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COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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Communique of conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties

A CONFERENCE of European Communist and Workers' Parties on Questions of Security in Europe was held in Karlovy Vary on April 24 to 26, 1967. It was attended by the delegations of the following fraternal parties: the Communist Party of Austria, the Communist Party of Belgium, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—West Berlin, the Communist Party of Greece, the Communist Party of Denmark, the Irish Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, the Communist Party of Spain, the Italian Communist Party, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Portuguese Communist Party, the Communist Party of San Marino, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Swiss Party of Labor. The conference was attended by a representative of the Communist Party of Sweden.

European problems and measures necessary to safeguard security in Europe, which is of great importance for the strengthening of world peace, were examined in a free and broad discussion and fraternal cooperation, in the spirit of internationalism, which distinguished both the preparatory work and the conference itself.

The conference adopted a Statement emphasizing the danger created by the collusion between American imperialism and West German militarism and also the significance of specific peace initiatives, prompted by the situation in Europe.

The program of actions contained in the Statement opens up to the peoples a real prospect of peace, proposing that antagonistic military blocs be replaced by a system of collective European security that rests on the

principles of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders.

The Statement supports the idea of convening a conference of all European states with the object of studying problems of the security and development of European cooperation, and also other initiatives in this direction.

It is with a sense of high responsibility that the conference addresses the working class, the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties, trade union organizations, believers of all creeds, intellectuals, the rising generation, women and all peace forces. The conference urges them to unite and unfold in each country and on the entire continent broad campaigns, mass actions, directed at safeguarding collective security in Europe, at ending the ruinous arms race and defeating the war forces.

The participants in the conference are convinced that the program of struggle for collective security in Europe drawn up in Karlovy Vary could be the basis for joint actions by all Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe.

The conference adopted an appeal calling for the rallying of forces, wider development of struggle in support of the Vietnamese people; it denounced the barbarous United States aggression emphasizing that this aggression constitutes a danger to universal peace.

The conference called on all who cherish freedom to step up joint actions to secure an end to the American intervention and ensure to the heroic Vietnam people the right to independence.

The conference also adopted a Statement condemning the military coup d'état in Greece. It called for the organization of a broad movement of solidarity with the Greek people.

The participants in the conference in Karlovy Vary are deeply convinced that their meeting helped strengthen the fraternal ties among the Communist and Workers' parties, helped rally the peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces in Europe and throughout the world.

For peace and security in Europe

Statement by European Communist and Workers' Parties,
participants in conference in Karlovy Vary

WE, REPRESENTATIVES of European Communist and Workers' Parties, who gathered in Karlovy Vary, realize our responsibility for the future of our peoples and the cause of the international working class and believe that preservation of peace is the most important question for all the peoples of our continent. We met to discuss the present situation, to exchange experience and jointly work out ways and means to help unite all forces of peace and progress in the struggle for European security.

I.

The experience of recent years has borne out the correctness of the Communists' thesis that world war is not inevitable and that it can be averted by the joint efforts of the world socialist community, by the international working class, the national-liberation movement and all states opposed to war, all peace forces. These forces have grown considerably, but the aggressiveness of American imperialism has also increased.

The United States, the main force of aggression and reaction, is trying to reverse the march of history and wipe out the right of the people to decide their destinies themselves. It is grossly interfering in the home affairs of countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa and is extending its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, a war which represents today the most serious danger to world peace.

In this situation the struggle against the imperialist forces acquires a special significance

in Europe. Every success in this struggle means not only a step toward a stable peace in this part of the world but a new blow at the policy of strength and the system of interconnected aggressive military pacts with which imperialism has girdled the globe.

Europe, which has experienced two world wars, remains a troubled region where the main forces of the imperialist camp and the socialist community confront each other. An armed conflict between them could grow into a total nuclear war. This danger is hanging over the entire life of the European peoples, it retards social and economic progress, vitiates international relations and involves a tremendous wastage of material means in an arms race. Military intervention by some European states to suppress the national-liberation movements also creates seedbeds of tension and imperils peace.

After the Second World War the imperialist countries, headed by the United States, concluded the North Atlantic Pact, spearheaded against the socialist states, and also against the democratic movements in the capitalist countries. This brought about the division of Europe into counterposed military blocs. Having remilitarized the Federal Republic of Germany and supported its unlawful claims to represent all Germany, the imperialists assigned it the role of an advanced anti-communist bastion which became a seat of tension and which threatens peace and security in Europe as a whole. The Bonn state, where revenge-seeking and militarist forces have come to power, has become the mainstay of United States global strategy in Europe.

The growing strength of the Bundeswehr, which is commanded by former Hitler officers, testifies to the increasing military preparations. The Communist Party has been banned in the FRG, while other democratic and peace-loving organizations are subjected to repression. Broad scope is being given at the same time to extremely reactionary and neo-fascist forces whose growing influence deeply alarms the European public, which knows from painful experience that fascism is always accompanied by aggressive militarism.

