percentage growth):

National income	59
Consumption (all classes)	47
Productivity	60
Surplus value	100
Real wages	30
Rate of surplus value	78-90
Rate of profit	20-27

These figures show that this period of economic growth has been accompanied by the successful application by the monopolies of new methods with which to enlarge the amount of unpaid labour of the workers. Our task — to expose and counter these methods — has not been fulfilled effectively enough.

Denmark is a country in which many of the reforms advocated in the programs of democratic struggle in other countries have already been implemented. But reforms in themselves are not a guarantee against intensified exploitation.

In the discussions between socialists it is sometimes said that the positions of the working class have been strengthened. This argument is not infrequently used to explain economic growth under modern capitalism. It is true that the positions of the working class have been strengthened on a world scale. It could also be said that the growth of working-class organization and the growing impact of socialism have potentially strengthened the working class in the capitalist countries. But since the rate of surplus value is growing (and is growing faster now), it cannot be said that these potentialities have been utilized. It would be wrong to overestimate the results obtained and underestimate the offensive of the monopolies, since this would endanger the struggle for those reforms now on the agenda.

It will not be amiss to recall here what Lenin said about reforms. He wrote: "Revolutionaries, of course, will never reject the struggle for reforms, the struggle to capture even minor and unimportant enemy positions, *if* these will serve to strengthen the attack and help to achieve full victory. But they will never forget that sometimes the enemy himself surrenders a certain position in order to disunite the attacking party and thus to defeat it more easily. They will never forget that only by constantly having the 'ultimate aim' in view, only by appraising every step of the 'movement' and every reform from the point of view of the general revolutionary struggle, is it possible to guard the movement against false steps and shameful mistakes."

These words, in my opinion, are fully valid today as well. We should, therefore, concentrate upon finding and exposing the new methods applied by the monopolies and evolving the forms of struggle against them.

1. The monopolies are using the scientific achievements in order to squeeze labor power out of man. They are conceding some demands of the workers only to create still greater pressure on them in other areas. What has been improved, for instance, in the diet of the population of our country, has—as the figures show—been more than taken back by accelerating the tempo of work, increasing the nervous strain, etc. It is not surprising that it takes some time for the workers to realize these changes in the tactics of the capitalists. The view that exploitation which does not bring the workers death from starvation can be tolerated is rather widespread—even if the new methods of mutilating living men are more effective and refined in their inhumanity. This makes the struggle for new, democratic rights of the workers in the enterprises a necessity if we want to carry on the class struggle in present-day conditions. The words "democracy in industry" may not be most appropriate in characterizing the goals of this struggle. The important thing is that it may mean the winning of particular rights and possibilities for action by the workers. In an attempt to renovate our policy we must also express in a new way our indignation against capitalist exploitation. There is a solid foundation for this.

2. Further, the new methods of capitalism are linked up with the all-embracing character of state-monopoly capital. Private monopoly investments are concentrated increasingly in those fields where profits are highest and most secure. Other areas of production and social activity are integrated in a state-controlled system supporting this profiteering. This also brings about a new alignment of forces, new front-lines in the class struggle, more closely linking the struggles for political and for economic demands and creating the need for greater reforms. However, our opponents are utilizing these new aspects of the struggle in order to complicate our tasks to the utmost. We should broaden and deepen our analysis so as

to be able — without oversimplification — to make the real issues clear and comprehensive from the standpoint of the class struggle.

3. State-monopoly capitalism also means that the process of exploitation is not limited to working hours — a tendency already noted by Marx. The sphere of consumption is utilized for super-exploitation. The contradictions between real needs and those artificially created play an increasingly growing role. Education is also becoming a growing need (not only among the youth), and an area of struggle.

All these questions, which make up the daily life of the working people, demand an examination from the standpoint of the class struggle, of the real needs of the people and the corresponding line of action.

4. Under highly-developed capitalism monopoly domination amounts, essentially, to preventing man from developing his abilities on the basis of the goods and facilities available in an industrial society. Therefore, moral and ideological problems assume an ever-growing role in the struggle as well as the need to develop an attitude of militant socialist humanism.

5. In fact, all these questions should be seen in close connection with international development, with the struggle for peace and national independence. It is in these areas that we find the greatest activity and revolutionary potential of the masses. However, I cannot deal more fully with these problems here.

The foregoing enables us to present a case of accusation against modern capitalism stronger and more comprehensive than hitherto. Our set-backs, which also have their moral consequences, are due to the fact that we were relatively unprepared for struggle in the conditions of state-monopoly development.

It is certainly not a Marxist concept that the level of production and the standard of living should be decisive in determining the revolutionary possibilities of the masses. Revolutionary incentive stems from the discrepancy between the existing situation and the possibilities as they are realized by the people. It is in terms corresponding with this that our case against state-monopoly capitalism should be expressed.

It is not an invention of the Danish Communists that even in a highly developed society like ours there is dissatisfaction among the public. Dissatisfaction is widespread but people are indecisive and unaware of its causes.

This is reflected in the serious and developing crisis in the Social Democratic Party. Here two features should be emphasized. There is a shift to the right, to the Conservatives, especially among party officials. The latter find the Conservative Party more "streamlined," more in line with modern "efficiency." This is a negative development insofar as it is directed against the very concept of an independent working-class party. The Social Democratic leaders have for years undermined the foundation of this concept but today they are scared by the possible losses. At the same time there

is a leftward trend in the Social Democratic Party. Formerly it was a monolithic party but today many factions exist in its ranks.

The existence of conditions for strengthening the Left in the Social Democratic Party is reflected in the appearance of a third party of the working class — the Socialist People's Party (SPP) which has won certain electoral successes. From the very beginning this Party has adopted an anti-communist stand, which is explained by the fact that it was founded by the ex-chairman of the Communist Party. The electors supporting this party are people who subjectively adhere to Left views. Conditions for unity in action exist, despite the attitude adopted by its leadership.

The principal aim of the founders of the Socialist People's Party was to play a definite parliamentary role. Their demands for reforms go farther than those of the Social Democrats. The SPP has proclaimed socialism as its goal. But its leadership is creating hindrances in the way of unfolding democratic struggle and developing it into a fight for socialism. They deny the role of the class struggle and are primarily concerned with parliament. Claiming to play a "national" role, the leaders of this party are, in effect, taking a stand against the socialist world in all difficult situations. For us this leadership is a living example of the existing possibilities for choosing a way which may bring about some desired success but at the cost of hampering the cause of democracy and socialism.

It is sometimes asked whether a stand like that adopted by the Socialist People's Party is really a hindrance to further struggle. In other words, has not development in our time reached a stage when new opportunism striving to reconcile the workers with the capitalist system has no longer any possibilities or an objective base for development? I am not convinced that this is so. I think that Lenin's words that the main source of opportunism lies in those changes in the situation which give rise to illusions are valid today as well. We should bear this in mind.

The way forward must be, of course, the way of unity of action, notwithstanding ideological differences. But for success the existence of a Marxist-Leninist party within this unity is necessary. The task of the Communists is not only to defend the treasury of Marxism-Leninism but also to prove the need for its development.

This poses the question: what should be the specific contribution of the Communists to the development of the democratic and anti-monopoly movement today?

The Twenty-Second Congress¹ of our Party defined this in the following terms: "It is the Communists who are constantly stressing that democracy means, above all, activity by the people. It is the Communists who are always showing that the working class is the decisive force of social renovation. It is the Communists who are tirelessly working to help people to

grasp the process of socialist development now going on in the world."

I would like to underline the significance of each of these three points.

1. In our conditions democracy is mostly reduced to constitutional rights and parliamentary activity. But decisive for the development of the struggle for democratic reforms and for the reinforcement of the anti-monopoly forces is the activity of the masses. The same reforms can have an entirely different significance depending on whether they are a "gift" from above or a result of the struggle from below.

2. The role of the working class is now disputed both from the Right and by "Left" sectarians. We maintain that the working class, above all the trade union movement, is called upon to play the decisive role in developing the democratic struggle into a struggle for socialism. The trade unions should act as a political factor, and indeed they are making advances in this respect by freeing themselves from the former tutelage of the Social Democratic government and its policy. Workers of different opinions are taking part in this struggle, but it is developing mainly thanks to the growth of Communist influence in the trade unions, where our biggest gains have so far been achieved.

3. The main factor creating more favorable conditions for the anti-monopoly struggle in our time is the consolidation of socialism on a world scale, both as a force of example and as a force in international policy. Without realizing this, without overcoming the efforts of the bourgeoisie to misrepresent this development in the minds of the people, it will be impossible to utilize the new conditions for peaceful transition to socialism.

We hold that the Communist Party can fulfill its role and become a national factor, furthering the struggle of the democratic forces along the way to socialism provided it solves these tasks. In so doing it should display the necessary patience.

Further work to elaborate the strategy for the transition from capitalism to socialism is certainly needed. We should realize that this transition will not be a path of roses but a period of deep political crises and upheavals.

But in the final analysis the main strength of the Communist Party lies in its ability to link the day-to-day struggle for smaller or bigger reforms with real socialist reconstruction of society. In this respect answers should be given to the many, although often not conscious, strivings of the people, and not the least of the younger generation.

SIGNS OF CHANGE

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THE SITUATION is clearly changing in the Federal Republic of Germany, as is evident from the growing difficulties confronting its rulers. The crisis phenomena multiplying in political life are most strikingly manifest in the present government crisis. This is a sign that the policy long pursued in Bonn has entered an impasse.

I should like briefly to enumerate some of the reasons for the collapse of the concept of the Bonn rulers. First, the balance of forces in Europe has foiled their plans, which boil down to annexation of the GDR either by undermining its economy or by means of political subversion or military provocations. Second, the economic strength of the Federal Republic and the outspoken claims to positions of still greater power, such as insisting on the right to have a finger on the nuclear trigger and a say in the revision of frontiers, have increased the distrust of Bonn on the part of its Western neighbors and NATO allies, leading to its growing isolation, and, in the case of France, to unequivocal dissociation from the policies and aims of West German imperialism. Third, in

view of this, even the U.S. imperialists, their close alliance with Bonn notwithstanding, have not ventured to yield to the Federal German rulers and give them access to nuclear weapons. Fourth, the military and political great-power aspirations of the rulers, apart from everything else, are coming increasingly into conflict with their economic possibilities. Although these possibilities are still quite considerable, the decline in business activity and the bloated budget show that the ruling circles have overestimated their strength.

It is these factors which led to the political crisis reflected in the resignation of the Free Democrats from the government, leaving the latter with only minority backing in parliament. The chances of a change taking place in the Federal Republic would be good if the leadership of the Social Democratic Party were to pursue a new, independent policy. Regrettably, however, this has not happened. The present leaders of the SDP, though ready to take advantage of the crisis in the government camp, share the Christian Democrat concept on all the main foreign policy issues, on the question of

Germany, on armament and on the emergency laws. Not long ago they again showed that this is the case by taking part in the Fallex 66 maneuvers, during which they sat down with the government in a nuclear shelter to work out a plan for a nuclear attack against the GDR and for the enforcement of emergency laws in wartime conditions.

In these circumstances our Party is working to put before the people an alternative policy, to give every support to the struggle waged by the trade unions and the opponents of nuclear armament and the extraordinary laws, and thereby to strengthen the forces working for a new policy. Only a powerful movement can exert the pressure needed to impel the Social Democratic deputies in the Bundestag and the leaders of the SDP to adopt a new orientation.

A few remarks on the change in the mood of the working population as a result of the changed economic situation. For years the Federal Republic ranked among the European capitalist countries with the highest economic growth rates. It had full employment and provided jobs for 1,200,000 foreign workers. Wage and salary earners won many concessions both from the employers (as regards wages and working hours) and from the state (in the sphere of social policy). Needless to say, these gains cannot be attributed only to the prolonged boom. They were due to a large extent to the existence and the social achievements of the GDR, and also to the strength and militancy of the West German trade unions. At the same time the Federal Republic remained a country where illusions concerning the ability of capitalism to guarantee full employment and to solve social problems were, and still are, particularly widespread.

In recent years a big role has been played by phrasemongering about, for instance, the acquisition of property by wage and salary earners. Up to the present many Right-wing Social Democratic and trade union leaders have concentrated on cultivating illusions of this kind in order to divert attention from concrete class struggle for wage increases, shorter working hours and timely action to counteract the negative consequences of automation. Moreover, anti-communism has acquired particularly virulent, hysterical forms on an even wider scale than in other capitalist countries. Practically two generations of workers have known capitalism only at a time of full employment when the trade unions have been able to win higher real wages for workers and when durable consumer goods which the worker formerly could not afford have become accessible to him. Hence, with the continuing boom, socialism, for many workers, and for many Social Democrats in particular, no longer was the aim, an alternative to be fought for.

Latterly the economic situation has undergone notable changes. The falling off of business activity has brought about a change of mood among big sections of the working class. This is not yet a sharp turn in their way of

thinking, but rather a shift in sentiment, a change in the climate in the enterprises. There is a growing feeling of anxiety and insecurity everywhere, a fear of being thrown out of work.

Economic growth rate is considerably lower this year than before. In the first nine months of this year industrial growth was only slightly over two per cent, while recent months have shown a drop below the corresponding months last year. Overall growth for the year will definitely be under two per cent. The situation is complicated by the fact that some areas are already in the throes of economic crisis—mining, for instance—and that lay-offs and short-time working are reported in a number of other branches, such as the steel industry, the building trades, and partly textiles. Add the fact that branches producing capital goods, especially engineering, have been declining in recent months; the implications of this are disturbing from the standpoint of cyclical development. And the decline is continuing despite increased exports, for home orders are being cut down. This shows that the economic laws of capitalism, as Comrade Norlund pointed out, have not ceased to operate, that cyclical development (though in modified form) continues. Bourgeois economic experts predict for 1967 the lowest growth rate since the establishment of the Federal Republic. It should be added that the falling off of business activity is accelerated by the economic policy of the government, primarily the heavy spending on war preparations, including the millions in foreign currency squandered on arms purchases.

Social problems, which for a long time seemed to have receded to the background, have now come prominently to the fore. There is no doubt that this has made it easier to combat illusions, to reveal the basic interconnection between the economic and social status of the workers and the capitalist system, and to show the interweaving of economic problems and the aggressive policy of armament as well as the reactionary home policy pursued by the ruling circles. Indicative of the change in sentiment is the fact that the once widespread talk about the accumulation of property in the hands of the workers has now come to an end. In many branches of industry and large sections of the country, especially in the Ruhr, people are now most of all concerned with the problem of job security. Although we do not attach too much importance to this change of sentiment, it should nevertheless be noted as a symptomatic development.

The government has worked out what it calls a stabilization program aimed primarily at preventing any decline in armament spending or in the profits of the concerns. To this end it proposes to encroach on social gains, to raise taxes, freeze wages, sharply curtail the funds available to the Laender and the municipalities for social and educational needs, and to arrogate to itself unconstitutional powers of control over Land and local finances. Through its deputies in the Bundestag the Social Democra-

tic leadership has given its backing to the aims of this program and the means devised to carry it out, merely demanding that these means be made more effective. This has created a serious situation for the working people generally. For the government's economic policy can only increase insecurity. It cannot check the looming inflation. Deflationary restriction of credits can but increase the danger of unemployment. The root of the trouble is that government spending has been thrown out of balance by the arms buildup, which swallows 30 per cent of the Federal budget.

So far the trade unions have taken a restrained attitude towards the stabilization program. As was learned recently, they intend to work out their own proposals for a program of immediate action. Faced with new problems, the workers, and above all the youth, want a positive alternative.

In view of the government measures and the situation which has arisen, our Party submitted to the public its proposals to stabilize the economy and democratize economic policy. We proceed from the fact that socialist propaganda and the advocacy of fundamental anti-monopoly reforms alone are not enough, even though their importance is growing, especially in the present situation. It is necessary also to advance concrete economic and political proposals in which the people can see a direct answer to the measures taken by the government and a response to their own anxieties. This is, moreover, the only way to build up a movement in the enterprises to combat the anti-democratic and anti-social measures of the government.

In our economic proposals, "For a Stable Peace Economy in the interests of the People," we pose four problems: 1) immediate action to check the growing inflation, to prevent the decline of purchasing power, and to provide the local authorities with bigger funds for social and cultural needs; 2) principles of democratic economic policy, in which we place the emphasis on two basic aspects: curbing the power of the big concerns, and participation of the working people and their organizations in management in all areas of economic life, from the factory floor and the enterprise to the bodies of state administration; 3) our proposals, 12 in all, on concrete measures of democratic economic policy in the spheres of spending on armaments, prices, wages, tax legislation and the finances of the Laender and localities, trade, foreign capital, etc.; 4) the basic avenues leading to a democratic reform of the economy; participation of the workers and the trade unions in management, planning under democratic control, and nationalization of the enterprises playing a dominant role in the economy and on the market and their democratic management.

Even though we are forced to function illegally, we wish to make these economic proposals the basis for discussion with many trade union leaders and officials of the Social Democratic Party. Above all we want our proposals

to reach the workers and to be understood by them.

We have repeatedly pointed to the growth of the role played by the unions in the Federal Republic. As a matter of fact, thanks to their positive stand on some key issues in the political and social sphere (for example, in combating the extraordinary laws and fighting for the right to share in management), they have become the decisive opposition force. If the demand for a share in management could be translated from mere declarations into the basis for trade union action, this would be of the greatest significance for the further development of the social struggle.

Permit me to make a few remarks concerning some questions of principle raised by Comrade Kashtan and Comrade Salomaa. It is of course not easy to find the answer to the problem of how to preserve our revolutionary identity and dissociate ourselves from reformism at a time when revolutionary tasks in the direct sense of the word clearly are not on the order of the day in our countries and when many workers do not accept socialism as an alternative. Insofar as it is possible for a small party working in conditions of illegality to do so, we seek constantly to link the social and democratic demands of the day, the demand for deep-going anti-monopoly reforms, with popularization of our socialist aims in the light of the latest experience of the working people. By this experience we mean especially such issues as automation and its social consequences under capitalism, the squandering of public wealth for purposes of destruction, ensuring the rights of the working man in production, the education of workers' children and providing every facility for developing their talents, and participation in management and decision-making in all areas of public life.

Moreover, I believe that to our traditional and absolutely correct thesis concerning the relationship between reform and revolution we must add the following. The struggle for reforms, at least in part, acquires in our time an *objectively* different nature as compared with earlier stages in the development of the working-class movement. We in no way underestimate the possibilities and ability of the monopoly capitalists and their state to maneuver, to make concessions. But the possibility of their doing so is in many respects limited, especially because of the interconnection between economics and politics, the interweaving of military and foreign policy aims, of the policy of armament and economic and social policy. Owing to this many social and democratic demands impinge on the basic economic and political interests of monopoly capital and objectively acquire in concrete situations of class struggle far greater significance than they have in themselves or if taken out of context. As we see it, this is the reason for the violent reaction of all employers' associations, the government and the reactionary press to the demand of the unions for the right to participate in manage-

ment and for democratizing the economy. A leading industrial newspaper commented that the demand for democracy in the economy is as absurd as the demand for democracy in schools, army barracks, or penitentiaries.