The cold war has become for the monopolies of all the European capitalist states an instrument of waging an offensive against democracy, for exerting pressures on the working people with a view to suppressing their struggle for better conditions, for restricting their social gains, a means of shifting the growing burden of armaments onto the masses.

The cold war concept, the myth of the menace of "communist aggression" used by the United States to justify its hegemony in Europe, have failed. The aggressive course of imperialism was undermined by the active foreign policy of the socialist states which are consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence, a policy which has been carried through on an ever-growing scale, especially since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The aggressive course was also undermined by the struggle of Communist and Workers' Parties, the actions of the masses, the activity of broad sections of West European public. The joint defensive might of the socialist states, deriving from the technical and scientific achievements of the Soviet Union, is an obstacle barring the way to war.

The Atlantic bloc has entered a stage of open crisis. The rulers of some Western countries challenge the value and expediency of the policy of military alliance with the United States or participation in the NATO joint armed forces, which threatens to embroil their states in war and which has nothing in common with their national interests. Tendencies towards emancipation from the political and military trusteeship of the United States are growing in the European capitalist countries. At the same time anxiety is growing over the increasing penetration of American capital.

The contradictions have also been aggravated between the national interests of West European states and the expansionist aims of the Federal Republic of Germany, its desire to occupy a dominating position in NATO, in the Common Market and in Euratom.

The German Democratic Republic which has carried out the Potsdam agreements, has

strengthened its sovereignty as a state and its international prestige. Its growing strength and constructive peace policy are a barrier to the plans of West German imperialism. Recognition of the GDR and defense of its sovereign rights have become one of the main tasks in the struggle for European security. The existence and development of a peace-loving socialist German state has great implications not only for the German people but also for peace throughout Europe.

The crisis of the cold war policy has opened up new opportunities for the democratic and progressive forces in West Germany, forces that sincerely demand a radical change in foreign policy and which deserve every support. The change of government in Bonn was brought about precisely by this crisis. However, there are no signs that the new government of the so-called grand coalition has abandoned the imperialist aims of its predecessors. On the contrary, despite assurances of peaceful designs, it upholds claims to represent all Germany, continues to persist in its striving to swallow up the GDR, to restore Germany within the frontiers of 1937, refuses to recognize the unlawfulness of the Munich *diktat*, continues to advance provocative claims to West Berlin and seeks access to nuclear arms.

Serious changes are now taking place in public opinion. Awareness of the fruitlessness and the danger of the imperialist policy of splitting Europe is growing. Ties of cooperation, specifically in the fields of economy and culture, are developing between the countries with differing social systems. In the course of their contacts representatives of governmental and public circles of socialist and capitalist countries are carrying out a useful exchange of views on problems of European security.

The constructive proposals for the strengthening of security and peaceful cooperation in Europe, set out by the socialist countries in the Bucharest Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states, and the proposals of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries put forward at their meetings and in their decisions provide a realistic basis for strengthening peace and security in Europe.

New and positive trends toward an international détente and cooperation with Communists are appearing in the socialist and the social-democratic movements in some West European countries. New trends are emerging in Christian circles as regards problems of progress and peace. New possibilities have arisen for contacts and cooperation between various trade union and other democratic organizations. Cooperation of Commun-

ists with Socialists and believers in European security can promote the cause of peace on our continent.

The people of Europe do not want another war! They want neither the cold war nor the "balance of terror" which leads to a still more deliberate or accidental conflict.

It is high time to achieve new relations in Europe, resting on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual confidence.

We, Communists, acting in different national conditions, will spare no effort to build a system of collective security, to establish such relations between states which would preclude any possibility of aggression and ensure enduring peace in Europe and throughout the world. This is a difficult but feasible task.

II.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe submit for consideration by public opinion and by all the political and public forces concerned a program in the interests of creating a system of collective security, based on peaceful coexistence. This requires, primarily, that all states should recognize the existing situation as it has developed in Europe in the post-war. This means:

—recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, particularly on the Oder and the Neisse, and also of the borders between both German states;

—recognition of the existence of two sovereign and equal German states, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which requires of the latter renunciation of its claim to represent the whole of Germany;

—exclusion of any opportunity for the FRG to gain access to nuclear arms in any form, either European, multi-lateral or Atlantic;

—recognition of the Munich Treaty as invalid right from the moment of its conclusion.