It is important for us clearly to set forth our principles and to underscore the concrete revolutionary-democratic nature of our proposals for reforms. It is important not to miss any opportunity, even the slightest, to wage a joint struggle for social, economic and political reforms together with the Social Democratic following and the workers in the unions irrespective of whether we are the initiators of such demands or not.

Generally speaking, the question of what character the fight for reforms will assume cannot be resolved in advance. History alone, only struggle and the class balance resulting from this struggle, can supply the answer. And the answer will be the more favorable to us the more actively we carry on this struggle, the closer the alliance we build with the Social Democratic and other working masses. There is always the danger of illusions, of these reforms being distorted by the ruling circles and the Right-wing Social Democratic leadership. But the fact remains that the masses can rid themselves of illusions only in the process of struggle. We on our part will be able most effectively to combat such illusions if we prove ourselves the best fighters for social and democratic reforms, and if we at the same time consistently and concretely link these reforms with our socialist aims.

This is, of course, easier said than done. Day in and day out life sets opportunist traps for our comrades, and these traps are all the more dangerous in view of the need, despite our illegal status, to work legally whenever possible. The question therefore rises again and again of not only joining with the trade unions and other progressive forces, but of retaining our identity, of putting forward our viewpoint in the common movement, including the movement against nuclear armaments.

But we also know that it is imperative to search for every possible point of contact in the democratic struggle. We are guided by the basic truth that in our country it is impossible to bring about a deep-going change in the situation without maximum cooperation with the Social Democratic and Christian workers, especially in the trade unions. Moreover, we must take into account the fact that the present leaders of the SDP have practically ceased to advance demands for far-reaching social and democratic reforms and are increasingly coming into conflict with the trade unions in this respect. Yet Social Democratic officials and the Social Democrats in the trade unions are putting forward such demands, and this, naturally, provides an important basis for joint actions today and especially in the future.

We attach considerable importance to the point raised by some comrades that all our activity should be based on a concrete scientific

analysis of modern capitalism, that we should reject the old stereotyped patterns and elaborate new methods of mass work. We consider it particularly important to study besides the objective conditions also their subjective reflection in the thinking and sentiments of the masses, primarily of the young generation. We have made considerable headway in recent years in examining the objective conditions, though there is still much left to be done. But we lag behind in the study of the development of consciousness, of the ideological and psychological factors reflecting the perception by the working masses of the conditions in which they live.

Our Party seeks to find a new approach to the deepening of class consciousness, the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas. We believe that generally speaking, as some other comrades have already stressed, much depends on whether we are able to put forward constructive and understandable proposals affecting the vital interests of the working people. We know from our own experience that many workers regard us Communists as uncompromising critics; they think we are capable only of negative attitudes and have no positive proposals to make. Consequently, we make a point of underscoring the constructive meaning of our proposals. In this connection we would welcome it if this journal could sponsor a broad exchange of views among the Communist and Workers' parties of the capitalist countries concerning new forms and methods of our work in the sphere of agitation and propaganda, the press and literature.

It seems to me that in many questions relating to the forms and methods of work some revolutionaries are often the most stubborn conservatives. This can hardly be considered a useful quality. There is no doubt that television, the greater nervous tension in the modern factories, changes in the use of leisure time, and the influence of the gutter press and the "glossies" have greatly changed reading habits. It would be useful to make a thorough study of this question and to draw the necessary conclusions for our educational work, especially from the standpoint of reaching those large numbers who take little interest in politics. We agree that we should adapt our methods of work to the new conditions and search for new forms. But experience shows that the traditional forms of activity, including public meetings and demonstrations, have not lost their value (in our country this is the case, for instance, in the struggle against the extraordinary laws or in movements on such elementary issues as the rise in city transport fares which has attracted large numbers of the student youth).

We in the Federal Republic also have a "new Left" of a kind. The opposition forces are growing, especially among the students and intellectuals, who are quite active and join us in protesting against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and Bonn's support of this aggression,

against the extraordinary laws and in defense of the Constitution. Some of these elements gravitate towards socialist ideas, drawing, however, a sharp line of distinction between themselves and the Communists for various reasons, partly because of the usual anti-Communist prejudices and the illegal status of our Party, and also because of the influence exerted by some prominent professors expelled from the SDP on these students and intellectuals. Many of these people believe that not only has Social Democracy failed but that the Communists have distorted the socialist cause by their mistakes, and that therefore a middle road must be chosen.

In practice we cooperate with these people in many areas, at the same time seeking to make our position clear to them, to win them over by counterposing to their concepts a realistic appraisal of the historical development of the working-class movement and an equally objective characterization of the concrete realities of socialism (with all its contradictions and difficulties) which has truly changed the world and dealt defeats to imperialism, delivered the world from fascism and deprived predatory German imperialism of its power

over one-third of our country. We know this is not easy, but we see no other way. This work is particularly important in our country. It must be said that we have been greatly aided in our efforts by the progress of the socialist countries in recent years, though in this respect too there have been contradictory developments. The recent events in China and the lack of unity among the socialist countries in the matter of rebuffing U.S. aggression create difficulties for us.

We consider the strengthening of our theoretical work to be of decisive importance from the standpoint of influencing the elements of the intelligentsia which are moving towards radical positions, and in general intellectuals who take an interest in Marxism. It is important that they should come to see for themselves that the notion they entertain about the allegedly narrow, dogmatic evolution of the Marxist theory of the Communist Party is a prejudice inculcated by the propaganda of our enemies. In conclusion I should like to extend warm thanks to all the comrades from the fraternal parties for their solidarity and their support of our fight to restore the legality of our Party.

NEW WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN SPAIN

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THERE ARE, as we know, two approaches to the question of reforms: the revolutionary and the reformist.

The revolutionary concept sees reforms not as an end in itself but as a means of improving the position of the working masses in order to rally them to fight for the qualitative changes that will serve to put an end to capitalism as a social system. The reformist concept, on the other hand, advocates reforms which change only some aspects of the capitalist system and are aimed at consolidating it. The Communist Party of Spain stands for the former type of reforms. However, at the present historical stage, marked by so many new features, there can be certain reforms which — though implemented by social forces upholding capitalism and neo-capitalism and seeking to strengthen the latter — turn into their opposite and actually promote the revolutionary process. This happens when the balance of forces favors that process, when the revolutionaries are able to expose the basic shortcomings of these reforms, to advance a democratic, revolutionary alternative to them and fight for its achievement.

The problem of reforms and their role in the present struggle against state-monopoly capitalism can be solved given the necessary pre-

requisites for implementing them in keeping with the revolutionary concept. A basic condition is the preparedness of the masses to fight for the reforms and this in turn presupposes a sufficiently high degree of influence of the Communists or of the other revolutionary forces on the masses and the cooperation or unity of the Communists with other political, ideological or religious trends supporting these reforms and exerting an influence on the proletariat and the people generally. It is precisely the combination of these influences (in instances where the influence of the Communists alone is not strong enough to be decisive) that will make it possible to rally the working people to fight for reforms.

At the same time it is clear that one way to win over the masses, to enlist them in the struggle, is to advance economic, political and social reforms or demands that will win their interest and impel them to fight for their implementation. This is a basic, or, at any rate, one of the basic points.

Thanks primarily to the mass struggle in Spain, the Franco regime is no longer able to pursue its former policy of repressions and terror. *Many of the democratic gains won by the people are now of a structural nature.*

As distinct from the other advanced capitalist countries (or, rather, those more advanced than ours), Spain has none of those minimal freedoms which can be called democratic.

The absence of these freedoms lends added significance, in our opinion, to what is happening in our country, above all in the working class movement.

The first round of trade union elections held recently in which so-called union delegates and also members of factory committees of the "vertical" unions were elected, *was a success for the unitarian workers' committees — the core of the new working class movement.*

Trade union elections, as a barometer of the degree of class consciousness of the workers, are of the utmost importance for the new working-class movement, for the development of the political situation, for our Party and, consequently, *for the present and future struggle for democratic and revolutionary structural reforms or changes in Spain.*

In our opinion, the success in these elections was not a matter of chance; it was a sign of the progress made by the new working-class movement. Our Party recommended that the working class take part in the elections, regarding this as part of the general tactical line, part of the struggle aimed at winning the demands of the working class, and at opening a broader perspective to the working-class movement. The Party raised the question of the need to organize the election struggle as *a major political action for unity.*

It was now no longer a question of whether it was expedient or not to work in the vertical unions but of dealing them a crushing blow in order to oust them and replace them with *a qualitatively new movement. It was a matter of destroying one of the main political pillars of the Franco system and thereby winning a decisive battle for the building of class unions. Today we can say that this battle has been won.*

The elections were a complete victory for the workers committees over the candidates patronized by the employers and supported by the vertical unions, and a defeat for the propaganda of the leaders of the *emigre* Socialist Labor Party (PSOE) and the National Confederation of Labor (CNT) which had urged the workers to boycott the elections.

The workers' committee won a decisive victory in the metallurgical, mining, textile, building, engineering, chemical and shipbuilding industries, the printing industry, city transport, the banks and to a considerable extent the railways, the telephone company, etc.

This was a big blow to the vertical unions, a new and important advance toward establishing independent class unions. It was also a painful blow to the regime, a blow capable of hastening its downfall.

The success of the workers' committees, in which the youth and the women workers played a big part, should help to unite the entire work-

ing class movement on the basis of a program of revolutionary struggle.

The election of tens of thousands of militants as trade union delegates and members of factory committees shows that the workers' committees, *far from being redundant, are more necessary today than ever before.* To strengthen and consolidate them is one of the main tasks of the working class and its leaders, the Communists.

We Communists are the most consistent defenders of working-class unity. Hence any forces (Catholic, Socialist, Anarcho-Syndicalist, Syndicalist, Left Falangist, nationalist, or petty bourgeois) which are prepared to uphold the workers' committees and their program of action, to work for unity in the framework of a single trade union center, can rely on the support and cooperation of the Communists. Anyone who seeks to split the working class, to undermine the committees, will merit our censure. In this we shall be guided by the desire for unity cherished by the working people.

It is common knowledge that the militant working class movement of Spain has from its inception been influenced by two main non-revolutionary trends: reformism, represented by the PSOE, and Anarcho-syndicalism, represented by the anarchist CNT. After the revolt of the Asturian miners in 1934, our Party's influence on the working-class movement began to grow rapidly, while that of the other trends declined. But the civil war ended and the situation did not change appreciably. The results of the elections are a clear indication that our working class has overcome the prolonged period of division which has time and again sapped its vitality. A new, unitary revolutionary course has been laid.

The main reason for this change is that between 1936 and the present, Spain has lived through the civil war, and during the thirty years of dictatorship, thirty years of struggle against it, the working class has accumulated rich experience.

All these years our Party has been mainly concerned with finding forms, methods and means of restoring the vitality of the working-class movement, enhancing its militancy and overcoming the division in its ranks.

We have upheld the demands of the workers and the whole people, from the most elementary to the most far-reaching, generalizing every positive instance of working-class action with a view to applying this experience to promote the struggle. And we can say that we have achieved good results.

Today the task of the new working-class movement is to consolidate its successes and strengthen its unity. The main thing is to look toward the future, to forge ahead. This means taking new and decisive steps to organize the working class, raise the level of its struggle for democracy, for the satisfaction of its demands.

We now have further confirmation of the correctness of our Party's attitude, outlined prior to the elections, with regard to the role of the

trade union delegates and members of factory committees, and also of the local, provincial and in some cases the national or social juntas, as they are called, which include progressive and class-conscious workers. These bodies can become another form of organization of the working people. By maintaining contact with the workers' committees and working under their guidance they can develop into a whole system capable of mobilizing not only separate new groups of workers but, at a given moment and under certain circumstances, the *entire Spanish working class*.

In the Asturias the miners in some pits went on strike the day after the elections. In Madrid the newly-elected union delegates held a meeting in the premises of the provincial branch of the metalworkers trade union. Four basic demands for the second stage of the elections were advanced at this meeting, including a demand that all police interference in trade union life should cease. Two days later, on October 17, 500 union delegates in Madrid sent a letter to the government demanding the resignation of Solis, minister for the Falangist "movement," unless the system of electing trade union representatives on the scale of the provinces was changed and two responsible members of workers' committees whose election had been annulled, were reinstated with full rights. A clash occurred when these trade union delegates were attacked by a gang of fascists. In other cities workers protested against unfair contracts and threatened to take action for their demands. In Barcelona delegates of workers' committees attended a student rally held in the university.

In short, the working class is stepping up its offensive against the present union structure and fighting with redoubled energy for its rights. The next move will be to take advantage of the second and third rounds of the elections to consolidate the gains. Making use of the local, provincial and regional assemblies and congresses of workers' representatives and relying in some cases on the "social juntas," the new movement will in all likelihood move towards convening a *national democratic trade union congress to set up a united, class, independent and democratic union center*.

As the staunchest supporters of genuine working-class democracy, we Communists hold that these congresses should be attended by delegates elected in the enterprises by the workers themselves or at any rate by the new union delegates.

The workers feel that the positions they have won must be utilized to forge ahead, above all to fight for class unions independent of the employers and the government, against the leadership imposed by the government.

The opinion is widespread that a vigorous and principled stand should be made against any attempt to revise the structure of the trade union from above. The new *class union* should be built from below, in the enterprises by the workers themselves. *Neither the Communists,*

nor, we believe, any other revolutionary workers, will agree to accept any union leader not elected by the rank and file.

The workers are so deeply convinced of the need for a class union, the conditions for its formation have matured to such an extent that it can be safely asserted that, although the struggle for a minimum wage of 250 pesetas does unite the workers, the basic task of the new movement at the present time is to set up such a trade union organization. This task should be *closely linked with the struggle for the right to strike*.

What stand did the existing union bureaucracy take at the election? What should be our attitude to it? Among the union officials there are those who stand by the workers. Part of the union apparatus associated with the Falangist "movement," too, is turning away from Solis and the government. In order to put an end to the corporate unions we believe that it is necessary to rely on that section of the trade union bureaucracy which is willing to help the new working-class movement, that this section should be offered a certain perspective.

I think I am right in saying that neither the well-nigh defunct Falangist "movement" nor the government have any real possibility of counteracting the new working-class movement by repressions. To suppress the new movement the government would have to return to the old methods of terror and that is now out of the question.

At the same time it is still possible to engineer provocations such as that staged on October 17 against the new union delegates at the headquarters of the metalworkers' union in Madrid. But the working-class movement will undoubtedly resist all such provocations and similar measures, exposing and paralyzing them by mass action, including strikes.

Moreover, the working-class movement should discourage any attempt to resort to repressions by strengthening the solidarity of the entire working class. Of late solidarity has been one of the striking manifestations of the high level of class consciousness of the Spanish working class. It should now be extended. For the working-class movement solidarity should be something sacred.

We are convinced that the new movement will make it clear that it will not return to the conditions of illegality, that it has the right to legal existence, and that it will fight for this right until it is attained.

When one speaks of the new working-class movement based on the workers' committees it may be thought that this is some unique form of working-class organization confined exclusively within the trade union framework. It might also be thought that the workers' committees are something like labor councils representing a wide variety of political trends and views. Actually, however, this is not the case.

As a rule the workers' committees are elected by democratic procedure by *all the workers* in

most cases at a mass meeting. They are, therefore, a form of *working-class democracy* exercised at the place of work. The new working-class movement based on the committees is not an exclusively trade union movement, but a *socio-political movement of the working people*. On the one hand, it is aimed at establishing *united class unions* but, on the other, the course of development itself imposes other *socio-political functions* on it. Already at this stage it contains elements of the democratic principles of struggle for the socio-political reconstruction of society. These principles can be and undoubtedly will be, of vital significance for the development of the new democracy in Spain.

This character of the new movement, although it is only beginning to manifest itself, is already reflected in the programs of the movement, which besides economic problems directly affecting the working class also advance some important democratic demands such as *freedom of assembly, demonstrations and the press, the holding of local, provincial and national congresses to set up democratic trade unions; nationalization of the banks and big monopoly companies; an agrarian reform which would give the land to those who till it; democratization of trade in agricultural products; and democratization of education*.

The logic of development makes it possible to predict that the success of the new movement will bring us nearer to the national strike, either through a general political strike or as a result of it (or a number of strikes and actions which in any case would become general). *The national strike remains the focal point of the democratic perspective toward which the struggle of our people should be steered*. The course of events convinces us more and more that the possibility of achieving democracy by peaceful means is more tangible than ever before. And we declare once again that this path is *not reformist but revolutionary*.

What perspective do we envisage after democracy has been established? We believe that when democracy is restored it should be developed. In our view, this means carrying out *important structural reforms which would transform it into a socio-political democracy*. And as we see it, this socio-political democracy will be the transitional stage between state-monopoly capitalism and socialism.

As for the political sphere and the national question, we believe that the winning of political freedom should be accompanied by the granting of national autonomy to Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia, the national rights of whose peoples are infringed by the centralized bureaucratic regime of the monopoly oligarchy. A Constituent Assembly should be elected and a Constitution drafted.

We stand for a parliamentary system ensuring national, regional and local autonomy. We hold that the Spanish state should proclaim its multi-national character *de jure*. We stand for the right to self-determination, believing that

this alone can ensure the peoples of Spain fraternal unity.

We stand for reform of the law, and for autonomy of education. We advocate and *uphold the multi-party principle*. We stand for a single-chamber parliament, the establishment of a central socio-economic council and analogous bodies at various levels, empowered to draw up and implement economic plans on a national, regional and local scale. All sections of society should be represented in these bodies. Representation of workers' committees in these councils could play an important role.

The most pressing structural reform in the *socio-economic sphere is the abolition of the big latifundia and the transfer of the land to those who till it*, either individually or collectively.

We propose carrying out a genuine nationalization of the banks, the credit system, mineral resources, electric power and the big monopolies. At the same time we envisage preserving small-scale industry.

In all likelihood the concentration and centralization process will continue, since this is an objective law, but without the monopolies. There will be a private sector and an extensive public sector.

This system, which the Spanish Communists and broad sections of our people call socio-political democracy, at some point and by the dialectics of development, will inevitably lead to socialism.

At present when millions of people are asking: "After Franco, What?*", when the question "What direction shall we take?" is constantly being asked by many of our compatriots, our Party attaches great importance to the general guide-lines for the reforms already worked out and the announcement of which is already having an impact.

But this is not all. In connection with monopoly development we consider it necessary to supplement the demand for these reforms by something more concrete. This has dictated the urgent need to draft a general plan of democratic and economic development. The second part of this general program could show "those branches of industry on which the main efforts should be concentrated and in what zones these branches should be located; what concrete measures should be taken to develop the infrastructure; the crops it would be expedient to cultivate in one or another area of the country and for what particular purpose; in what areas and to what extent should animal husbandry be developed; irrigation; generating electric power"*** etc., etc. Moreover, I should like to say that, in my opinion, the elaboration of a concrete democratic alternative as comprehensive as possible is essential for the Communists of any capitalist country.

Why do we pose this task at a time when

*This is the title of the recently published book by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, (Ediciones Sociales, Paris, 137 pp.).