The European working-class movement and all democratic forces are faced with the task of ensuring the development of peaceful relations and cooperation among all European states on the basis of respect for their sovereignty and equality. For this it is necessary to work for the realization of a number of aims which can be achieved in the new situation, namely:

—conclusion by all European states of a treaty renouncing the use of force or the threat of force in their relations and interference in internal affairs; a treaty guaranteeing the solution of all disputes by peaceful means only, in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter;

—normalization of relations between all states and the GDR, as also between the two German states and between the GDR and West Berlin as a separate political entity;

—consistent defense and development of democracy in the FRG—the right to demand this is given to the peoples by law, historical experience and postwar international agreements. This envisages all-round support for the struggle of the FRG progressive forces for banning neo-nazi organizations and all revenge-seeking propaganda, annulment of the emergency legislation, freedom of activity for the democratic and peace-loving forces, lifting the ban on the Communist Party of Germany;

—conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty as an important step towards halting the arms race.

The system of European security must contain recognition of the principle of neutrality and unconditional respect for the inviolability of neutral states. A more active peace-loving policy by these countries and their contribution to disarmament would help establish such a system.

Removing the artificially created barriers in economic relations between the socialist and capitalist states of Europe would be of particular importance for all states and would be conducive to fruitful cooperation, including broad agreements in the sphere of production and scientific research.

Striving to open up the prospect of European security and cooperation, we are resolutely for the conclusion of agreements on partial solutions, above all, in the sphere of disarmament, which would create a favorable climate for more far-reaching treaties. All proposals in this area advanced by governments, parties, public organizations, political leaders and scientists deserve thorough examination. Particularly topical among these proposals are those which refer to the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of European states, dismantling foreign war bases, establishing de-nuclearized zones in Central Europe, in the Balkans, the territory of the Danubian countries, in the Mediterranean and in Northern Europe, and also zones of thinned-out or frozen armaments and, in general, zones of peace and cooperation in various regions of the continent. These and other steps would check the tendency towards intensifying the arms race.

The twenty-year period of validity of the Atlantic Pact expires in 1969, and this heralds a clear alternative: a Europe without military blocs.

No efforts should be spared in order to develop a broad movement of the peace-loving

forces of our continent against extension or modification of the Atlantic Pact. This movement is favored by the constructive attitude of the Warsaw Treaty members states which have repeatedly stated, and solemnly confirmed in the Bucharest Declaration, their readiness to a simultaneous abolition of both military alliances. We second the moves of these states regarding an immediate agreement on abolishing the military organizations of the Atlantic Pact and the Warsaw Treaty.

We express readiness to support any initiatives and proposals pursuing the aim of achieving a détente and strengthening the security of the peoples of our continent.

We fully support the proposal for a conference of all European states on the question of security and peaceful cooperation in Europe. The proposal to call a conference of representatives of all the European parliaments also merits support.

Consolidation of security and peace will open up before the peoples of our continent new prospects for progress and prosperity.

The peoples of Europe are faced with important social, economic and cultural problems. A Europe, rid of the arms race, which consumes tremendous economic resources and the fruits of labor of workers, engineers and scientists, will be able not only to ensure higher living standards to its population, but also to make a valuable contribution to man's further development.

The struggle for this Europe is closely associated with the struggle for genuine national independence, for democracy, against reactionary and fascist dictatorships such as exist in Spain, Portugal and Greece. The fact that the governments of Spain, Portugal and Greece assist American imperialism in building atomic bases in exchange for U.S. support for these discredited regimes shows the grave danger they are to Europe. European Communist and Workers' Parties express complete solidarity with and support the struggle that is now being waged by the united front of Spanish workers and democratic forces, and all peoples fighting against reactionary regimes, for freedom and democracy.

The Communists, who have always fought against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, will strengthen their solidarity with the peoples still fighting for national liberation. They will act for the development of new relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, relations based on respect for national independence, sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutually advantageous economic cooperation and effective aid by industrially developed countries

to the newly free countries now taking the road of socio-economic and cultural progress.

III.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe are ready to dedicate all their strength to the realization of these tasks, serving the cause of peace, progress and democracy.

Our movement, which this year is marking the 50th anniversary of its great victory—the Great October Socialist Revolution—has become a mighty political force, exerting a decisive influence on the development of all of mankind.

Each Communist Party, in the specific conditions in which it works, is responsible to the working class and the working people of its country, to the people in general. At the same time each party is aware of its international responsibility for safeguarding peace, for forming new international relations conforming to the needs of our time.

This sense of responsibility requires of us, Communist Parties of Europe, that we pool our efforts for the solution of these problems. The stronger the unity and solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe and all over the world, the more effective our struggle.

This sense of responsibility obliges us to address primarily the working class, the main producer of material values, the most conscious and progressive class in modern society. We address the close ally of the working class, the peasantry, and also the middle strata, which are vitally interested in peace and prosperity. The workers and all working people in Europe, combining patriotism with international fraternal solidarity, are capable of playing a decisive role in the struggle for peace and European security, for democracy and social progress on our continent.

We address the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties which exert a big influence on the European working class and take part in the governments of a number of European countries. The experience of decades has shown that joint action by Communists and Socialists enable the working class to exert a decisive influence on political life and rally around themselves sections of the public that are interested in peace and in democratic social changes.

We address the trade unions of Europe, which for the past 100 years have been the biggest mass organizations of the working class, defending its material and social interests. We call upon the trade union organizations to use their authority and influence in the struggle for a peaceful Europe.

We address scientists, writers, workers of art, all European intellectuals, whose finest representatives have always defended human rights and freedom, independence of the peoples, have supported international cooperation and peace.

We address the Christian forces, Catholics and Protestants, believers of all denominations, whose striving for peace and social justice is motivated by religious conviction.

We address the young generation in Europe whose future is inseparably bound up with victory of the idea of collective security and peace. The place of the youth is in the first ranks of the fighters against the policy of war, against reaction and fascism, for freedom and progress, for friendship of the peoples.

We address the women whose role in social life is growing all the time and whose participation in upholding peace and the security of mankind is so important.

We address those bourgeois groupings displaying a realistic approach to modern reality, who realize the danger of a nuclear war, who wish to rid their countries of dependence on the United States and are ready to support the policy of European security.

We call upon all the peace-loving forces to rally and launch broad campaigns in their countries and on a continental scale to expand direct actions for collective security. We urge support in every possible way of the proposal to hold a conference of European nations.

The Communists of Europe are deeply convinced that by defending peace and security on their continent against the forces of aggression and war they are acting in the interests of democracy, social progress and national liberation, in the interests of the peoples of the whole world.

The present historical period requires courage and initiative. We urge all people of good will, irrespective of political convictions and Party affiliation, nationality and religion, to use all their influence and exert every effort to achieve our common goal—peace. By overcoming all that divides us, we shall be able to create a mighty force, capable of triumphing over war and uncertainty in the morrow, of paving the way to lasting peace and prosperity for the peoples.

The European peoples are capable of deciding themselves the questions of peace and security on their continent. Let them take the destinies of Europe into their own hands!

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FRANS VAN DEN BRANDEN,
Vice-Chairman, Communist Party of Belgium
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First Secretary Bulgarian Communist Party
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ANTONIN NOVOTNY,
First Secretary, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
EDGAR WOOG,
General Secretary, Swiss Party of Labor
Karlovy Vary
April 26, 1967

Let us join forces and step up the struggle in support of the Vietnamese people

Appeal of Communist and Workers' Parties Participating in the Conference on European Security in Karlovy Vary

THOUSANDS OF MILES away from America, half a million soldiers, on orders of the U.S. government, are slaughtering Vietnamese men, women and children. They are attempting to bring to their knees a heroic people, who, desiring to live in peace and build up their country without outside interference, are courageously fighting for their freedom and to drive out the foreign invaders. The hard-won fruits of their labor are being savagely destroyed. In both North and South Vietnam, modern U.S. weapons are being used to reduce towns and villages to ashes and desert. The world is witnessing the extension of a savage aggression; human rights are being trampled underfoot with unparalleled brutality. For more than ten years the American imperialists have been systematically undermining the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and interfering in the domestic affairs of that country. The U.S. Government bears the heavy responsibility for this war. It rejects the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for the unconditional and definite stopping of the bombing and of all military actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which would make negotiations possible. By this attitude it confirms openly its adventuristic intention to decide the Vietnam problem by force of arms at any cost and to strengthen U.S. military and political influence in Southeast Asia.

American imperialism seeks to suppress the movement for national liberation and to deprive the peoples of their incontestable right to decide their own destiny and to choose a path of development in accordance with their own aspirations. That is why the war continues,

daily becoming more cruel for the Vietnamese people and more dangerous to world peace. The continuation of the war, the escalation of the aggression, exposes the falsity and perfidy of the declarations of the U.S. Government that it is ready to enter into negotiations. The representatives of the Vietnamese people, on the other hand, are proving by their entire behavior that they have only one concern: to defend the freedom and independence of their country, and to safeguard the security of their people.

The war that the United States of America is waging in Vietnam, and the actions against Laos and Cambodia, are a most cynical expression of the aggressive policy of American imperialism. This policy conflicts with international law and international agreements; it is a flagrant violation of the most fundamental rights of the peoples to freedom and independence, as set down in the United Nations Charter.

We, who are attending the Conference in Karlovy Vary, resolutely condemn the aggressive war of American imperialism in Vietnam. We express our admiration of the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle. We acclaim their valiant sons and daughters who are selflessly resisting the aggressors and thereby contributing to the cause of freedom of the peoples and world peace. We fully support the proposals contained in the four-point statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, since these proposals are fully in keeping with the principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and provide a fair basis for settling the Vietnam problem.