**Ibid., p. 137.

Franco is still in power? Because, for the reasons given above and because the revolutionary process in Spain is ripening, we consider it *necessary and urgent* for the Communist Party to offer the country a clear perspective in all spheres as an alternative to monopoly development.

We realize, however, that the task of the day is to facilitate the emergence, the unity and fusion of all the forces capable of translating this perspective into reality. The basic core is the working class which is already in a position to build and shape this highly promising working-class movement. The *peasants and middle sections* as well as other anti-monopoly groups are uniting with the working class.

While we have no intention of underestimating the significance of other forces, other ideological trends, we nevertheless feel that in Spanish conditions unity of Catholics and Communists is of first-rate importance for building an alliance of all these social forces. We have often said that this is the cornerstone of the unity of the new working-class movement in Spain. And we still adhere to this view. Moreover, there are forces within the progressive and forward-looking Catholic movement which, in defiance of the Church hierarchy, promise to become our chief political ally not only in the framework of the present working-class movement and the struggle for democracy but also in the struggle for far-reaching social changes, for hastening the advent of the socialist perspective and building of the new society.

The youth and the working women are playing a prominent part in the development of our working-class movement. An encouraging sign also is that professionals and civil servants in many cases have joined the other working people in supporting the workers' committees. The same can be said of the bank clerks who act like true proletarians although on the face of it they might be regarded as belonging to the labor aristocracy. New currents are appearing

also among part of the technocrats in government service. *The actions of the working class have set a mighty force in motion.*

The striving democracy and social reform can no longer be suppressed in Spain. Objective reality makes such reform imperative.

Spain, once an agrarian-industrial country, is becoming an industrial-agrarian country. This is due not so much to a high level of industrial development — although this is true of some branches — as to the fact that the peasants are moving from the villages to the towns or emigrating abroad. Big advances have been made in transport and in the services, thanks largely to the tourist trade. The socio-economic structure of our country remains largely the same. The big latifundia and their opposite, "minifundia," still predominate. In industry, despite the concentration and growth of monopoly, small and medium-sized enterprises are the rule. The structure of our foreign trade is practically that of an underdeveloped country. Monopoly expansion clashes with the interests and aspirations of the vast majority of the people.

This, then is the situation, and the revolutionary traditions of our people make it easier for the Communists to carry out their mission and give them the grounds to look with confidence to the future.

Our Party is making headway, and the solutions it offers are having an impact. Hence some of the agents of monopoly capital, realizing that the existence of a strong Communist Party is inevitable, are planning to *integrate us*, to involve us in the game of formal parliamentary democracy within the framework of the monopoly system. In fighting for structural democratic reforms, for democratic and revolutionary development, we are combating these schemes. We are fighting for the victory of the democratic revolutionary way over the way of monopoly.

THE TRUTH OF MARXISM MUST BE CONSTANTLY ENRICHED

ERWIN ZUKKER-SCHILLING

Austrian journalist

THE BOOM IN THE developed capitalist countries has influenced the thinking of the working class, and new problems have come to the fore. Much of what had been confirmed by social development, by reality, now seems to many to be obsolete, out of harmony with the needs of the times. However, they have been led to this conclusion not by a scientific analysis of the situation, but by particular manifestations of the contemporary processes. Significant changes have taken place in the socio-

economic conditions of the people. The technological advance has been accompanied by a considerable increase in the numbers employed and, simultaneously, by big changes in their structural composition. This can be seen, for example, in the growth in numbers of office workers in relation to the number of factory workers. Shortage of both skilled and unskilled workers is a feature in Austria as it is in other developed capitalist countries. The capitalists no longer have an industrial reserve army to

operate within the class struggle. Many workers are preoccupied not so much with meeting everyday needs as with preserving, on the one hand, the high standard of living which is threatened by the rising cost of living and, on the other, with keeping the job and satisfying requirements which are growing as a result of rapid technological progress.

Hence the exacerbation of the contradictions between capitalism, which it is alleged has become more humane, and the everyday reality, between the temporary illusions, engendered by the high business activity, about so-called social partnership, and the ever deepening class contradictions. In Austria these contradictions have led to big changes in the political life of the country. The party of the capitalists decided to end the 20-year coalition with the Socialist Party. It cashed in on the disappointment occasioned by the Socialist Party's failure to resolve many questions. In the Socialist Party these unresolved issues of its former policy, based on rejection of the class struggle, led to a crisis of confidence in the party, manifested after the party's heavy defeat in the last general election. This defeat was the consequence of the policy of the Socialist Party which steered a course towards social partnership, towards maintaining the obsolete system of administration, and not towards a socialist alternative.

The sharing of government power between the party of capitalism and the Socialist Party—the latter supported by large numbers of factory and office workers—had created the impression of a real partnership not only between the leadership of two parties, but between two social groups with diametrically opposed interests. In reality the policy pursued by the Socialist Party in this coalition, the policy of class conciliation, so strengthened the position of the capitalist partner that it felt it was strong enough to dictate conditions to the Socialists, or rule alone.

The negative results of this policy have caused widespread disappointment in Socialist Party circles, shattering the illusions that have existed over the years. A discussion is now under way in the party, which in frankness, breadth and depth is without precedent in its history. The most diverse and even diametrically opposed views are being expressed. The ultra-Rightists recommend breaking with Marxism, with its criticism of society and its aims, with the socialist concept of the future, and first of all with class struggle. One of the advocates of this concept, Norbert Leser, wants to get rid of the "remnants of Marxist thinking in the parties of democratic socialism"; this, according to Leser, is basic to "achieving an effective pluralist society." The aims and tasks of socialism should be confined to "guaranteeing the maximum social benefits in a society that remains pluralist (i.e., capitalist) in structure."

The Socialist Party, which is to be reorganized and renamed the Liberal People's Party, is advised to step up anti-communism, to make a

clean break not only with Communists but with all those who fail to see America's war in Vietnam as a decisive battle in which the whole "free world" should be interested. This shows anti-communism being used to justify not only the capitalist system but also the most brutal forms of imperialism.

It is important not overlook this because there is a trend in the Socialist Party which although it denies having an openly anti-Marxist attitude nevertheless advocates breaking with the Communists. This attitude can be observed not only in the Socialist Party of Austria but also in allied parties in the West. Characteristic of this trend is that its adherents want to continue the traditional policy of many of the Socialist parties, despite its negative results, the policy that rejects use of the class strength of the workers and, hence, the need to unite the workers and other democratic and progressive forces. Here their views coincide with those of the ultra-Right who regard class differentiation in the developed capitalist countries as an anachronism and which, in keeping with its pluralist concept of the state consider that "social partnerships" should be confined to parliamentary and professional institutions.

Leser goes further when he poses the question: "Does modern democracy need political and politicized people (i.e., people who take a conscious and active part in life), won't such politicization destroy the division of labor and the mechanism of differentiation?" In other words, political thinking and political activity on the part of the people hampers "social partnership" and the functioning of a "pluralist society."

When Pitterman, Chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party (he is also the Chairman of the Socialist International), takes issue with those who want to bridge the old gap between theory and practice, typical of Austro-Marxism, between revolutionary words and reformist actions; when he supplements words and theory with reformist deeds and the practice of social partnership and tries to harmonize the two, he is, in effect, advocating the preservation of this contradiction. Yet it was precisely this contradiction that sparked off the crisis in the Socialist Party.

During the discussion on the new orientation of the Socialist Party the Left group for the first time in years voiced its principled criticism of the leadership's opportunist policy. The views of the Left Socialists coincide with those of the Communists on the basic issues, especially in the matter of steering a conscious course toward a peaceful, but in effect revolutionary, reconstruction of capitalism and its replacement by socialism, and also in the matter of the stage-by-stage progress towards this goal. Whereas the theorists of Right-wing revisionism in the Socialist Party claim that capitalism has not developed in the Marxist way and, as Leser put it, has coped "splendidly with its contradictions," Josef Hindels of the Left group maintains that despite the many changes

in capitalism its basic contradictions have remained. "Innumerable objective conflicting factors exist," he notes, "but no conscious efforts are made to use these factors for socialist purposes, to educate the working class in the propaganda sense, to enhance their activity, and from time to time achieve a socialist breakthrough both in thinking and in practical politics."

In other words the purpose of the working-class struggle for reforms is not just to mitigate the contradictions of capitalism or remove them. It is to make a breach in the edifice of capitalism, initiate structural changes in the social system and ultimately achieve its complete transformation into a socialist system.

An example of this struggle is the movement in a number of developed capitalist countries for the right to participate in industrial and economic management. In the highly developed capitalist countries where the power of the monopolies, cartels, and in the case of Austria, economic chambers, holds sway, in other words, in "modern industrial society," decisions of vital concern to the people are usually made by the "captains of the economy" over whom there is no control. The dubiousness of formal democracy that deprives workers of the right to participate in management and of the opportunity to control the economy, is recognized by growing numbers of people, compelling them to express their views on the matter.

Thus we see how in conditions of contemporary capitalism, of which it has been said that it has resolved its contradictions, one of its basic contradictions is becoming more pronounced. The right of workers to have a say in management is recognized in principle not only by the Socialist trade union leaders, but also by considerable sections of the Catholic Church and some Catholic organizations. This is to be welcomed. But the decisive thing in sharing in management is its content and purpose. It should not just be a matter of presenting in a new light the concept of partnership, a concept that has become odious, but of countering it with conscious and militant class participation in management. To the working class participation in management means essentially restricting the power of capital especially the power of monopoly capital. The West German trade union leader Otto Brenner says: "The vague concept of partnership, a concept that suffers from many flaws, is hardly a suitable one to describe the situation that participation in management will create, all the more so since the concept is as a rule used to conceal social privilege." This formulation should be spelled out and emphasized, as was done, for example, in the decisions of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Austria, which stated: "The fight to participate in management is part of the class struggle. The right to participate in management and social partnership are two diametrically opposite concepts."

Even the employers with their characteristic class instinct realize this. Hence their lightning

reaction to the words "the right to participate in the economy."

It is interesting that the need for reforms not affecting the capitalist system, i.e., the balance of forces between classes, is recognized today by growing numbers of people. Reformists of the old school urge that the working class should not orientate on economic and socio-political reforms since the difference between classes in the matter of food and clothing has already disappeared and the ceiling has practically been reached in social policy. This shows that these people also realize that the fight for reforms in many of the developed capitalist countries might soon effect the foundations of the capitalist system. I say "might" and not "will."

The consolidation of the Left in the socialist movement should be viewed from this angle, i.e., from the angle of the growing awareness of the connection between the economic and the political struggle. The demand for a socialist alternative corresponds to this growing awareness.

The Lefts in the Socialist Party realize that if a break is to be made with the policy of social partnership, with the policy of curtailing democracy — with the help of which the fight between the opposed social sections is confined to parliament or even to the government — new relations will have to be established also in the working-class movement, i.e., a new positive attitude taken towards the Communists. It is a big step forward that representatives of the Left are beginning to discuss this in the press and at meetings. But for it to become a reality it must be followed up by action. This is the standpoint from which the Communists want to enter into a dialogue with the Socialists.

The reasons for the defeat of the Austrian working-class movement in the last general election are being widely discussed also in the Communist Party. We are discussing not only why the Socialists were defeated but why the only Communist candidate lost. No conclusions have as yet been drawn, but the question is being asked: did the Party, in its sincere efforts to establish better relations with the Socialists, realize that it was necessary to convince them of the sincerity of the intentions of the Communists, did the Party act jointly with the Socialists in parrying the blows of the capitalists and their party, and did it put before the Socialists and their supporters, who are disillusioned with their party's policy, an alternative policy. In other words, was our criticism of the unprincipled, conciliatory policy of the Socialist Party when we called for unity and solidarity of all sections and trends of the working class movement sufficiently outspoken and frank, did the Party take note in good time of the processes under way in the Socialist Party, did it correctly assess these processes and take them into account in its policy.

Now with regard to two points raised here during the discussion. We do not, of course, lay claim to a monopoly of truth. But we must

indefatigably prove the truth of our concepts. We must be convinced of what we say to the masses, otherwise we might as well say nothing. How can we expect to enter into a real dialogue with people holding different views unless we ourselves are absolutely convinced of the things we say to the people? The other point is: do we reject out of hand all other viewpoints, regarding only ours to be valid? The truth of Marxism must be constantly enriched. Those who fail to realize this are making a mistake. That, too, is the truth.

We cannot question the basic idea of our struggle for the socialist system, the basic idea of our social criticism of capitalism, for no one has yet discovered a better system. But the desire of the people to know more about Marxism shows that so far no better system of thought has been found for an analysis of the situation, one that would chart a realistic perspective of the struggle of progressive mankind, of the working class. Of course, the concept of truth should not be over-simplified. For example, to say that Marxism will triumph because it is right or the contention that every decision of a central committee, every speech of a Communist leader is bound to be correct from beginning to end. If we grant this, Lenin's oft-repeated counsel concerning the need for self-criticism would be pointless.

Nobody disputes the point that we must carefully check our methods, how Marxism-Leninism is applied in present day conditions. But I think that it would be wrong and even dan-

gerous to speak in terms of "structural changes" in the Communist parties.

A few words about the press touched upon by Comrade Woog and Comrade Schleifstein who also spoke on the question of propaganda and agitation. These questions were likewise mentioned by Comrade Salomaa who rightly noted that our methods of influencing people are outdated. I would suggest organizing a symposium similar to the present one, or even a broader one, on the subject, "The connection between the mass media and the fight for democracy." As a result of radio, television, the illustrated press, democracy has not only changed in form; also its content and structure are beginning to be affected by these media.

The public are still not fully informed about the facts. Manipulated democracy lays its imprint on the political life in the developed capitalist countries.

As far as the press is concerned two tendencies are to be observed. One is the swing towards pulp literature, the other (true, less widespread) is the growing demand for serious information, for a comprehensive analysis of politics and economic processes. This trend is apparent also in the bourgeois camp. Some of the big publishing houses, quick to react, have achieved considerable success as a result. The West German *Der Spiegel* is a case in point.

The Communist press, needless to say, should see not only the one, but also the other trend, i.e., the demand for serious information, for a sound analysis of international events, of the political and social processes.

GUARANTEE OF LEFT PROGRESS

NIKOS KALUDIS

Greek journalist

THE MATTER OF GAINING reforms as part of the overall fight for the revolutionary reshaping of society has always been uppermost in the minds of the Communist parties. Today, however, the matter presents itself in a new way. On the basis of the experience gained by the Communist movement in its daily political and ideological struggles, Marxist-Leninist thought has added new elements to its theoretical generalizations concerning the significance of the fight for reforms, the character the latter may assume today, their relationship to revolution, and the distinction between Communist and Social Democratic tactics on this issue. This applies to our country as well. For our Party, too, the issue of the fight for democratic reform as part of the more general problem of the specific road leading from the present situation to an anti-imperialist demo-

cratic revolution and, subsequently, to socialism is an important matter.

In studying it we proceed, naturally, from the concrete economic, political and social conditions in our country today. Greece, a capitalist country, is economically a long way behind the other capitalist countries of the West. Its main feature is a high degree of economic, political and military dependence on foreign, primarily the American, imperialists. The plutocratic oligarchy collaborates with the imperialists and has imposed on our country a policy of subservience to foreign and national monopoly interests. This reality expresses itself in the existence of strong political reaction. The reactionaries owe their strength not so much to their influence over the politically backward sections of the population—something which should not, of course,

be underrated—as to the fact that they control the armed forces and the entire machinery of the state. They have at their disposal a network of “para-governmental” organizations and have, through falsification and police violence, planted their agents in the leading bodies of the trade unions, cooperatives and other organizations. These people are experienced in the art of political maneuver, and throughout the postwar years they have been in power except for brief intervals.

Another feature of the Greek political scene is that there is no separate, politically organized reformist trend among the working class, nor is there a Social Democratic party. But there are powerful reformist currents, represented chiefly by the Center Union (CU), a purely bourgeois party.

There is, however, a strong working-class movement with its own traditions. Basically labor retains its political unity, despite the split in the trade union movement. In the face of repressions and persecution, the Communist Party, although it has been underground for years, manages to maintain and reinforce its links with the masses, to devise and use all legal forms of political organization and struggle. Along with the other Left forces it is a decisive factor in mass actions, which have been growing steadily, particularly in recent years.

Our Party has defined the contradiction between foreign imperialism and the national oligarchy collaborating with it, on the one hand, and all the other social classes and groups, on the other, as the dominant contradiction in Greek society today. It therefore sees national democratic change as the first stage in the socialist reorganization of Greek society. With this change accomplished, power, it is envisaged, will pass into the hands of the new social forces, the working class and its allies. As a result, it should be possible to effect far-reaching reforms aimed at restoring national independence and sovereignty, pursuing a national foreign policy, making the regime genuinely democratic, at economic development through industrialization, and raising the standard of living. The need of the day is revolutionary change, even though the country is not expected as yet to go beyond capitalist relations of production. This, as we see it, will be the first phase of the advance towards the socialist reconstruction of Greek society.

In setting ourselves this goal, we reject the dogmatic and sectarian view which stipulates that not a single substantial reform can be effected until the national democratic changes have taken place. We hold that even as things are today, we should work out and raise the matter of democratic reforms and organize action for them. We have in mind reforms that differ from the every-day demands both in substance and in degree (of course, we organize the fight for these demands too), reforms that will curb the power of the home and foreign

monopolies. This approach is, in our view, of the utmost importance for the popular movement in the country. It will help the working class and its allies the better to realize the need for revolutionary change. It weakens social and political reaction and promotes democratic unity, creating more favorable conditions for the new social forces to take power by revolutionary means.

While stressing the very great importance of the present-day fight for reforms, and the new opportunities, we think it will be useful to underscore another aspect of the relationship between reform and revolution in keeping with Lenin's views on the subject. “The concept ‘reform,’” wrote Lenin, “is undoubtedly the opposite of the concept ‘revolution.’ Failure to remember this contrast, failure to remember the line that divides these two concepts, constantly leads to very serious mistakes in all historical discussions. But this contrast is not something absolute, this line is not something dead, but alive and changing and one must be able to define it in each particular case.” Therefore, in speaking of a “shift of the line,” it would be wrong to indulge in the illusion that the dividing line can be shifted until it disappears, that is, until revolution is completely replaced by reform. As we see it, this is highly important in setting our tactics—those of the Communists—apart from reformist tactics.

The experience gained by our Party, especially in recent years, has proved these tactics correct. In February 1964, for example, after the Right had been ousted from power, our Party advanced a specific program of democratic reform. True, that was not a program calling for national democratic changes. But, it was not limited to the usual every-day demands, rather it called for reforms that would substantially ease the effects of dependence on foreign imperialism, curb monopoly power, contribute to the development of the national economy, improve the standard of living, and facilitate democratization of economic, political and public life. In this way—and to the extent that we succeeded in directly linking the fight for these reforms with the every-day demands of the working people—we achieved positive results in upholding the people's demands, in the fight against anti-communism, for broader democratic unity under more advanced, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist slogans.