We express our firm determination to contribute actively to isolating and defeating the aggressive policy of American imperialism, to press for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam, for the Vietnamese people's right to deal with their own internal affairs. In Europe and throughout the world, including the United States of America, there is a mounting movement of help for Vietnam and of protest against U.S. aggression. The socialist countries are providing the Vietnamese people with growing political, economic and military support. We declare our firm determination to render them still greater help—by mass political campaigns, collection of funds and medical supplies, and by sending volunteers if the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam so requests—in their just struggle for liberty and independence.

We appeal to the working people, to all the

European nations, to political parties—especially the Social Democratic, Socialist, and Catholic parties—to all believers, to all who treasure peace and liberty. We call on them to increase their effort in order to ensure the unconditional halting of the American bombing of the DRV and of other acts of aggression against the Vietnamese people.

We appeal to all forces struggling against war, irrespective of their political and ideological convictions, to strengthen still more their common action in order to put an end to the American war in Vietnam. In this way they will help consolidate peaceful relations between the peoples, and prevent the Vietnam conflict from developing into another world war.

Let all democratic forces, all the peoples of Europe, unite in struggle and intensify their efforts to assist the heroic people of Vietnam!

Statement on the military putsch in Greece

WE, REPRESENTATIVES of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe gathered at the Conference in Karlovy Vary on questions of security in Europe, express our indignant condemnation of the military putsch in Greece which, out of fear of defeat in the forthcoming elections, was organized by the Royal Court and the other extreme Rightist elements with the support of the militaristic circles of the USA. This putsch is aimed against the democratic rights, freedom and interests of the Greek people. It is part of the reactionary attempt to prevent the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of European security and peace in the world. The aim of the putsch is to strengthen the position of American imperialism and its aggressive tool—the North Atlantic Pact—in this part of Europe, which creates a new danger also for the people of Cyprus.

We protest resolutely against the terror which was unleashed by this regime, against the arrest of democratic political leaders, deputies and functionaries of the democratic movement, against the mass repressions, against the ban on political parties, democratic organizations and press organs, against the revival of fascism in Greece.

We express our heartfelt international solidarity with and support of the Greek democrats. We call for an immediate halt to the fascist terror and persecution of democratic citizens; we demand the release of all those who have been imprisoned and the immediate restoration of constitutional and democratic freedoms for the Greek people.

Participants in the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in Karlovy Vary

The Communists and European security

JAN PRAZSKY

THE CONFERENCE of European Communist and Workers' parties held in Karlovy Vary over April 24-26 was an outstanding political event in the life of the peoples, the working class and all other peace-loving, democratic, progressive forces of Europe. It was also a landmark in the development of fraternal contacts in the international working-class movement as well as in the revolutionary liberation movement as a whole. It was of particularly great significance for the continued efforts of the peoples to normalize inter-state relations and ensure security and social progress in Europe.

I.

The Conference brought together for a discussion of problems of vital concern to the peoples of Europe representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of both parts of the continent — socialist Europe where the Communists are the leading force in society, and capitalist Europe where the Communist parties are waging a steadfast struggle for the interests of the working class and the people generally, for socialism. It should be added that in countries like Spain, Portugal and Greece the parties are forced to carry on the struggle illegally, in the conditions of brutal fascist dictatorship.

The Conference offered convincing proof of the growing trend in the world Communist movement toward international unity, towards joint action in combating world imperialism and its storm troops in Europe, in the fight to avert war and ensure a happy future for the peoples.

The meeting once again underscored the necessity and usefulness of duly prepared

multilateral conferences of Communists to examine specific issues the solution of which calls for joint effort and can help to create the conditions for agreed actions on the part of all the peace forces. The parties participating acted independently, as sovereign entities, but at the same time fully aware of their internationalist responsibility for peace in Europe, for ensuring broad unity of action among all democratic and progressive forces seeking to ensure, through struggle against the aggressive schemes of U.S. and West German imperialism, security and peace on the continent. This common will of the Communists of Europe found expression in the documents unanimously adopted in Karlovy Vary — the statement "For Peace and Security in Europe," the Appeal in support of the people of Vietnam, and the Statement on the events in Greece.

The hopes of the enemies of communism that the Karlovy Vary meeting would be a failure because of "insuperable" differences between its participants proved a case of wishful thinking. Today it is clear to everyone that the results of the meeting were the complete opposite of what these prophets predicted. *The Conference offered striking testimony to the unity of the views of the Communist and Workers' parties participating in it on the fundamental problems of political life in Europe.* Naturally, there were different shades of opinion on particular problems, due to the specific conditions in which the parties find themselves in the various countries. These dissimilarities were freely expressed in order to delve as profoundly as possible into the situation today and to find the most effective solutions to the problems of peace and security in Europe. In a word, what ca-

pitalist propagandists tried to play up as the weak aspect of the conference was actually its strong point.

The documents adopted by the meeting and the speeches of the delegates of the fraternal parties are marked by a creative approach, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist analysis and generalization of the practical experience in international struggle, to the solution of the concrete problems of the present international situation and class struggle in Europe.

II.

The fact that the conference, devoted though it was to questions of European security, began by adopting an appeal in support of the people of Vietnam and a statement on the events in Greece reflected the broad, truly internationalist approach of the European Communists to the problems of continental security, evidence of their awareness that the fight for peace and security in Europe is inseparably linked with the fight for democracy, social progress and national liberation throughout the world.

The internationalist attitude of the Communist parties found expression in the vigorous condemnation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, which is at once a direct, brazen attack against world peace. While the USA is stepping up the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Karlovy Vary meeting reaffirmed the solidarity of the Communists with the people of Vietnam and their full support of the just demands put forward by the government of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

"We declare," the Conference appeal says, "our firm determination to render them still greater help — by mass political campaigns, collection of funds and medical supplies, and by sending volunteers if the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam so requests — in their just struggle for liberty and independence." Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, reaffirmed that "the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government are prepared to undertake united actions with China in planning and extending aid to embattled Vietnam." Concerned with European security, the Communists of the continent are fulfilling their internationalist duty also to the peoples in other parts of the world.

All the speakers voiced the view that in the conditions of today the fight for European security is an important part of the worldwide revolutionary liberation movement.

European security is not merely a regional problem with no bearing on the rest of the world.

Each success in combating imperialism in Europe helps to weaken the world front of imperialism and colonialism and to build new relationships between the peoples of Europe and other continents. The Communist parties are the most consistent champions of these aims. As the statement "For Peace and Security in Europe" puts it: "The Communists, who have always fought against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, will strengthen their solidarity with the peoples still fighting for national liberation. They will act for the development of new relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, relations based on respect for national independence, sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutually advantageous economic cooperation and effective aid by industrially developed countries to the newly-free countries now taking the road of socio-economic and cultural progress."

At the same time the delegates stressed that the fight for peace in Europe was inseparably linked with the fight for progress and democracy in the various countries of the continent, against fascist and militarist dictatorships. They voiced their full solidarity with and support for the struggle waged against fascist regimes by the working class and all other democratic forces in Spain and Portugal. Equally vigorously, they condemned the reactionary coup in Greece and the terror unleashed by the militarist clique in that country.

Never was the thesis that security, progress and peace are indivisible truer than today, not only because of such objective factors as the far-reaching process of internationalization of all spheres of human endeavor and the remarkable progress made in the means of communication, but also because the same forces—on the one hand, world imperialism headed by the USA as the leading force and gendarme of world reaction, and on the other, the alliance of the socialist world community, the international working-class movement, and the national liberation movement—stand opposed to each other everywhere in the world.

The hopes which people everywhere and the European peoples in particular cherished after the defeat of German fascism that Europe would now launch out on a peaceful course have been realized only partly. While in the Eastern part of Europe, following the unconditional surrender of German fascism and as a result of revolutionary and socialist changes, the socialist world system came into

being, in Western Europe all the features of modern imperialist policy were developed further, though in a somewhat modified form. This policy is exemplified by the symbiosis of the aggressive designs of U.S. and revived West German imperialism.

After 1945 all-round sabotage by the imperialist powers of the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences ushered in a reactionary course in Western Europe which led in 1949 to the so-called North Atlantic Pact sponsored by the USA. This initiated the building of a system of imperialist military-political blocs which have enveloped the entire capitalist world in an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria. It also led to the creation of a separate West German state which, having embarked on remilitarization, pursues a revanchist line. The Western bourgeois governments, flouting the interests of their peoples, gave their support in the fifties to a policy aimed at strengthening U.S. monopoly in Western Europe and consolidating the positions of German imperialism both within and without the framework of NATO.

With military spending by the European members of NATO running to more than \$300,000 million and the concentration in Western Europe of more than 7,000 nuclear warheads, this part of the continent has become a veritable arsenal all the more dangerous for the fact that resurgent German imperialism with its armed forces of 500,000 men armed with the latest in weaponry, which openly invoke the traditions of Hitler's Wehrmacht, is now the most powerful contingent of the Atlantic compact in Europe.

In the 1965-66 fiscal year Federal Germany spent for military purposes \$4,600 million, 5.7 per cent of its gross national product. This amounts to 32 per cent of its total budgetary expenditure, a bigger percentage than in any other West European country. West Germany today produces numerous types of armaments, builds submarines, and its army is fully equipped to use U.S. nuclear warheads. In technical and economic respects it is to all intents and purposes capable of manufacturing its own nuclear weapons.