Directly linked with these tactics of ours was the remarkable mass resistance to the palace revolution, July to September 1965. The action continued for seventy days and went a considerable way toward furthering united or parallel actions by the democratic forces, and greatly enhanced the prestige of the Left in general and the Communists in particular. Also connected with our tactics is the fact that the CU leadership has been advocating, if only up to a certain point and in its own way, Left

slogans, mainly since it was expelled from the government.

Throughout these years our Party has sought unity of action with the CU. On the other hand, it has never stopped stressing the need for an independent political line of its own, one that would, by organizing the mass struggle of the people and by promoting unity of action, help the people to win their demands. Moreover, the perspective offered by the CU can by no means satisfy the masses. For while the CU leaders have recognized many of the facts of life and advanced certain slogans in support of the democratic struggle at this stage, even the most "far-reaching" reforms advanced by them do not go beyond the prospect of the neo-capitalist, monopoly development (the Kennedy "new frontier") of Greek society. As to immediate demands, such as those bearing on foreign policy, the CU leaders reject even the proposal for at least gradual disengagement from NATO and the policy of the U.S. imperialists.

Our Party rejects the point of view of some people outside the Party who pursue a dogmatic and sectarian line, and who believe that the line of united action with all the democratic forces has turned the Left into a "typical bourgeois party." On the other hand, our Party rejects the proposals of revisionist elements outside its ranks who claim that before any democratic task can be carried out at this juncture all the democratic forces must be rallied *within* the CU or *under its leadership*, with the Left relinquishing independent political struggle.

In addition to pointing out these clearly erroneous views of the anti-Party groups, we should say that application of our Party's policy is accompanied by weaknesses and shortcomings. The CU leadership's obdurate rejection of united action based on a common program and its frequent anti-communist sallies as well as the general difficulties have resulted in some of our people slackening their effort for united action and struggle for the every-day demands, and in an underestimation of the opportunities for effecting positive reforms and other measures even in present conditions. There are, moreover, instances of the dividing line between the policies and tactics of the Left and those of the CU being objectively effaced on the plea of maintaining or achieving unity.

We have said that as the fight for reforms assumes a more profound character so too does the role of the struggle. We now have more reason than ever to recall what Lenin said about an "ascending scale of reforms," when "ever larger masses are being drawn into struggle." Such were the reforms proposed by the Left's democratization program which we mentioned earlier. It would be wrong, however, to rule out instances in which the oligarchy might propose certain reforms for the purpose of misleading the masses. Nor should

we discount the possibility of the reactionaries taking advantage of reforms. This was done, for example, by the Karamanlis government when, in 1962, it tried to cash in on the law granting pensions to the peasants, a law for which the people had fought a long battle. The attempt failed because the Left had advanced this demand and other demands and was organizing the mass struggle for them, and because it exposed in good time the character which the reactionaries wanted to impart to the measure. The reactionaries also put forward a series of measures allegedly directed towards industrialization. Actually these measures were in the nature of reforms benefiting the bourgeoisie, the oligarchy and foreign monopolies.

Of no less importance is the experience of the years from 1963 to 1965, when the CU, then in power, tried to restrict the people's demands or to reject them altogether, in favor of completely innocuous reforms. At that time our Party rejected the sectarian view that the CU should not be countenanced in any way, and that the sole effort should be to overthrow it. On the other hand, it rejected the view of those who suggested, overtly or covertly, that we should pin our hopes on the CU, adopt a wait-and-see attitude, leave the CU "alone," not "divert" it from its job, not "interfere" with it. In other words, our Party refused to be dissuaded from rallying the masses and from organizing the struggle for their day-to-day needs.

The reactionaries were able to launch their counter-offensive in the shape of the July 1965 palace revolution because the measures demanded by the masses and indicated by the Left were not adopted in time. But despite the difficulties associated with the present tense situation in the country, it is unquestionable that the people greatly appreciated this line of our Party and of the Left generally, a line making clear our tactics and our position as to the nature of the reforms in question, and stressing that the basic factor for winning these reforms was to organize the mass struggle.

We think it important to underline yet another point. In February 1965 our Party put forward a program for democratic reforms with due regard to the new situation in the country as a result of the remarkable growth of the popular movement between 1960 and 1963, the victory of the democratic forces and the overthrow of the Karamanlis tyranny in 1963, and the rise to power of the CU. It linked the realization of this program (resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the CC, April 1964) with the demand that the conditions be provided for the formation of a democratic government supported by the democratic forces in Parliament. At the same time we stressed the need to campaign for the immediate implementation of these reforms as, among other things, a means of bringing about the formation of such a government.

We hold, then, that the fight for reforms is vital if the democratic forces are to come to power and if monopoly rule is to be curbed. On the other hand, the advent of these forces to power will contribute in substantial measure to the campaign for more far-reaching reforms and make it more effective.

In the conditions of today the fight for reforms can lead to a curbing and undermining of monopoly power. But in order to *replace* monopoly rule by an alliance of the popular forces headed by the working class, it will be necessary in the final analysis to effect revolutionary changes, which in our country signify national democratic changes. This is why we think it necessary to insist, in our educational and political work, on the need for and the inevitability of these revolutionary changes.

The new opportunities call for greater skill in tackling the practical problems of the revolutionary struggle, for more serious theoretical work in studying the new phenomena, following the course of events, and in utilizing the new experience. Hence the entire work of the Party should be raised to a qualitatively new plane. Better and more extensive work by the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, far from hampering the development of the Left, is the main prerequisite and guarantee of their development. To a still greater extent, this is a prime condition for the correct application of revolutionary tactics generally, the fight for reforms included, and for the policy of united action with all the democratic forces to carry out the tasks posed by the present situation.

Our movement, too, has acquired experience determined by the conditions in which it has been developing. It will soon be twenty years since the Party was outlawed. Throughout this period we have had to cope with serious obstacles and difficult problems. Nevertheless, the Party has been making satisfactory use of legal opportunities by following a correct, Leninist policy ever since it got rid of the sectarian leadership and line some ten years ago. The Communists belong to EDA, which in Greek conditions is a distinct alliance of the Left. The significance of the formation of EDA, fifteen years ago, and its contribution to the movement in our country are tremendous. But EDA is not the Communist Party. For one thing its program coincides more or less with only the minimum program of our Party. Besides, there are differences in statutory provisions and on some tactical questions. In these circumstances our Party, while using the legal opportunities to the utmost, has never ceased to promote its autonomous organization and activity. At the same time, in view of the exceedingly complicated tasks facing us, we believe that to win the right to legal existence and activity for our Party is most important for carrying forward the entire Left, the democratic and popular movement as a

whole. As to the existence and activity of EDA, not only would this party not lose in importance with the legalization of the Communist Party, it would, on the contrary, gain by it.

The issue of legality for the CPG is associated with the entire fight to abolish the regime of intolerance and secure a return to normal democratic life, since the law banning our Party is unconstitutional and undemocratic, being the pivot of the emergency measures adopted during the civil war. Hence a legal CPG would benefit not only the Communists but the people and all democrats. For these reasons our Party is giving priority to the fight for its legal and independent existence as an organization, and for the right to legal activity.



CONCLUDING REMARKS were made by *Erkki Salomaa*, who had the following to say:

The time has come to close our discussion and to sum up its results. Many comrades have said that our meeting has been useful from the viewpoint of the future work of the parties. Every party can learn something new for itself from what has been said here. The contributions were devoted chiefly to the experience of the particular parties, and since the parties represented here work in conditions of developed capitalism, the opinions coincided in many respects. However, many new ideas and problems stemming from the new conditions were advanced in the course of the discussion.

The chief conclusion to be drawn from our exchange is that nowadays the Communist parties cannot be guided by decisions which were sound enough for the 'twenties and 'thirties, when capitalism was not what it is today. Conditions have changed considerably, and the parties need a new appraisal of the situation, new conclusions and new methods of work. The exchange of experience we have had here has demonstrated the need to develop the Marxist-Leninist doctrine creatively, adapting it to the changed conditions and boldly casting aside conclusions which were valid in the past but are not so today. Many of the problems facing the parties and which have been mentioned here cannot be solved overnight. Nor could we, understandably, solve them at this round table. The more meetings we have of this kind, the sooner, perhaps, we shall find, through joint effort, solutions to our problems. I think it is our common wish that the editorial board should hold more of these exchanges.

I think, too, that the comrades will agree with me when I express, on behalf of all of us, thanks to the editorial board of the journal for organizing this meeting. Allow me also to extend thanks to all the representatives of parties who have attended the meeting and taken part in its work.

Bulgarian Party Congress

THE NINTH CONGRESS of the Bulgarian Communist Party held in Sofia over November 14-19, 1966, reviewed the country's progress in the past few years and outlined new tasks in the sphere of socialist construction. It endorsed the guidelines for the fifth five-year plan (1966-1970) and adopted the program which foresees Bulgaria as an advanced socialist society.

Attended by delegations from 73 Communist and Workers' parties and other progressive parties and movements, the Congress was a striking demonstration of proletarian internationalism. Delegates and visiting delegates alike called for the unity of the international Communist movement.

The Congress condemned the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and voiced the determination to render the people of Vietnam greater material and moral support in their just struggle.

* * *

Shortly after the October Revolution Lenin said that the countries which had become socialist would exert their main influence on the world revolutionary process by the force of example and above all by their economic policy. The Bulgarian Communist Party, guided by this view, is now preoccupied with concrete and sound methods of developing the economy and improving the forms and methods of economic management. These were the matters that engaged the attention of the Congress.

The results and the perspectives of economic development were thoroughly examined. The fourth Five-Year Plan, it was noted, had been successfully completed. Annual average growth of production in the past five years was 8.6 per cent, that of the national income—7 per cent. Industrial output for the same period showed an annual average increase of 11.7 per cent, that of agriculture—3.2 per cent. Bulgaria rates among the countries with the highest—and what is most important—most stable rate of economic growth.

This development has been accompanied by a steady rise in the standard of living. During the fourth Five-Year Plan average earnings of factory and office workers rose by 18.1 per cent, income of peasant cooperators—by 61 per cent, and the per capita income by approximately 25 per cent.

In these figures we have convincing proof

of the constructive character of the socialist system, the strength and viability of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the ability of the Party creatively to elaborate and apply this doctrine in Bulgaria.

The new plan will take the building of the material and technological base of socialism a stage further.

Congress defined the main features of the current plan as follows: "... to continue the building of socialism by extending the material and technological base, improving social relationships, deepening the socialist understanding of the working people, and by so doing to secure a further rise in the standard of living."

Focal point of the plan is accelerated industrialization. National income in the five years is scheduled to grow by 50 per cent, volume of industrial production by 70 per cent, and agriculture more than 30 per cent. Real incomes will increase by more than 30 per cent.

The rapid growth in volume of output will be accompanied by qualitative changes in the economy. Whereas in the past the main role was played by extensive development, that is, by putting new plants into operation, it is now proposed to shift the emphasis to intensive development.

Bulgaria has a modern material and technological base with great possibilities of further growth both in volume and in kind, in keeping with the scientific and technological progress. Our economic relations with the fraternal socialist countries, and particularly with the Soviet Union, are being strengthened. The numbers of highly trained people are growing year by year, and the same is true of the network of scientific institutions. Moreover considerable experience in economic management has been accumulated. At present a new system of management, envisaging more efficient utilization of the possibilities and advantages of the socialist system, is being introduced.

Accelerated industrialization is, as we have said, the feature of the fifth five-year plan. When completed, industry will provide 65-70 per cent of the social product and about 52 per cent of the national income.

Particularly rapid will be the growth of heavy industry, chiefly those branches which determine the technological advance of the national economy as a whole and which are

of particular importance for building the material and technical base of socialism: electric power, iron and steel, chemicals and machine-building. New power stations with a capacity of approximately three million kilowatts will be commissioned and output of electric power will reach 21,000 million kilowatt-hours—more than double the figure for 1965. Bulgaria's first atomic power station with a capacity of 800,000 kilowatts, will be built with the aid of the Soviet Union. Output of ferrous metallurgy will be approximately trebled. By 1970 Bulgaria will be producing 1.8 million tons of pig iron and 2.3 million tons of steel. Output of the chemical industry will grow more than three-fold, that of machine-building, approximately 2.5-fold. The share of machine-building in the gross production of industry will rise from 16.5 per cent in 1965 to 23 per cent in 1970.

Priority development for heavy industry, in addition to accelerating progress generally, will give a boost to consumer goods output. During the five-year period production of consumer items will increase by more than 50 per cent, quality will be improved and the range of goods enlarged.

In agriculture the plan envisages a nearly 1.4-fold increase in grain production by 1970 as compared with 1965. Productivity and profitability of animal husbandry will grow considerably. And agriculture will become mechanized to a far greater extent than at present.

Another feature of the plan is the provision for a steady rise in the standard of living. Income growth will be accompanied by growth of welfare, public health and education facilities.

Cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and primarily with the Soviet Union is an important source of strength for our economy. The significance of the all-round cooperation with the USSR and of its fraternal aid to Bulgaria cannot be overestimated. The friendship and cooperation between the two countries is entering a new and higher stage as the economies of the two countries move closer together on the basis of the specialization and coordination of industry, the expansion of mutual exchange in the spheres of science and culture.

The establishment of more mature socialist production relations, a process associated with the consolidation of public ownership and a higher level of production, is one of the most significant changes in social relations. Large-scale and highly mechanized state and cooperative enterprises predominate in all spheres of production. The socialist mode of distribution and the relationships associated with it are being improved. During the past five years the number of factory workers grew 1.3-fold, reaching a total of 1,532,000. The socialist consciousness of the peasant cooperators continued to grow. The outlook and way of life of the peasant cooperators are acquiring new traits, bringing them closer to the industrial working class. The growing numbers of highly trained

people now working in agriculture act as transmitters of technological progress. The role of the intelligentsia is growing, as are its numbers.

These changes in the composition of society coupled with the general rise in the material and cultural standards of the people have elevated the worker-peasant alliance to a higher level, making it stronger, cementing the unity of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

These changes in social relationships are clearly reflected in the sphere of the state and in the broadening of socialist democracy. Congress noted that the time has come to enlarge the range of bodies vested with the right of legislative initiative. The gains registered by our people, the changes taking place in all areas of public life will be reflected in a new Constitution presently being drafted.

In the development of society towards socialism a special role is played by the Communist Party. The Party is firmly united under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The life of the Party during the period under review can be taken as proof of the success of the line laid down by the meeting of the Central Committee of April 1956 which gave a decisive impetus to the efforts to overcome the shortcomings and restore the Leninist principles of Party leadership. The past period has confirmed the general law that for the successful building of socialist society the leading role of the Party must be incessantly heightened.

At present the Party has a membership of over 570,000 and more than 40,000 probationers. Roughly 38 per cent of the members are industrial workers and 29 per cent peasants.

The resolutions adopted by the Congress stressed the need for further unflagging effort to heighten the role of the Party Committees and organizations as organs of political leadership, to deepen the scientific nature of Party work, improve discipline and develop intra-Party democracy. The Party is seeking to make it the established practice everywhere for its members to discuss all basic issues requiring a Party approach, and everywhere to create an atmosphere in which Communists might freely express their views, however critical.

In view of the new system of economic management collective leadership is more important than ever. Congress urged Party organizations to create an atmosphere of tolerance and respect for the opinions and proposals of the members of the collective, an atmosphere conducive to a businesslike discussion of problems. Of course, while strengthening collective leadership it is necessary to heighten the personal responsibility of individual members for the work entrusted to them, for the implementation of Party policy.

Congress expressed confidence that the Party, loyal to its revolutionary traditions and equipped with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, would work actively to fulfill the decisions of the Congress, rally all working people beneath its banner and confidently bring them to the final

victory of socialism and communism in Bulgaria.

* * *

The matter of reinforcing the unity of the international Communist and Workers' movement received special attention. The need for unity is all the greater since imperialism, in an effort to hold back the development of the world revolutionary process, is resorting to every means of political, economic and ideological struggle against the revolutionary forces of the world, not stopping even at outright armed intervention in the internal affairs of other nations. The criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism and its satellites against the people of Vietnam continues. Against this background the Communist and Workers' parties, loyal to proletarian internationalism, are strengthening their militant revolutionary solidarity. This striving for unity was strikingly demonstrated at the Congress. In their speeches, the delegates and visitors stressed again and again that united action of Communists and revolutionaries the world over based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the imperative demand of our time, an objective necessity dictated by the entire course of historical progress.

The Bulgarian Party, one of the oldest Marxist parties in the international Communist movement, is contributing its share to the common effort to unite the international revolutionary front. "The Bulgarian Communists," Comrade Zhivkov said at the Congress, "are guided by the fact that action to secure the unity of the Communist movement is the international duty of all Communist parties. It can be strengthened on the basis of Marxism-Leninism by waging a consistent struggle against dogmatism and revisionism, against any departure from the theory and principles of our movement, from our grand Communist ideal. We must be firmly united in order to rebut dogmatism, which is actually a manifestation of nationalism and adventurism in the Communist movement and international relations, and to combat it."

That the attitude to the issue of the unity of the international Communist movement, to proletarian internationalism, is the criterion of the soundness of a party's policy was emphasized in the speeches by the visiting delegates. "World events, the development of the international Communist movement are advancing to the fore issues of internationalism, which is an expression of the community of the fundamental interests and basic historical objectives of the working class struggle in all countries," declared Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, in his speech to the Congress. "It will hardly be an exaggeration to say that the principle of internationalism is one of the most reliable criteria by which every Communist, every Communist Party can verify the soundness of its own policy, its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism."

N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Ru-

manian Communist Party, reminded his audience that one of the principal points in the Statement of the 1960 Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties is constant effort to strengthen the unity of the international Communist and working class movement, as the international duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party.

Comrade Zhivkov voiced the opinion that the conditions for convening an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties were ripening. This idea was supported by the representatives of a number of other parties.

Socialist internationalism is an extremely broad concept. It implies a whole complex of problems of a political and economic character. It implies a whole complex of problems of a political and economic character. It is in the approach to the solution of these problems that the political line of a party is manifested. The report submitted by the Central Committee to the Congress and the speeches by delegates and visitors again showed that the socialist countries are deeply interested in strengthening their community, that they understand their internationalism from a sound Marxist-Leninism standpoint.

The idea that the touchstone of fidelity to Communism and internationalism is the attitude to the socialist world system and the Soviet Union ran through most of the speeches. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was spoken of in terms of the deepest esteem. The head of the delegation of the Sudan Communist Party, for example, said: "We have the highest regard for the socialist camp which is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. Everyday life offers ample confirmation of this. We Communists deem it our sacred duty to uphold this camp, and above all its eternal heart—the Soviet Union."

"Any attack against the socialist system and particularly against the Soviet Union cannot but be regarded as an attack against that which mankind won after the October Revolution."

Comrade Anzolo, of the South African Communist Party, stressed that the Soviet Union, "the universally recognized vanguard of our movement, is honorably fulfilling its historical mission. The sacrifices which the Soviet people are making in the name of the world revolution have won the Soviet Union and its Communist Party the hearts of peoples the world over."

Comrade Gyaurov, First Secretary of the Plovdiv Regional Committee of the BCP, reminded the Congress that "thirty years ago Georgi Dimitrov, revered by the world working class, had pointed out that attitude to the Soviet Union was the touchstone of loyalty to Communism and internationalism."

Congress recorded the wrathful protest of the Bulgarian Communists, of all the people of Bulgaria, and of the representatives of the fraternal parties against the criminal aggression of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, faith

in the ultimate victory of the Vietnam people and the determination to render them more aid. "Together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, together with peace forces the world over," states the report of the Central Committee, "the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian people and its government declare their solidarity with the people of North and South Vietnam. We shall continue as before to render them political, economic, moral and military aid until the final defeat of the invader. . . . From the platform of this Congress we declare on behalf of the Bulgarian Communists and the Bulgarian people: South Vietnam shall be free, the Vietnam people shall be the sole master of their country."

Congress unanimously adopted a statement on the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia once

again expressing fraternal solidarity with embattled Vietnam.

* * *

The experience of the Bulgarian Communist Party confirms that a revolutionary party can win success in building socialism if it is guided in its actions by Marxism-Leninism, provided it consistently combines, both in theory and in practice, patriotism and selfless service on behalf of the people with proletarian internationalism, service on behalf of socialism and communism. The Bulgarian people closely rallied around their Communist Party, armed with the decisions of the Congress are confident that under the leadership of the Party they will continue to forge ahead along the highway to socialism and communism.

Asen CHARAKCHIEV

Sociological research in Party work

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES now play a bigger role in the work of our Party organizations; this is understandable for the development of the socialist society and the greater responsibility and role of the Party in public life call for better guidance of all the processes of social life.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is presently engaged in a number of experiments in applying sociology at district and regional level. A project of this kind—a survey of the attitude of Party members to political education—was carried out by the Party Committee in one of the districts of Prague.

Our aim was to ascertain members' opinions on Party educational work and to establish to what extent these were affected by general educational level, age, sex, length of membership and social status, to ascertain how the members interpret the term "ideological work," how they understand the aims of the Party's educational activity, and to judge, on the basis of the findings, of the standard of ideological work in the district.

In conducting the survey we proceeded from the decision of our Central Committee on Party education which stresses the need for a differentiated approach to the political education of the members.

By and large the features typical of Prague as the administrative and cultural center of the country, a big industrial complex and one of the oldest cultural centers of Europe are characteristic also of the district—Prague 8—where the survey was carried out.

But it has, too, its own specific features. For one thing, being mainly a factory area, it has

no higher educational establishments and relatively few cultural institutions. The leading industry is engineering (production of communications equipment, boilers and equipment for river vessels). The residential areas are relatively large and the average age rather high.

The population structure is reflected in the composition of the Party. There are many large branches in residential neighborhoods, mostly consisting of pensioners and housewives, who account for 35 per cent of the total membership. In other words, Party work is conducted both in the enterprises and institutions and in the neighborhood branches.

In making our political education survey we concentrated on branches functioning in municipal enterprises and institutions, in the public service sphere, administrative bodies, research institutes, schools, the health service, and in trade. The branches covered have 7,390 members (69 per cent men and 31 per cent women), of whom 10 per cent are under 25, 32 per cent from 26 to 45, 53 per cent from 46 to 60, and 5 per cent over 60. The social composition is the following: 38 per cent manual workers, 27 per cent engineers and technicians, 14 per cent office workers, and 21 per cent scientific, cultural, medical and educational workers.

METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

Sociological research presupposes a painstaking, scientific approach, which calls for respect for the facts. In the recent past we paid little attention to collecting objective data, underestimating the value of facts in our prac-

tical activities. The result was a lag in the techniques of collecting objective facts, generalizing them and applying the conclusions. This was also true of Party work. Here, too, we relied on methods that had proved their worth in the past and gave little thought to what extent they were effective in the present.

In this way the vital fact was ignored that in the long run it is qualitative analysis and the conclusions drawn from it that determine the standard of any scientific effort. The perfectly sound thesis that facts alone do not add up to science was, in effect, turned into its opposite, and facts chosen arbitrarily were used to substantiate the subjective views of individuals. Facts were invoked solely to illustrate subjective views.

The search for the objective facts is basic to science. But this alone is not enough. For there is another dangerous extreme: facts, even though obtained by scientific methods, may be taken uncritically. The mere listing of objective facts and a positivist interpretation of them is an inverse form of subjectivism.

Every social problem or phenomenon is the sum of different facts. Scientific research is a matter of pinpointing and studying the most characteristic of these and thus arriving at an understanding of the driving force involved.

The Communist Party, too, is a specific kind of social phenomenon. As the vanguard of the most progressive class in society it is called upon to fathom out the complex laws governing the development of society, the principles underlying the relationships between it and the working people, and the nature of its own inner life. Hence the need to meet a dual requirement: the people who engage in research in the Party must employ scientific methods and also master the theory of Party building, have an idea of the Party's political and practical activities. The overall concept of such research must be worked out, and, with its significance and objectives clearly defined, incorporated in the mainstream of Party life and brought into agreement with the other forms of Party work and leadership. Above all it is a matter of interpreting the findings, and this can be done only by a member of the Party who has a profound knowledge of its ideological foundations, its strategy and tactics and inner-Party problems, and who can feel the pulse of day-to-day life as well as that of the Party.

Sociological research makes it possible to improve the guidance given by the Party and to furnish it with a keener insight. The work of the Party, and especially its cognitive activity, finds objective reflection in the decisions of Party committees. Once a decision is reached it is no longer subject to discussion, and its realization begins. It is now essential to collect data on how it is being carried out, and this data must be processed for the use of the leading committees. It is important indeed to know how effective the decision is and how the sociopolitical phenomenon involved develops further.

And so development goes on in an ascending

spiral. In our particular case we set out to make a thorough examination of how the decision on Party education in our district was being carried out in the branches.

Collecting information on the effectiveness of a decision and the objective development of the phenomenon it relates to is no less complex or important than the implementation of the decision. The information must be accurate and objective, but there is always the danger of distortion or inadequacy of the information collected, especially if it passes through various organizational levels, even if the possibility of deliberate misrepresentation is excluded. It is also a matter of choosing the information which most accurately reflects the situation.

PREPARATION OF STUDIES

We had to pay particular attention to preparing our survey since we had no previous experience. It was necessary to choose the time, define the form, scope and object, and at the same time brief the people who were to carry out the survey. A good deal of preparatory work had to be done in the branches. We expected to come across instances of conservatism in spite of the fact that higher Party bodies had advised us to use sociological methods. Because of this it was necessary to call a conference of activists to acquaint them with aspects of theory and sociology from the ideological and political standpoints, as well as with some key aspects of Party building. We worked directly with the activists in the branches chosen for the survey. The undertaking assumed in all organizations a clearly defined political character and transcended the bounds of our original plans. The survey met with a lively response at Party meetings and sparked off a discussion on the quality of Party education and on ideological problems generally. True, some comrades questioned whether there was any point in conducting sociological surveys in the Party. Others felt that to do so was unworthy of the Party. But most rejected these arguments, stressing that the surveys testified to the deepening of inner Party democracy and to better methods of Party leadership.

As in the case of all surveys, there were various methods to choose from. We opted for the questionnaire because of its simplicity. Questionnaires make it possible to employ mathematical and statistical methods to a greater extent than other ways of conducting sociological polls. Moreover, the dialectical unity of quality and quantity is an important precondition of success in sociological research. Needless to say, this is not the only precondition, nor does it mean that researches in which this condition is not observed are not sociological. However, we believe that sociological researches concentrating exclusively on the qualitative aspects often run the risk of losing sight of the boundary between sociology and philosophy and, on the contrary, in researches concentrat-

ing on the quantitative aspect (as in the case with empirical sociology) the borderline between sociology and statistics is often erased.

We strictly observed the principle of voluntary participation by the members. The questionnaires were anonymous. This point, incidentally, caused some discussion at the branch meetings, some members questioning whether anonymity was compatible with the Party approach. The discussion showed that here, too, no absolute conclusion can be drawn. We made it clear that the whole point was to ensure an objective assessment of the situation, but that those who wished to sign their questionnaire were at liberty to do so. And many did. Some wanted to take their questionnaires home in order to give more thought to the answers. The idea was, however, to have them filled on the spot so that the answers should be more spontaneous, particularly since everyone was familiar with the problems involved.

One way in which the use of questionnaires in the Party differs from their use elsewhere is that here we are sure of a practically one-hundred-per cent response. But this does not rule out the need for thorough preparation in order to bring home the importance of the undertaking.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The results of the poll have not yet been fully processed. Being the first, this survey can hardly appreciably affect the existing methods of Party work; still it has enabled us to draw some interesting conclusions.

It pointed clearly to the influence exerted by the mass media, particularly radio and television, on people's thinking. Ideological and political broadcasts (for example, commentaries on international problems and the radio university of Marxism-Leninism) are more popular and considered more effective than study groups on the same subjects in the Party branches. Sixty-nine per cent of those polled said that broadcasts of this kind, together with articles in the Party press, had done more to broaden their general political horizons than the educational activities conducted by Party branches. This is understandable, for broadcasts and articles are as a rule on a higher level as regards both content and form. The possibility is emerging of the press, radio and television being used for the political education of both members and non-members in the Party branches and Marxist-Leninist study classes in the enterprises. Some steps have already been taken in this direction. For instance, at our evening university radio broadcasts serve as an introduction to discussions during which the subject is examined in greater detail. The discussions often compensate for the absence of contact between the listener and lecturer. The potentiality of the mass media, we believe, is far from being exhausted.

The findings as regards the views of members on the purpose and role of Party educa-

tion are likewise interesting. This work, in their view, should serve the following purposes:

	Answers	Percent of total
1. to reinforce the ideological unity of Communists	825	62
2. deepen their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism	379	28
3. help improve the socio-political activity of people	268	20
4. broaden political outlook	639	48
5. improve professional skills	430	32

A preliminary examination of the answers suggests a number of conclusions. Above all, the replies bring out the point that few Communists (20 per cent) regard Party education as a matter of training members for socio-political activity. This should give us food for thought. Evidently the present state of Party education falls short of the task of enhancing the ideological and political influence of the Party, of enhancing the quality of the leadership it provides. It shows also that the purpose of educating Party members and in general the educational work of the Party is often interpreted loosely, with little relation to the practical work.

From a surprisingly big percentage came the view that improving professional skills should be the purpose of Party education. This view was expressed by people from all areas of endeavor.

A more detailed picture can be obtained by examining the combinations of answers. Only 2.5 per cent of those polled gave answers 1 and 4 (see table above) which, in our view, most accurately describe the purpose of Party education. At the same time 31 per cent believed that reinforcing the *ideological unity* of the members was a sufficiently adequate definition, which of course is an over-simplified view inasmuch as it leaves out *unity of action* by the membership. Many thought that improving professional skills was the nub of the matter, and 9 per cent gave answers 4 and 5. Both groups associated Party education with some kind of personal advantage, underestimating the importance of the study of theory and displaying an inadequate understanding of the current tasks.

Highly interesting findings derived from classifying the answers according to occupation, length of membership, education, etc. But these will be the subject of another article.

The survey also sought to ascertain the level of the political education of the branch activists. It was found that only a negligible percentage of branch-committee members had a political training equal to the needs of the day. Only a few had finished the regional Party schools. Clearly the training of functionaries must be considered an important task of the Party education system.

More attention is now being paid to preparing ideological conferences at district committee level and in the bigger branches. New pro-

grams have been prepared for evening schools in which the main attention is paid to current problems. The conclusions drawn from the survey are by no means final. So far we have applied only those which coincide with the practical experience to date and which have been verified also by other methods.

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

With the growing interest in Marxist sociology certain difficulties and problems stand out. One is the lack of theoretical and practical experience in sociological research generally and in applying sociological methods in Party work in particular.

As a theoretical subject, the sociology of the Party and Party work is only just taking shape. It is not clear whether we really can regard it as an independent subject; nor are we clear as to its relationship to other specialized sociological subjects, in particular to the sociology of politics, to the theory of Party building as a comprehensive branch of science, and so on. Some conservative-minded comrades therefore question the advisability of sociological research in the Party. They warn against undue haste and suggest first building up a solid theoretical background.

Political practice calls for greater efficiency in Party work, confronting the Party with the need to make more extensive use of scientific analysis and techniques in carrying out its leading role. This implies conducting sociological investigations on the basis of the theoretical knowledge acquired to date, generalizing the positive and negative experience gained, and thereby deepening the theoretical and methodological principles of the sociology of Party work. It follows that the use of sociology specifically in Party work is a rather long process to be pursued gradually, depending on conditions.

Although as yet the role and purpose of the sociology of the Party have not been clarified, we can, on the strength of the limited experience gained to date, visualize certain features stemming from the special role and place occupied by the Party which set it apart from other specialized lines of sociology. Sociological research in the Party is bound to be less independent than other sociological investigations, being influenced to a greater extent than the sociology of politics by the theory of Party building. This should be stressed because sociological investigation is now fashionable and there are those who think that this kind of research can solve all the problems of the Party. The importance of the research should not be overrated. It would be unwise to counterpose it to other forms and methods of Party work.

Other questions, too, await an answer. At what level of Party leadership can complex sociological methods be used? Will the benefit be commensurate with the efforts and means expended? Can we hope that intensive work by the Party committees, the thousands of hours put in by members, and the use of computers will have a tangible effect on political practice?

There is no simple answer to these questions. The use of sociology in Party work should be conceived as a long-term process. We believe that to begin with, besides laying a theoretical groundwork, a series of sociological investigations coordinated as to substance should be undertaken with a view to ascertaining in general outline the range of problems in hand. Needless to say, these investigations should be started from the center, which should guide and coordinate them, and analyze the results. In this initial phase we obviously cannot expect the districts to make any substantial contribution. For, on the one hand, they cannot cope with this task in view of its complexity and difficulty. Secondly, and chiefly, they cannot in this phase make specific and direct use of the results of research for their own purposes.

At a later date, however, we can anticipate a number of partial investigations being carried out at district level. This applies primarily to research into problems concerning the Party as a whole.

In any case, research will have to be directed and coordinated by the top committees. Sociology in Party work is still often regarded with a jaundiced eye, on the grounds that it is of scant practical value. But the greater the maturity of society, the more difficult its management and the costlier, for efficient management calls for more and more reliable information. Most expensive are investigations needed for long-term planning which supply information on the more hidden social processes. They generally do not produce immediate results and cannot be used as a guide to everyday leadership. But society needs them to be able to detect the new trends. And if today this is valid in general, it must be all the more valid for the Communist Party, the leading political force in the socialist countries.

It follows from the foregoing that the problem of sociological research in the Party is far from being a secondary matter. Its effective theoretical and practical solution is a fundamental condition for studying and revealing the real place of Marxist sociology as a social science and a component of scientific guidance of society.

*Vladimir AUGUSTIN
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Party life

OCTOBER-NOVEMBER

The Central Committees of a number of fraternal parties have held meetings during October-November to discuss a wide range of issues. The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Czechoslovakia* met on October 6-7 to examine the plan for carrying out the decisions of the Thirteenth Congress and the draft of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1966-70).

The Central Committee of the *Korean Party of Labor* endorsed on October 12 the decisions of a national conference of the Party held early in October.

A meeting of the Central Committee of the *Rumanian Communist Party* held on October 12-14 discussed the matter of raising pensions and improving pension legislation, as well as foreign policy issues.

The Central Committee of the *Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party* met on October 13 to examine questions relating to foreign policy and also proposals concerning elections to the State Assembly and the new electoral law. On November 18 drafts of the documents to be submitted to the Ninth Congress were discussed.

Organization of labor and management in industry, industrial output, and foreign policy matters were taken up by the Central Committee of the *Polish United Workers' Party* on October 28-29.

Meeting on October 9-12, the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Chile* reviewed the internal political situation and the economic difficulties. The world situation and problems of the international Communist movement were also discussed.

A joint meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the *Italian Communist Party* was held on October 11-13 to discuss unity of action in the present political situation.

The internal situation in the country and the tasks of the Party constituted the agenda of the meeting of the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Austria* on November 23-24.

A plenary meeting of the Executive of the *Socialist Unity Party of Germany (West Berlin)*, held on October 15, discussed the struggle for social and political security in West Berlin.

The Central Committee of the *French Communist Party* met on October 18-19 to discuss, in connection with the Eighteenth Congress of the Party scheduled for January, the political situation in the country and preparations for the Congress.

Home policy and economic problems were on the agenda of the Central Committee of the *Swiss Party of Labor* on November 5-6.

The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Finland*, meeting on November 12-13, took up questions relating to economic policy. The meeting endorsed the work of the People's Democratic Union in the government and parliament.

The Executive of the *Communist Party of Sweden* met on November 12-13. Organizational questions and the home political situation were discussed, and a decision adopted on the preparations for the next congress, to be held in May 1967.

Japanese bases of U.S. aggression

THE RECKLESS ESCALATION of aggression in Vietnam by the U.S. financial, industrial and military top crust runs counter to the interests of the American as well as all other peoples. As a result, Washington's policy is in a state of moral bankruptcy, and the USA is becoming increasingly isolated in the world. By their criminal aggression the Washington rulers have earned the loathing of the peoples everywhere. Never has the international prestige of the U.S. been so low.

Faced with growing worldwide protest, Washington is searching for ways and means of shifting at least part of the responsibility to others, of finding an "international" cover for the Vietnam gamble and making it look like a joint attempt by the non-Communist countries of Asia to stem "Communist aggression."

In this search the U.S. rulers are increasingly turning to Japan with its considerable military and industrial potential, manpower, proximity to the Vietnam theatre of hostilities. The White House and the Pentagon would like to use the Japanese rulers as a cat's-paw in giving effect to the U.S.-engineered scheme for "uniting the Asian non-Communist countries," to shift part of the burden of the Vietnam war to the Japanese people and use Japan to fan the flames of a war of "Asians against Asians" in order to strengthen the positions of U.S. imperialism in the Pacific area.

The plans of the U.S. imperialists coincide with the aspirations of the Japanese monopoly circles, who are eager to capitalize on the United States' difficulties and the Southeast Asian situation in order to solve their own internal and international problems, to revive militarism at home, to step up their economic and political infiltration of other Asian countries, to strengthen their positions with a view to restoring their former supremacy in this area, initially at least within the orbit of the political interests of the USA. This explains why there has been so much talk of late in Japanese ruling circles—with U.S. approbation, of course—about "independent diplomacy" and the need to ensure Japan's "leadership" in Asia, first economically and eventually politically.

The first serious attempt to give effect to these schemes and provide an Asian camouflage to the U.S. aggression was the conference of the Foreign Ministers of Thailand,

Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, the Philippines, the South Korean puppet regime and Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan held in Seoul in June. At this conference, which set up a new Aspac bloc, Japanese representatives acted as the main agents for the USA even though they did their best to cover up their role.