Simultaneously with these dangerous tendencies, neo-Nazis are raising their head and Bonn persists in its refusal to recognize the postwar frontiers, is reaching out for nuclear weapons and, in accordance with the so-called Hallstein doctrine, lays claim to being the sole representative of all Germany, thereby demonstrating its intention to swallow the German socialist state—the GDR.

All this gives rise to a perilous situation in Europe fraught with the danger of a global

holocaust. To prevent a military conflict it is imperative by peaceful means to resolve the problems engendering this peril. This would be in the interest of all the peoples, for, as Wladyslaw Gomułka said "if it came to an armed clash between socialism and imperialism in Europe, the danger of such a conflict, even a local one, developing into unlimited nuclear war would be a hundred times greater than in any other area in the world."

It is the duty of the Communists and all progressives to work to normalize relations in Europe, to rally all the anti-war and peace-loving forces for resolute action before the bombs begin to fall, to create in good time the conditions and guarantees needed to forestall any aggressive provocations by U.S. imperialism and the West German revenge-seekers which might spark off a third world conflagration.

The representatives of the European Communist parties were guided by these considerations when, aware of their international responsibility, they underscored the need to exert every effort to build up a system of collective security and to implement a peaceful alternative in Europe.

Some positive and realistic processes of signal importance from the standpoint of continental security are making themselves felt in West European foreign policy. They stem primarily from the crisis of the positions-of-strength and nuclear blackmail policy and the blasting of the myth of "Communist aggression." The active foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist countries consistently aimed at peaceful coexistence, the struggle waged by the Communist and Workers' parties, mass actions, and the actions of broad segments of West European public opinion are undermining the aggressive policy of imperialism in Europe and dealing telling blows to those bent on increasing international tension. These changes, spurred on by the growing strength of the socialist countries and the example they are setting, have eroded the very foundations of the imperialist policy of blocs and led to an aggravation of the crisis of NATO which has driven even the most crafty Western politicians into an impasse. They have, moreover, foiled the anti-communist designs of the era of Dulles and Adenauer, and strengthened the trends in West European countries towards breaking away from the political, economic and military tutelage of the USA. The French government has withdrawn its armed forces from NATO control. The national interests of most European countries are, increasingly, clashing with the expansionist, revenge-seeking aims of West German

imperialism and its striving to dominate NATO and Western Europe generally. Neutralist trends are gaining ground in the smaller countries of the Atlantic alliance, which are coming to realize the dangers with which the present adventurist U.S. and West German policies are fraught.

Lastly, new positive trends favoring international detente and new approaches to problems of social progress and peace have made themselves felt of late in the Social Democratic movements in some West European countries as well as in Christian circles. New possibilities have also emerged for contact and cooperation between different trade union and other democratic organizations. As the Karlovy Vary statement points out, "cooperation of Communists with Socialists and believers in European security can promote the cause of peace on our continent."

Leaving aside the specific national conditions of each country, it is this interaction of positive and negative factors and trends that determines the overall situation the European Communists have to work in.

III.

In working for collective security in Europe, the Communists are by no means prompted by subjective considerations or mere political expediency. The Communist parties have always been in the forefront of the champions of peace and security. This was so in the twenties, when they worked to frustrate the anti-Soviet schemes of world reaction, for peace and disarmament. This was so in the thirties, when the expansionist plans of the German monopolies embodied in the aggressive policy of Nazism placed the creation of a collective security system on the European political agenda. And so it was after the Second World War, when the Communists of both Eastern and Western Europe took the lead in combating the imperialist policy of dividing the continent into blocs, the cold-war line and revival of German militarism, and the brinkmanship and hard-line policies towards the socialist countries and the democratic and progressive movement in Western Europe.

Drawing on their militant traditions and experience, and concentrating their efforts on ensuring peace on the continent, the Communist and Workers' parties gathered in Karlovy Vary set themselves a bold, difficult but realistic task which they formulated in these words: "We, Communists, acting in different national conditions, will spare no effort to build a system of collective security, to es-

tablish such relations between states which would preclude any possibility of aggression and ensure enduring peace in Europe and throughout the world."

Accordingly, they draw up and submitted to European public opinion, to all the political and social forces concerned with the problem, a broad program of action aimed at creating a system of collective security based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The content and purpose of this program place the concept "European security" in a broader context, thereby opening wider opportunities and prospects for the peace forces.

The first group of proposals advanced calls for the recognition by all countries of the actual state of affairs as it crystallized as a result of the defeat of German fascism and of postwar development. The changes that have taken place in the territorial and sociopolitical physiognomy of Europe can be traced largely to the joint efforts exerted over a long period by the European democratic and progressive movement, by all the peace-loving forces.