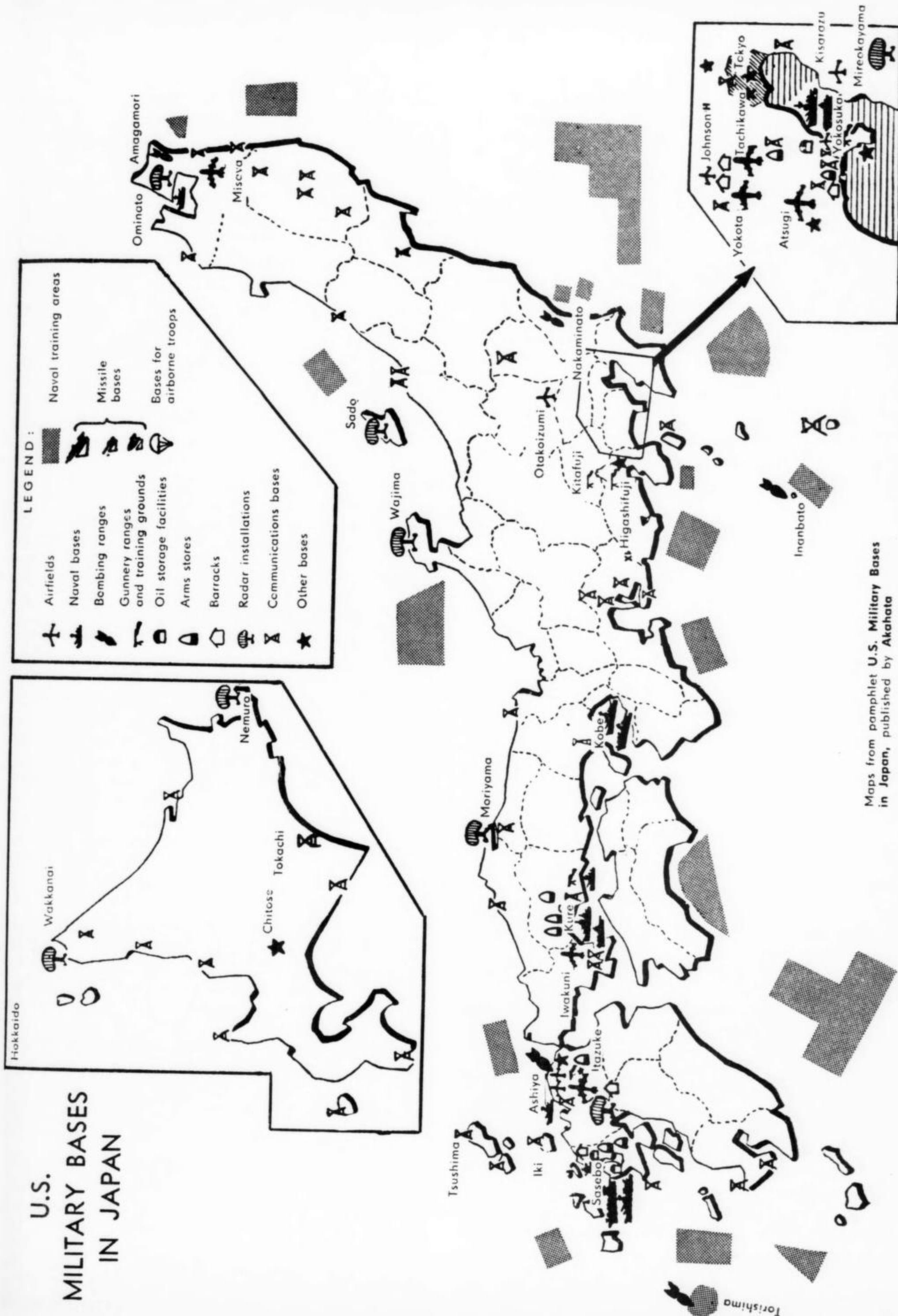
Also symptomatic in this respect was the July session of the joint U.S.-Japanese economic and trade committee. For the first time in five years the main question taken up was not the demands of Japanese businessmen for better terms of trade with the U.S., but coordination of efforts to crush the national liberation movement in Asia and to stabilize the U.S. neo-colonialist system in this part of the world on the pretext of combating "Communist aggression."

Since the U.S. aggression helps them line their pockets, the Japanese monopolies are impelling their government towards complicity in this aggression. Precisely because of this Japan's rulers have no intention of getting rid of the Japanese-American Security Treaty which ties the country to the U.S. war machine. On the contrary, they are giving it a "broader" interpretation, naturally in the interests of the U.S. aggressors. On March 25 Foreign Minister Shiina declared that "the United States has every right to use its bases in Japan to support the war in Vietnam inasmuch as Vietnam is territorially part of the Far East." In May, replying in Parliament to an interpellation by the Socialist deputy Morimoto, he defined the attitude of the government to the U.S. war in Vietnam even more clearly: "Japan is not a wholly neutral country . . . In accordance with the Security Treaty she is obliged to help the U.S. army."

This help is rendered in a variety of forms. Above all, the USA is allowed to use Japanese territory, especially Okinawa, as an operational and supply base against the people of Vietnam. Okinawa which has been occupied by U.S. troops for more than 20 years now, is the biggest U.S. nuclear and missile base in the Far East.

After the resumption of U.S. bombing against North Vietnam following the short-lived pause the First and Third Marine divisions, the 173rd Airborne Division and other units were transferred from Okinawa to South Vietnam. At the end of July B-52 bombers used against the towns and villages of Vietnam

U.S. MILITARY BASES IN JAPAN



Maps from pamphlet U.S. Military Bases in Japan, published by Akahata



were transferred from Guam to Okinawa, ostensibly because of typhoons. The island is also a training center for U.S. troops on the way to Vietnam and a supply base for U.S. and satellite forces in that country. In other words, it is one of the main staging areas for the Vietnam war. As a spokesman of the U.S. command in Okinawa has said, the war could not be waged without it.

Other areas in Japan are likewise being turned into oases of aggression. According to the Tokyo newspaper *Akahata*, the U.S. now has 265 military bases in Japan, including the 117 on Okinawa, all of which are used for the war in Vietnam. The U.S. Seventh Fleet is based at Yokosuka, and since November 1964 the fleet's nuclear submarines have been systematically using it and Sasebo as ports of call. The nuclear-powered carrier *Enterprise*, from which daily raids are made on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is expected in Yokosuka in the near future.

The Sato government holds that permitting the U.S. nuclear ships to use the facilities of Japanese ports follows naturally from the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty. Japanese territory is extensively used as a training ground for American troops. The Higashitoyama range, for instance, is an anti-guerrilla training center. The U.S. Air Force conducts bombing training in many localities in Japan.

Japan is also used as a rest and convalescent area for U.S. army personnel serving in Vietnam. It is reported that some 4,500 U.S., South Korean and Philippine servicemen are brought here every month for a rest period or hospital treatment. Field hospitals for the wounded and sick from the Vietnam front have been established at the military bases in Oji near Tokyo, Johnson in Saitama prefecture, Sagami-hara in Kanagawa prefecture, in the Gane and Zama districts of Yokohama and elsewhere. The health resort town of Atami is also crowded with U.S. servicemen on leave.

Many Japanese airports as well as the railways have been placed at the disposal of the U.S. aggressors for the transport of troops to

South Vietnam. According to the Tokyo Flight Safety Board, passenger aircraft belonging to four foreign air lines chartered to carry U.S. forces to Vietnam made 840 flights from Haneda airport alone by the end of 1965. This year the number of such flights has greatly increased. For instance on September 19 alone one air line carried 1,980 American servicemen to Vietnam in 10 flights from Haneda and two from the U.S. base in Yokota. On their return flights the aircraft of these companies have been carrying to Haneda weekly ever since the beginning of the year 1,000 sick or wounded U.S. servicemen besides the bodies of the dead.

The Japanese state railways are carrying steadily increasing quantities of U.S. war supplies. The Hachioji and Tachikawa lines alone carry seven trainloads daily of arms, ammunition and fuel to the air bases at Yokota and Tachikawa. These transport operations are carried out under annually renewed agreements between the U.S. command and the state railway administration. The flow of war supplies to the U.S. bases and seaports for trans-shipment to South Vietnam always have the green light. Transport by sea is also effected with Japanese help—freighters of the Nihon Yubin, Mitsui Senpaku and Kawasaki Kisen shipping companies make regular runs to Saigon, while several other shipping lines maintain an irregular service. Nearly 1,500 Japanese seamen work on American transport ships.

The U.S. government is out to make Japan, already covered by a network of military bases, also its Asian arsenal. The Japanese monopolies are filling special orders placed by the U.S. command for the war in Vietnam, both manufacturing war supplies and providing repair services. According to data released by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry, the special orders placed by the U.S. command with Japanese firms for ship repairs during the first half of 1966 increased nearly fiftyfold over the same period last year, and repairs of military aircraft, 4.6-fold.

In August the quartermaster department of the U.S. Army in Japan ordered from Japanese companies 200 trucks for the American forces in South Vietnam. Toyoda, a leading automobile firm, supplies the U.S. armed forces with \$30,000-\$40,000 worth of spare parts for trucks monthly. The Honda Giken Kogyo and Burijisuton Taiya firms concluded with the U.S. command a contract for motorcycles for use against the South Vietnamese guerrillas. The company has already delivered more than 23,000 motorcycles.

On July 20 Kanichi Kawakami, a Communist MP, exposed in Parliament the secret production at a Japanese shipyard of sea-going barges of 2,000-ton displacement intended for transporting U.S. helicopters along the South Vietnamese coastline. Confronted with the facts, Foreign Minister Shiina declared: "The shipyards are privately owned and are entitled

to accept any orders they wish from the U.S. Army . . . In accordance with the administrative agreement based on the Japanese-American Security Treaty, the U.S. Army may freely contact private enterprises, place orders with them and use the products thus ordered as they wish."

These orders include firearms, napalm bombs, radar installations, electronic equipment, portable radio stations, optical instruments, building materials, medical supplies, etc. According to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry, the earnings of the Japanese monopolies from such special orders amounted to more than \$294 million between January and June this year, or 47 per cent more than in the same period last year.

To this should be added the indirect special orders which are actually paid for by the United States, such as Japanese deliveries of raw materials and equipment to countries tied to the USA by military alliances—South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, the Philippines and Australia, not to speak of South Vietnam. These deliveries include weapons and other military equipment. According to the modest estimates of Japanese business circles, the value of the goods exported to Southeast Asia under these indirect special orders runs to about \$240 million a year. *Akahata* reports that according to the preliminary estimates of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry, direct and indirect special orders will approximate \$1,500 million this year. This is \$800 million more than the total value of the special orders filled during the Korean war.

In connection with the drafting of the third five-year program for building up Japan's armed forces, the possibility of exporting fighter aircraft, guided missiles, warships, etc., is being discussed. "If this is done," the journal *Sekai* writes, "Japan will become a global arsenal and its defense industry will truly develop into a world-war industry." The export of goods in short supply from Japan—Japanese business circles call this "Vietnam export"—is acquiring increasing importance for the USA. This explains why Japan's exports to the USA in the first four months of 1966 exceeded \$1,000 million, 28.7 per cent more than in the same period last year.

The United States has increased its purchases of ships and aircraft in Japan. In March the Gulf Oil Company, for instance, placed with the Ishikawajima-Harima Juko and Mitsubishi Juko shipyards orders for six 300,000-ton super-tankers. In April the President of Charlotte Aircraft announced that the firm planned to buy the YS-11 made by Nihon Kokuki Seizo and the twin-engine MU-2 put out by Mitsui Juko. Japanese export to the USA is gradually assuming a clearly military character and is playing a growing role in the American arms build-up.

These facts throw light on the part played by Japan in the aggressive schemes of U.S.

imperialism in Vietnam. This is underscored by the U.S. press. *Foreign Affairs*, for instance, says that if there were no Japan, including Okinawa, the USA could not have undertaken operations in Vietnam on the present scale. And the *Baltimore Sun* noted in July that, while the loss of Vietnam would be a serious setback, the loss of Japan would be a disaster.

Besides conniving with the U.S. aggressors, the Japanese government is building ever closer ties with the puppet regime in South Vietnam. According to information released by the U.S. government, more than 600 Japanese medical personnel and technical experts engaged in building military installations are taking part in the war in South Vietnam. In September a Japanese military mission was sent to Saigon "to study the situation on the spot as well as the methods of waging guerrilla warfare and the American bombing" of Vietnamese territory.

The policy of active cooperation with U.S. imperialism in aggression in Asia and especially in Vietnam pursued by the Japanese monopoly capitalists and the Sato government is impelling the country towards a resurgence of militarism and involvement in war, all of which spells intensified exploitation of the working people. The expansion of Japanese war production to fill the U.S. special orders is accompanied by inroads on wages and the democratic rights of the people. This explains the scale of the struggle waged by the Japanese people against the aggression.

The object of this struggle, which is a manifestation of the international solidarity of the Japanese working people with the people of Vietnam, is to put an end to the use of the military bases located in Japan for escalating the war in Vietnam, to prohibit U.S. nuclear-powered warships from entering Japanese ports, to stop the production and transportation of war materials for use against Vietnam, to prevent the revival of militarism and Japan's involvement in aggressive military blocs, and to uphold the vital rights of the working people.

The unity of the democratic forces in Japan is being cemented in the course of this struggle. Headway is being made in promoting united action. The working people are increasingly awakening to the need to counterpose the solid unity of all progressive forces to the alliance of the Japanese and American reactionaries. United actions are being organized by the Central Action Committee Against the Japanese-American Security Treaty and for the Satisfaction of the People's Demands and by the National Action Committee against the Entry of U. S. Nuclear Submarines into Japanese Ports and against the Japanese-South Korean Treaty.

Now that the American war in Vietnam has entered a highly critical phase, the struggle against it in Japan is acquiring ever wider

scale. On October 6 an extraordinary Congress of the General Council of Trade Unions (SOHIO) with a membership of some 4.5 million decided to call a general strike on October 21 "to prevent the war in Vietnam from spreading to the entire Asian continent and to safeguard peace and security in Japan," to resist the policy pursued by the government in support of this war and to uphold the economic demands of the working people.

The decision, which was unanimously supported by the Communist and Socialist parties, found an eager response among broad sections of the people. It was endorsed by the Federation of Independent Trade Unions (Churitsuroren) and many other democratic organizations. The SOHIO at the same time appealed to workers throughout the world to support the strike. The World Federation of Trade Unions and many national trade union organizations responded.

The Central Action Committee against the Japanese-American Security Treaty sponsored as of September 20 a "month of national united action against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, for aid to the people of Vietnam, against meddling with the electoral constituencies, in defense of life, and for the successful conduct of the strike of October 21."

The National Action Committee against U.S. nuclear submarines and the Japanese-South Korean treaty likewise called for mass actions in support of the strike.

October 14 was proclaimed a national democratic united action day to back the general strike call. In more than twenty prefectures hundreds of thousands of people—Socialists, Communists, members of trade unions and other democratic organizations—took part in public meetings and demonstrations. The biggest meeting, in Tokyo, was attended by 70,000.

On October 20 more than 1,000 cultural and art workers, university teachers and students, housewives and workers met in Tokyo in support of the general strike. The meeting was addressed by the writer Abe, who stressed the importance of the strike in combating the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and urged wide public support for the anti-war struggle of the Japanese working class.

Similar meetings and demonstrations organized by the students took place the same day in many other cities.

Anticipating the general strike call, the government sought to forestall it on the eve of the SOHIO congress by threatening the employees of state enterprises and offices with reprisals if they took part in the strike or in preparing it. The ruling Liberal-Democratic

Party made the last attempt to prevent the strike on October 20, when the party's General Secretary, Tanaka, issued the warning that the government would invoke "sanctions against any state employees taking part in tomorrow's strike."

The threats failed, however, to break the workers' resolve. Supported by the overwhelming majority of the people, over two million workers responded to the call issued by 54 trade unions to down tools at midnight on October 21. Three and a half million working people took part in mass meetings and demonstrations.

The participants in these actions demanded an end to the aggression in Vietnam, the resignation of the Sato government, and dissolution of the Lower House of Parliament. Demands were also put forward for wage increases, a national guaranteed minimum wage, as well as a stop to the "rationalization" projected in the coal mining industry likely to lead to mass unemployment among the miners.

This political strike against the U.S. aggression focussed the attention of the Japanese people on the Vietnam question and had an impact on world public opinion. As an example to workers in other capitalist countries, too, it was of enormous significance.

The strike gave a powerful impetus to the building of unity among all the democratic forces of Japan. "This strike," Horii, the Chairman of SOHIO, said, "was important also because it was a vivid demonstration of moral support to the people of Vietnam in their fight against U.S. aggression and was aimed at strengthening proletarian solidarity."

Commenting on the significance of the strike, Yoshio Sato, President of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, said: "The significance of the October 21 strike is that it was directed against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, against the Japanese government which supports this aggression, and against the resurgence of Japanese militarism which undermines the trade union movement."

The general strike highlighted the fact that the criminal escalation of aggression in Vietnam is evoking a rising wave of popular indignation. A vivid demonstration of the growth of international solidarity with heroic Vietnam, it showed that the peoples of the world are stepping up their efforts to put an end to the aggressive American war, demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam and condemning the aggression of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices.

Jan PRAZSKY

The Seminar in Cairo

A SEMINAR ON "Africa—National and Social Revolution" was held in Cairo during the last week in October 1966 under the joint auspices of the journals *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (Prague) and *At-Talia* (Cairo). The seminar, which attracted considerable attention not only in Africa, was by way of a response to numerous requests for a discussion on this subject from revolutionary parties and progressive organizations in Africa.

For the first time in African history some 70 scholars and public personalities (Marxist and non-Marxist) from 25 revolutionary parties met in an atmosphere of free discussion to exchange views on the issues of the national-liberation movement on the African continent, and to share the experiences gained in the revolutionary struggle and in building a new life. Also present were representatives of the ruling parties and statesmen of the advanced African countries, and leaders of revolutionary organizations fighting for the complete independence of their countries still under the influence of neo-colonialism or oppressed by racist and colonial regimes.

Among the speakers were Prof. Ali Yata, First Secretary of the Moroccan Communist Party; Fedialah Keita, a leading statesman in the Republic of Guinea; J. B. Marx, outstanding South African freedom-fighter; Fort U. Masha and N. Bianto, secretaries of TANU, the ruling party in Tanzania; M. Diop, General Secretary of the Independence Party of Senegal; Sheikh Ali Abdel Rahman, Chairman of the People's Democratic Party in Sudan; Father Andriamaniato, Chairman of the Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar; Youssef Samantar, General Secretary of the Somali Democratic Union; representatives of the National-Liberation Front of Algeria, of the Sudan Communist Party, and others.

From the Sudanese Union of Mali came Idrissa Diarra, Political Secretary of the Party, and Madeira Keita, leading member of the Union and Minister of Justice.

Parties presently waging a struggle against colonial domination and racist regimes were represented by the Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the African Party of Independence from "Portuguese" Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, the Mozambique Liberation Front, the Front for the Liberation of the Somali Coastland, the South-west Africa

People's Organization, the African National Congress of South Africa, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Rhodesia). The Convention People's Party of Ghana was represented by the widow of the late Prof. William DuBois, theorist of Pan-Africa. Mrs. DuBois read the paper submitted by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

Also present were representatives of the Union of the Peoples of the Cameroons, the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Congo (Kinshasa), the Kenya People's Union, the National Union of the Popular Forces of Morocco, and the Sawaba Party (Niger).

The UAR government and the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) showed keen interest in the seminar and facilitated its work. The ASU delegation was headed by Yussuf Al-Sebai, one of the leaders of the Party and Chairman of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. Officials of the ASU and men prominent in the public life of the country, invited by the sponsors of the Seminar, also took an active part in the discussion.

A message from Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the UAR and Chairman of the ASU, who was in India at the time, was warmly applauded. The message read:

"I take great pleasure in addressing this message to the Africa Seminar held in Cairo at the invitation of the two journals *At-Talia* and *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and hope to see it achieve its great and important objectives: securing for the revolutionary sons of our continent the possibility of an ideological rally, renewing the links of struggle between them, exchanging the fruits of their experience, thus enriching their abilities and affording a wider field of vision and a deeper clarity.

"Contemporary African reality, the problems Africa faces at present and the currents which unfurl in Africa with strength and vigor, require first a shrewd vision capable of embracing the whole picture, of examining it and of making a right estimation of its components with the purpose of gaining a renewed strength allowing an uninterrupted revolutionary struggle on the African soil.

"The recent years, particularly since 1960, require from all of us to meditate deeply anew on the events in terms of a deeper consciousness.

"These six years which began with the rapid

appearance of the flags of independence in many regions of the continent, up to this moment characterized by imperialist domination still holding in its grip many peoples, by neo-colonialism still following up its raids, by the monopolies' continued consolidation and extension of positions and by the continued abject and inhuman practice of racial discrimination, this period is worth considering with all the ideological strength of concentration and all the means of scientific analysis which will allow us to discover, in all honesty, the path which has been followed, and to trace, with equal honesty, the path which should have been followed.

"This message will reach you in Cairo where the forces of progress of Africa rally and while I am in the Indian capital taking part, with friends common to you and to me, in works closely related to those preoccupying you and holding your attention. Still, I follow with interest the work of your Seminar, wishing you the greatest success and convey to you my best wishes of welcome on the banks of the African Nile, eternal and creative."

The opening session of the seminar was addressed by Lotfi El-Kholi, Editor-in-Chief of *At-Talia*, and Tigani El Tayib Babiker, the representative of the Sudan Communist Party on the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. Greetings were conveyed by representatives of the Arab Socialist Union of the UAR, the National-Liberation Front of Algeria, the ruling parties in Mali and Tanzania, from freedom-fighters in South Africa, in the Portuguese colonies and in Rhodesia.

Both the greetings and the speeches reflected pride in the successes won by the fighters for freedom, peace and socialism in Africa and throughout the world and at the same time expressed the concern occasioned by the sallies of the imperialist forces. It was clearly said that Africa cannot be indifferent to the intrigues of imperialism in other parts of the world, to the bloodshed in Vietnam.

"Our seminar, which brings together representatives of popular and progressive parties in our continent, cannot be unmindful of the blood ceaselessly being shed in Asia," said Lotfi El-Kholi. "We bow in respect to the glorious resistance which the heroic people of Vietnam—in the North and in the South—are offering to the troops of the U.S. aggressor and his allies, and pledge wholehearted material and moral support of the people of Vietnam and their right freely to decide their destiny without foreign interference following the withdrawal of all foreign troops. We hail the nobles voices of free men who have courageously risen against aggression. We call on the progressive forces all over the world to unite their efforts and redouble the aid to the people of Vietnam in their noble cause."

Algerian patriots from the Vanguard Party (ORP), in a letter to the seminar which, un-

fortunately, was received late, noted with anxiety:

"Serious danger continues to emanate from imperialism as evidenced by the recent attempt at a reactionary coup against the fraternal people of Syria, a coup exposed thanks to the vigilance of the revolutionaries in the army, the armed working people and socialist leaders. The criminal war against the people of Vietnam is fraught with the danger of another world war. Algeria and other countries of our continent are confronted with grave danger."

The problems of neo-colonialism, the new refined forms of imperialist expansion and the methods of combating them were carefully examined. A lively and frank discussion developed around the methods of safeguarding and consolidating the revolutionary regimes in Africa.

Many speakers stressed that the recent coups in a number of African countries, and above all the reactionary military coup in Ghana, make it incumbent on African revolutionaries thoroughly and objectively to examine their nature and causes in each instance and to lay bare the interests involved in them in order effectively to mobilize the peoples in defense of their gains.

The seminar warmly responded to the call of Ali Yata to strengthen in every way and support the revolutionary regimes which bear a great responsibility for the future of Africa. Speakers stressed the need to redouble the efforts to overthrow those colonial and racist regimes which are a constant threat to the free Africa.

The social structure of African society, the role and place of the working class in the fight for social progress were discussed in detail. Problems of the political organization of society in the process of progressive development such as extending democracy, the nature and place of the patriotic party, the significance and scale of the national front in the new phase of the African revolution, when the tasks of consistent struggle against imperialism and the tasks of deep-going social changes increasingly intertwine, occupied a prominent place in the discussion.

The ways and means of progressive development of the African countries were examined and also the problems associated with the non-capitalist and socialist paths of development.

The experience of building the new life was analyzed and examples from many countries were cited. Keen interest was evoked by the experience of Egypt and its significance for other countries. Acquaintance with the advances made by the United Arab Republic was greatly facilitated by the visit organized by the Egyptian hosts to the Aswan High Dam, to the Suez Canal area and to Al-Tahrir which has become the frontline of the offensive against the desert.

Alexander Sobolev, Executive Secretary of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, speaking on the perspectives, said that "Marxists are in full agreement with those who emphasize the unity and indivisibility of the three aspects of building socialism: the material—industrialization and development of agriculture, the social—production relationships which exclude oppression and exploitation of man by man, and the political—steady development and deepening of democracy."

Sobolev observed that many of those who spoke about the place and significance of the African revolution in the development of the world revolutionary process, had pointed out that the African revolution is a component of the world revolutionary process. "Marxists believe," he said, "that this process consists of three independent, equal, interconnected and interrelated currents."

"There is the revolutionary current, represented by the socialist countries, steadily advancing, developing and deepening social progress, exploring new ways of social development. The socialist countries and their growing strength are an important driving force of the grand processes of transformation now changing the social, political and spiritual contours of our planet."

"There is the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, which is delivering shattering blows to monopoly capital in its citadel, shattering the very foundations of the domination of capital, registering gains in the fight to overthrow monopoly capitalism and achieve socialism."

"There is the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America fighting for genuine national freedom, for deep-going social change, for social progress and a prosperous economy, and who have proclaimed socialism as the ultimate goal."

Speakers emphasized that the merging of these currents and their mutual aid were decisive for the success of the revolutionary actions of each of the currents, a guarantee of a bright future for mankind.

Noted, too, was the significance of the seminar for rallying all the revolutionary forces of the continent, and for furthering the struggle of the African peoples for freedom and social progress.

"It gives us great pleasure to take part in this seminar. We have not been deceived in the hopes with which we came to this gathering," said Prof. Ali Yata. "Without exaggerating the meaning of the words," he went on, "we can say that this seminar will go down in the annals of the African revolutionary movement as an historic one because it has made it possible for revolutionaries, Marxists and non-Marxists in Africa, to come together, because it has opened up the possibility of broad agreement among them; thanks to the richness of its content, the problems it poses, the prospects it opens up and the lessons

which will be drawn from it; because it has drawn closer together the African liberation movement and the international working-class movement; thanks to the response it has evoked in Africa, throughout the 'third world' and elsewhere."

"This seminar," said Vasco Cabral, Secretary of the African Party of Independence in "Portuguese" Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, "enables us to see more clearly and to know better our own difficulties, weaknesses and shortcomings, to know, study and deepen the various theses and proposed solutions to the problems of particular African countries and even of the continent as a whole. Practice is important. But it means little without theoretical elaboration, without a creative approach to new problems. We have learned much at this seminar and we would like to see more seminars of this kind. Useful work has been done here. The discussion was on a high level, which shows that Africa can think for itself, that it is already mature for this."

Speaking at a reception for those attending the seminar, Ali Sabri, Vice-President of the UAR and General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Union, said: "The seminar is evidence of the firm determination of the African peoples to get rid of imperialism in all its forms, to accelerate social, economic and political progress on the African continent. . . ." "Your deliberations and decisions," Sabri went on, "will be studied by the Arab Socialist Union, and I hope that the results of your work will spread throughout Africa."

In his concluding address Lotfi El-Kholi said: "We are absolutely sure that our parting will be but a prelude to still deeper, broader and richer meetings. These ideological contacts between our parties and organizations are primarily a result of the objective and indomitable trend towards unity in the course of the struggle waged on our continent. Revolutionary action and revolutionary thought are, increasingly, merging into a single whole and influencing each other. . . ."

"Two important ideas were put forward at the seminar. One is the division of the continent into three categories of countries: the first—countries directly dominated by imperialism or racist regimes, the second—countries enslaved by neo-colonialism and its accomplices, the home reactionaries, and the third—countries which have won independence and, rallying all the efforts of their peoples, are breaking the way to socialism. We have in mind, in particular, Mali, Guinea, Tanzania, the Congo (Brazzaville), Algeria and the United Arab Republic."

"The other idea is that the general law presently governing the development of the African revolution and also the revolutions in the countries usually described as countries of the 'third world' boils down to the fusing of the national revolution and the social revolution with a perspective of socialism."

The Cairo seminar, according to many of its participants, dispelled the myth that Marxism and Africa are incompatible, that the Marxist world outlook is something alien to Africa, something artificially implanted there from without. Marxist ideas at this meeting were expressed and developed by people from different parts of the continent, genuine patriots, staunch fighters for the happiness of their peoples. Stressing the significance of the seminar, *M. Harmel*, a representative of the fighters for freedom in South Africa, said:

"The opening reports have set an entirely new and welcome tone in international discussion. We did not hear the cautious repetition of orthodox and lifeless formulas, governed by considerations of prestige. Instead, we have had the bold re-examination of profound problems by scholarly but ardent revolutionaries, who did not pretend to have all the answers but challenged us to apply our own intelligence and experience to their solutions.

"We did not experience shrill and dogmatic pseudo-polemics between rival schools of doctrinaires, anxious not to reach the truth but to condemn others and glorify themselves. Instead, we have had a serious and earnest meeting of minds of African patriots, who were too concerned with the enormous problems facing our continent and our peoples to yield to the temptation of seeking partisan or sectarian advantages.

"In a sense we have discovered one another; we have found that, coming from widely distant regions, even from different philosophical or theoretical schools, we have found a common language of militant resistance to colonialism, of genuine scientific socialism."

One of the weapons of imperialism in its counter-revolutionary onslaught against Africa, Harmel continued, has been the tendency towards mutual isolation on the part of the Marxist and the non-Marxist revolutionary patriots and socialists of our continent. To some extent both were responsible. On the one hand, some patriots had unconsciously absorbed some of the anti-Communist prejudices and hysteria which the imperialists have been and are still spreading throughout Africa in a thousand ways. On the other hand, some African Communists have been too ready to apply, mechanically, the experiences and formulas of advanced countries to the totally different conditions of Africa, forgetting that Marxism is a scientific method requiring a profound study of immediate and historical realities. Sometimes, the speaker noted, we have tended to dismiss our brothers—revolutionary democrats—as "bourgeois" without respect for their wisdom, their experience and closeness to the masses, their sincerity and devotion to the working people, to Africa, to socialism.

"The achievement of this seminar is that it has brought us closer," said M. Harmel in conclusion. "This seminar is the beginning of a new chapter. Here—soberly and seriously—we

are rallying and marshalling our forces, discussing the lessons, laying the essential theoretical basis for fresh and more profound advances. The ideas we have heard and discussed, the contacts we have made, and our exchanges, are bound to be infinitely fruitful and to raise our African revolution to a higher level."

Speaking about the results of the seminar, *Ibrahim Sakr*, a member of the delegation of the Arab Socialist Union, pointed out that the very fact of the participation in it of representatives of the revolutionary parties of Africa was a big success for the progressive forces. As a result of friendly discussion, Sakr said, we have reached better mutual understanding which, in our opinion, will further strengthen the cooperation of the progressive forces in Africa and lead to their unity of action in the face of the threat from imperialism and reaction. Speakers paid more attention to the factors which bring them closer and not those which divide them. A new element in the political development of Africa, Sakr said, is the strengthening of direct cooperation between the socialist world and the progressive forces of Africa, which is partly a result of the growing threat presented by neo-colonialism and reaction to the African countries.

Fedialah Keita, of Democratic Party of Guinea, said that the meeting was an initiative which has yielded good results. The discussions were useful and fruitful. Keita stressed two points. First, the progressive parties, groups and organizations of the continent represented at the seminar had the opportunity to analyze the situation in Africa and to make their contribution to the common cause of the struggle for socialism, to become acquainted with each other and to exchange experiences. Secondly, all the participants have a common goal—socialism. Meetings and the exchanges of views will be instrumental in determining the best ways and means of reaching this common goal. The seminar tried to elaborate, on a scientific footing, the strategy of the fight for socialism in each specific situation.

The results of the seminar were assessed in a press communique proposed by the Sudan delegation. The communique, adopted unanimously at the final session, reads, in part:

"For the first time in the history of the liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, African scholars, men prominent in public life, representing various revolutionary and progressive forces and trends, met in order to summarize in an atmosphere of frank and creative discussion the rich experience of the revolutionary struggle and to express their views on the prospects of the further development of the revolution and social progress on the continent.

"The proceedings of the seminar and the discussions showed that the progressive and revolutionary forces in Africa are determined to rally and close their ranks against the on-

slaughter of the forces of imperialism and reaction, to achieve the complete liberation of the continent and to advance along the pathway of social progress, towards socialism. The consolidation of unity of all the revolutionary forces, assuming various forms, is the vital necessity of the fighting Africa of today. The seminar expresses the hope that the Cairo meeting will help solve the problem of unity and cooperation of all the anti-imperialist, progressive, revolutionary forces. Solution of this problem, it holds, will accelerate the complete liberation of our continent from colonialism and neo-colonialism, and open up a possibility for the African peoples to safeguard the grand achievements of the African revolution and to advance along the pathway of social progress.

The participants in the seminar express their deep gratitude to the President of the UAR, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and all organizations and individuals for their warm and friendly greetings.

"They sincerely thank the two journals, *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and *At-Talia*, for organizing the seminar. The valuable contributions of the delegates have undoubtedly turned the seminar into a landmark in the rallying of all the progressive and revolutionary forces in Africa, in their fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for

freedom, democracy, peace and social progress.

"The participants express their sincere thanks to the people of the UAR, their government and their party—the Arab Socialist Union—for the opportunity accorded them to meet in Cairo, for their hospitality.

"The participants feel that the dynamic, creative and revolutionary ideas voiced at the seminar will be of great value not only in the future but in the immediate fight of Africa, both in the liberated areas and in those still dominated by colonialism, racialism and neo-colonialism.

"Noting the success of the seminar, the need for and importance of further joint discussion on the new and burning issues arising daily in the course of the African revolution, the participants believe that it will be useful to hold more joint meetings in the future."

The participants stressed that in the course of the exchange of views considerable theoretical and factual material, coming from the heartland of Africa, has been gathered. This material, they noted, is born out of revolutionary struggle and therein lies its exceptional value.

A detailed report on the Cairo exchange will be printed in the January 1967 issue of *World Marxist Review*.

J. SHARIF, V. SHELEPIN

Reaction in Jordan

BARELY A YEAR HAS passed since the amnesty restored freedom to all political prisoners and calm returned to the towns and villages of Jordan. But again the prisons and concentration camps are filled with patriotic-minded public leaders, trade unionists, doctors, lawyers and engineers. Among them are the prominent Communists Rushdi Shahin, Arabi Awad, Khal-doun Abdul Hag, who with many others are subjected to savage tortures under the supervision of U.S. and West German "experts."

What is the explanation for this latest campaign of terror and repressions?

Anyone who has followed events in the Middle East, or, as the imperialist press calls it, "East of Suez," during the past year will know exactly what is taking place.

A new life, and new relationships between people are emerging in the region, on the soil of the biggest Arab countries. The UAR, Algeria and Syria are effecting socio-economic changes in the course of which feudal and semi-feudal relations are being abolished. The Right-wing strata have been overthrown and reactionaries are being swept off the political arena. These changes are taking place right on the borders of Jordan. In Syria, for instance, the land is being distributed among peasants within a few yards of the border of Jordan, where the land still belongs to feudal owners. The better conditions now enjoyed by the working class and its growing role in the social, political and economic spheres in the UAR, Syria and Algeria are enthusiastically hailed by the people of Jordan.

This, naturally, strikes fear into the hearts of the ruling bourgeoisie and feudal chiefs. Through the radio, the press and all other official means of influencing public opinion, they launched an extensive propaganda campaign against the socio-economic changes in a number of Arab countries, claiming that the changes do not suit the interests of Arabs and that capitalism offered them the one and only way. They have opened wide the doors of the country to foreign capital and have changed the composition of the government to ensure domination by banks and by foreign companies. This policy, encouraged by the imperialists and even worked out in cooperation with them, is directed against the interests and rights of the people. The rulers hope that violence will enable them

to crush the popular resistance to their reactionary pro-imperialist policy.

Along with launching terror against its own people the Jordanian government is taking a more active part in the intrigues and conspiracies against Syria and the UAR. Police raids on the homes of patriots coincided with concentrating troops near the Syrian border to threaten the progressive government of our neighbor.

At the same time the Jordanian authorities are bent on establishing friendly relations with Saudi Arabia, a citadel of reaction in the Arab world, with which high-level visits and military missions are frequently exchanged. King Hussein has recently paid official visits to Britain and Morocco. This is all part of the effort to tie as many Arab countries as possible to the imperialist "Islamic Pact."

This reactionary foreign policy is accompanied by brutal persecution of members and supporters of progressive parties and groups. Even many army officers have been jailed. Prisoners are tortured by electric shock, hung by the feet naked for whole nights and cruelly beaten. Nobody knows their whereabouts. According to news leaking from the prisons, the life of Rushdi Shahin and other prominent Communists is in danger. Many patriots have been court-martialled without defense counsel and jailed for terms ranging from five to ten years.

But this savagery will not crush the struggle against the pernicious foreign policy and the reign of terror.

The wave of terror has aroused the indignation of the Jordanian people. Demonstrations of protest against the persecution of democrats were held in Jerusalem and Nablus. The Association of Lawyers and other organizations sent protests to the authorities.

The Jordanian progressive forces called upon the entire Arab world for unity in the struggle against terror and imperialist conspiracies. Political and public organizations of a number of Arab countries demand that the tortures be ended and the Jordanian patriots released. Terror in Jordan was denounced by the World Peace Council, World Federation of Trade Unions, International Union of Journalists, International Students' Union and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The move-

ment of solidarity with the imprisoned Jordanian patriots is growing in scope and strength.

Communists, Socialists and Nationalists are rising in the fight to uphold the genuine interests of the workers and peasants. They declare their solidarity with the progressive countries and movements in the Arab world, with the national liberation movements and the socialist camp.

All progressive parties and movements, all true patriots realize now better than ever before that their unity is indispensable to the establishment of a democratic government which will resist the imperialists' attempts to involve the country in military alliances and will effect socio-economic reforms on behalf of the people.

Amen SALEM

A heavy loss

THE STAFF OF OUR JOURNAL has suffered a grievous loss—the death in a tragic airplane accident on November 24 of our comrades, active fighters for the freedom of working people, for Communism—Ramon Amaya Amador, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras, Shigeho Kajita, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, Alberto Ferrari, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, and Pedro Motta Lima, distinguished Brazilian writer and journalist.

With them perished Comrade Jose Augustin Gonzalez, Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, and Comrade Jorge Ramirez, candidate member of the Central Committee of that Party.

RAMON AMAYA AMADOR

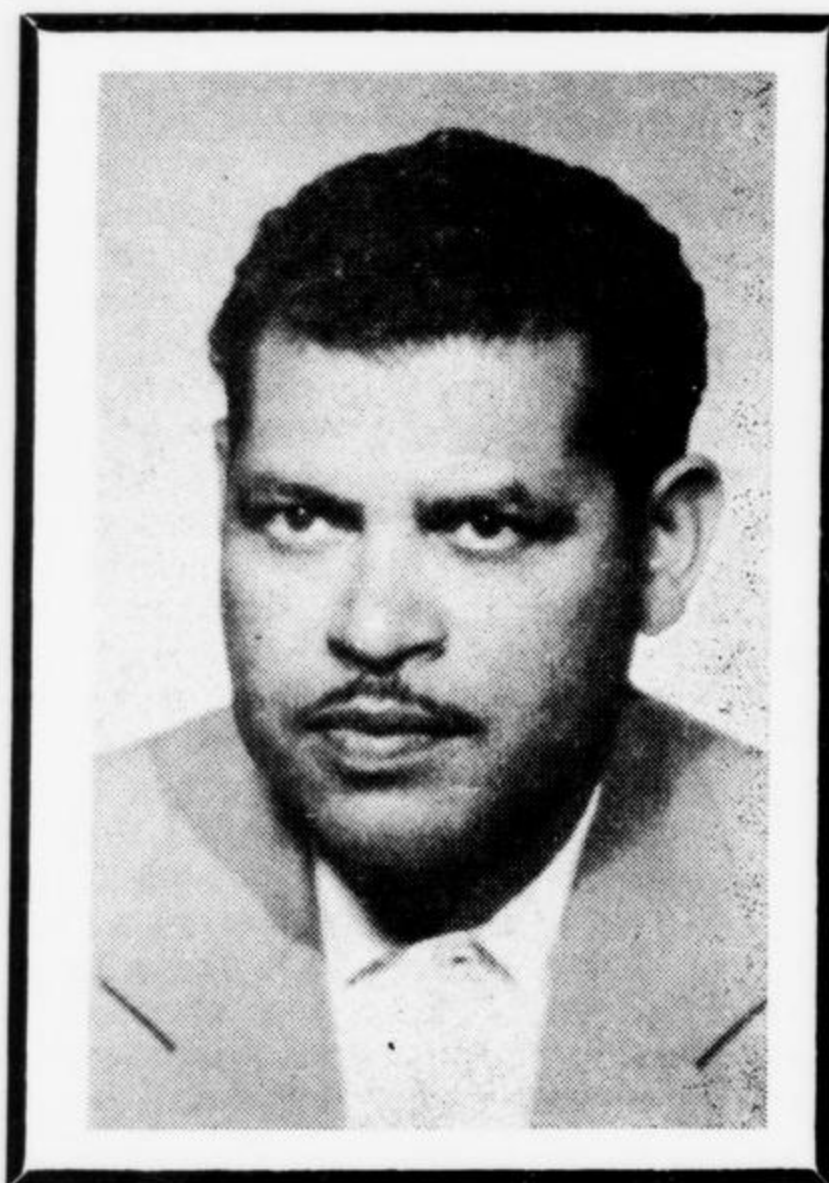
In Comrade Ramon Amaya Amador the Communist Party and the people of Honduras have lost a loyal, dedicated fighter, a writer who breathed new life into the contemporary literature of his country, a patriot who gave unstintingly to the cause of the working people, the liberation of his native land from the yoke of U.S. imperialism.

Amaya Amador was born in Olanchito on April 29, 1916 into a family of modest means. Lack of financial means prevented him from completing his course at a teachers' training college and for a number of years he earned his living in various ways—teaching in village schools, working in printshops and offices, and as a laborer on banana plantations owned by North American companies.

Later, he began to write for the newspaper *El Atlantico*, and soon became a professional journalist. In his native town of Olanchito he founded and edited the newspaper *Alerto*, with the aim of enlightening and organizing the banana plantation workers against their American exploiters. His contact with these workers and his reflections on the social drama being enacted on the Honduras coast inspired his first book, "Green Prison," published in 1950. A starkly realistic picture of the "banana hell" into which the whole of Central America has been converted, this book determined once

and for all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist standpoint of its author.

During the next twelve years Amaya Amador wrote several more books—"Dawn," "The Builders," "The Medicine Men from Llamatepeque," and "Red Continent."



Amaya Amador was a charter member of the Communist Party of Honduras, founded in 1954, and subsequently became a member of its Central Committee.

In the late 'fifties his Party assigned him as its representative on the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

SHIGEHO KAJITA

Comrade Shigeho Kajita was born on June 10, 1907 in the Kanagawa prefecture. In August 1930 he joined the Communist Party of Japan which was then underground, hounded by the imperial police.

In March 1932 Comrade Kajita was arrested for his activities as leader of the peasant movement in the Niigata prefecture. He spent four years in prison, being subsequently released under strict police surveillance. This was the

time when the Japanese rulers, preparing their aggression, were bent on stamping out anti-war sentiment and putting the few members of the Communist Party still at liberty behind bars. In November 1941 Comrade Kajita was



again arrested and spent another year in prison.

The years of persecution and the inhuman conditions in Japanese prisons undermined Kajita's health but they did not shake his resolve to dedicate his life to the cause of the working people. After the defeat of imperialist Japan, Kajita took an active part in rebuilding the Communist Party. In March 1946 he was sent to Mie prefecture where he worked as chairman of the prefectural committee of the Party.

In 1948 Kajita returned to Tokyo to work in the Central Committee. Beginning with 1949 he worked in its cultural department, later heading the publishing section. A brilliant organizer, Comrade Kajita was frequently entrusted with the most responsible Party assignments. In September 1958 he was sent to work in the Party Committee of Chugoku district.

At the Eighth Congress of the Party (July 1961) Kajita was elected member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, and at the Ninth and Tenth Congresses (November 1964 and October 1966) member of the Central Committee. Beginning with November 1964, Comrade Kajita was the representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan on the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. He earned the esteem of all who had the privilege of knowing him for his indefatigable efforts in search of ways of cementing the unity of the international Communist movement.

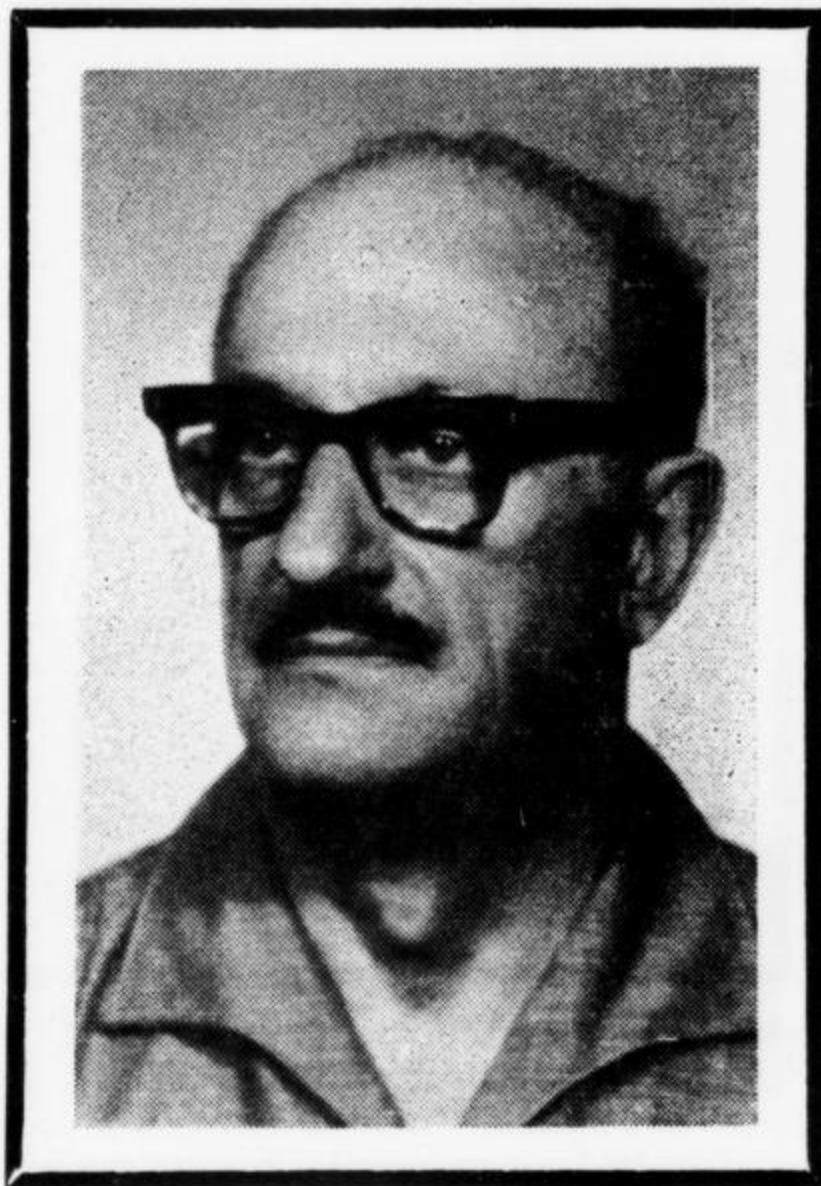
ALBERTO FERRARI

Alberto Ferrari's life could serve as a model for all true men of the revolutionary and working-class movement. From his early youth he devoted himself to the cause of socialism, to the fight for peace, democracy, progress and national independence of his people.

He was born 53 years ago into a working class family, and he began work at an early age. He joined the Communist Party in 1936 and before long displayed a marked gift for educational and propaganda work, an area to which he devoted himself with characteristic fervor and consistency.

In 1942 Comrade Ferrari became managing editor of the weekly magazine *Orientacion*, organ of the Communist Party. In the difficult years when the Party was illegal he carried on propaganda, bringing the Party's message to the working people and exposing the demagoguery of Peronism. When the Communist press again appeared legally, he returned to journalism as managing editor of *La Hora*, a Party daily. From then on he devoted himself completely to the political education of the workers, contriving to combine intensive daily practical work of educating and training new members with theoretical study.

Deeply involved in the day-to-day struggle of the working class and the people, Ferrari at the same time made a profound study of Marxist-Leninist theory as well as problems relating to the history of his native land. He



wrote many articles and papers on these subjects.

In 1963 at the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina he was elected member of the Central Committee, and in May

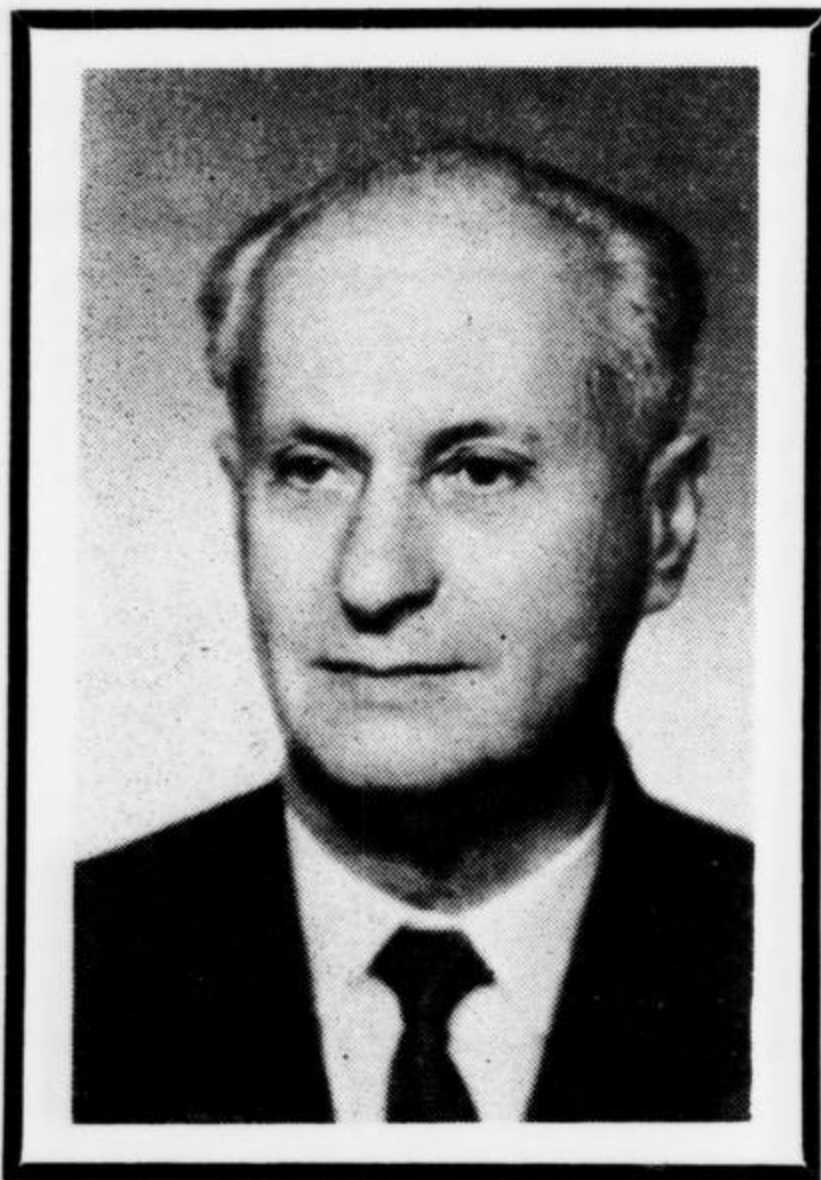
1964 he joined the editorial board of our journal.

The guiding principles of his life as a revolutionary fighter were: regard for the Soviet Union, the spirit of proletarian internationalism and fidelity to the Party. Loyalty to these principles prompted him to devote all of his energies to the struggle for the unity of the international Communist and working class movement.

A true son of Argentina, he embodied the finest qualities of his people—warm friendliness, generosity, the gift of understanding others, and infinite modesty. The life of Alberto Ferrari, his simplicity, his staunchness and resolution will long serve as an example for the new fighters who join the ranks of the Communist movement.

PEDRO MOTTA LIMA

Pedro Motta Lima was born on December 27, 1897, in the state of Alagoas. His revolutionary convictions began to take shape at an early age. As a youth he became interested in politics, finding in Marxism-Leninism the theoretical foundation for the political struggle to which he was to devote his life. In 1915 he entered journalism and soon became one of the best known and most outspoken writers in Rio de



Janeiro and Sao Paulo. At various times he worked on the editorial staffs of the leading national newspapers in these two states. Motta Lima fulfilled important Party assignments both in Brazil and while in exile in Argentina.

In 1942 the leadership of the Party summoned him to Brazil where it was decided that he should turn himself over to the authorities and serve a term of imprisonment in the jails of

the "new state." It was his task while there to help to unite the political prisoners on the issue, among others, of Brazil's participation in the war against German fascism, which at that time was of prime significance for the struggle of the democratic forces. The fact that Motta Lima was not deterred by the notorious "national security tribunal" which by that time had sentenced several Communists to terms of imprisonment of up to 40 years is eloquent testimony to the courage of our late comrade. With the innate optimism and the youthful zest that was characteristic of him to the last day of his life, and with the staunchness of the true revolutionary, Pedro Motta Lima, together with his comrades, fulfilled his Party's mission thus contributing in large measure to the successful outcome in 1945 of the campaign for amnesty. The amnesty opened new opportunities for Party work. The year 1945 saw the launching under Motta Lima's editorship of *Tribuna Popular*, a paper which came to play an important role in the political life of Brazil. Subsequently Motta Lima headed another publication, *Imprensa Popular*, and wrote for *Classe Operaria* and *Voz Operaria*, organs of the Central Committee of the Party. Pedro Motta Lima was likewise widely known for his poetry depicting the life of his people, and for the book *Nazism in Brazil* written in collaboration with Barboza Mello.

In recent years Pedro Motta Lima represented the Brazilian Communist Party on the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. He will be remembered for his open mind, his receptiveness to new ideas, his ardent championship of the truth, his genial and lively manner and his modesty.

* * *

The editorial board and staff of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* deeply mourn the loss of these comrades whose contribution to the joint elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory, and the scientific generalization of experience of the world revolutionary movement, helped to raise the ideological and theoretical level of the journal, to consolidate the comradely and principled relations between the members of its international Communist collective. Their radiant memory will live forever in our hearts.

JOSE AUGUSTIN GONZALEZ

Comrade Jose Gonzalez embodied the finest qualities of the Chilean working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

Born in 1916, he experienced the hardships of capitalist exploitation at an early age. In his teens he began work as a miner in the northern part of the country. There through bitter experience he learned the meaning of imperialist domination. It was at this time, as his class consciousness matured, that his rebellious spirit found revolutionary expression, bringing him as a youth of nineteen into the ranks of the Communist Party.

Jose always said that the Party was the best schooling he could have had. A persevering student, he spent much of his spare time filling in the gaps in his education. Impelled by the needs of the revolutionary struggle, he made a thorough study of Marxism-Leninism.

Before long his ability and staunchness earned for him the recognition of his fellow workers who elected him chairman of the trade union at the "Mapocho" potassium works. Later he was elected municipal councillor in Iquique three times in succession.

In 1945 he became a member of the Central Committee of the Party. The savage repressions against the working people unleashed after the betrayal by President Gonzalez Videla failed to dampen his revolutionary ardor. Despite the persecution, he continued to organize the underground struggle. In the climate of repressions prevailing at the time Comrade Hernandez, as he was known then, became a legendary figure to the working people. In 1956 he was elected member of the Political Committee and National Secretariat of the Party. In 1957 and 1960 he headed the delegation of his Party to the Moscow meetings of Communist and Workers' parties.

Comrade Gonzalez was always interested in the organizational, ideological and political education of the Communists. His *Book About the Party*, which has gone through three editions, is an invaluable handbook for Party organizations and for Party members of all ages.

His qualities won him a place of prominence in the popular movement in Chile. Modest and unassuming in manner and with a keen sense of humor, he was distinguished for his revolutionary staunchness and integrity.

The Communist Party of Chile also mourns



the death, together with Jose Gonzalez, of Jorge Ramirez, candidate member of the Central Committee, a young Party leader, staunch and devoted in study and struggle, tempered in the fight for culture, for bread and for peace.

The people of Chile and the world revolutionary movement are deeply grieved by the tragic death of these comrades. The cause to which their lives were dedicated will live on in the revolutionary battles for the unity of the international Communist movement, for socialism and communism.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

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