Proceeding from an analysis of the present situation, the Karlovy Vary Conference stressed that the attention and activity of all the forces of peace, democracy and progress in Europe should be focussed on normalizing relations in Central Europe, on ensuring recognition of all the political results of the Second World War. This presupposes the unconditional recognition by Federal Germany of all postwar frontiers, including the Oder-Neisse border and the frontier between the two German states, and annulment of the Munich government as an act that never was legally valid, with all the consequences following therefrom. The only way to make any progress towards peaceful mutual understanding is to recognize the existence of the two sovereign and equal German states, to repudiate the claims laid by Federal Germany to being the sole representative of the whole of Germany, and to prevent the West German revenge-seekers from laying hands on nuclear weapons either directly or indirectly through the so-called multilateral Atlantic or European nuclear force.

In these circumstances the working class movement and the other progressive forces see their task in effectively contributing to the creation of a new situation in Europe, in uniting their efforts to carry out a number of urgent measures promoting peaceful relationships and cooperation between all countries on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and equality of each. Most important of these is the establishment and normaliza-

tion of diplomatic relations between the GDR and all other European countries, between the two German states and between the GDR and West Berlin as an independent political unit.

The progressive forces of the German people, drawing lessons from Germany's past, have established a worker-peasant state in the Eastern part of the country. The development of this state has, figuratively speaking, deprived German imperialism of one of its arms. The German Democratic Republic is a strong component of the socialist camp, a bulwark of strength for all peace-loving and democratic-minded Germans. "Recognition of the GDR and defense of its sovereign rights," the Statement of the Conference declares, "have become one of the main tasks in the struggle for European security. The existence and development of a peace-loving socialist German state has great implications not only for the German people but also for peace throughout Europe."

If the present government in Bonn were really anxious to help promote mutual understanding and peace, it could do so by recognizing the above-mentioned just demands. There are solid grounds, however, for suspecting the motives of the Kiesinger Government, for its verbal maneuvers have not been matched by fundamental decisions affording sufficient proof that there has been a change of policy, that the Federal Republic has renounced its revanchist claims on the GDR and the other socialist countries. All the democratic and progressive forces in Europe and the Federal Republic consider it an urgent task to bring all-round pressure to bear in defense of democracy in the FRG, in support of legalizing the Communist Party and banning the neo-Nazi organizations and revanchist propaganda, against the emergency laws which extreme reaction has always used to establish its dictatorial rule and to prepare for aggressive war.

The Karlovy Vary Conference clearly showed that neither the socialist countries nor the working-class and democratic movement in Europe wish to exclude the FRG from the struggle for collective security and peaceful cooperation. They extend their sympathy and support to those forces in West Germany who take a realistic stand and dissociate themselves from the revanchist line of the Bonn Government, proving thereby that they can be counted on to work for European cooperation and coordination of efforts for peace and progress. How relations will develop between the socialist countries and Federal Germany will largely depend on the influence and growth of these trends in that country.

The second group of proposals relates to promoting the development of new elements in European inter-state relations. Primarily this is a matter of evolving such a system of mutual commitments and guarantees of collective security as would offer an effective alternative to the present confrontation of two military pacts. The expiration of the Atlantic Pact in 1969 opens up to the peace-loving realistic forces in Europe new prospects, affording an opportunity of working in a variety of ways to foil all attempts to renew the Atlantic bloc and of pressing forward with the peaceful alternative. Both the speeches at the Karlovy Vary Conference and its documents reaffirmed the constructive approach taken by the socialist countries to international problems, in particular their preparedness to abolish the Warsaw Treaty Organization, provided the Atlantic Pact is done away with at the same time and an effective system of security is created.

The initiative of the European Communists is aimed at elaborating a realistic positive program of peace and security. They propose convening a conference at government level to discuss the issue and are in favor of a conference of members of parliament from all the countries of Europe with the object of resolving international problems, terminating or restricting the arms race and lessening international tensions.

There is no doubt that new opportunities would be opened for disarmament and normalization of relations if such proposals were realized as, say, an all-European treaty, based on effective guarantees and commitments by all European states, renouncing the use of force in inter-state relations and ruling out interference in one another's internal affairs; a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; implementation of other more localized measures aimed at creating nuclear-free, limited armament or arms-freeze zones in different parts of Europe; withdrawal of all foreign troops and dismantling of foreign military bases. In this connection the demand advanced by the Conference to stop the operations of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean area is particularly timely. This demand has been met with approbation not only in the countries of Southern Europe but also in the Arab countries, where it is regarded as an important contribution to the defense of their national interests against imperialist intervention.

The delegates likewise underscored the importance of strictly respecting the desire of some small European countries to achieve a neutral status or to preserve this status, as

well as of regarding neutrality as an effective contribution to ensuring peace.

A feature of the Karlovy Vary Conference was its *dynamic approach to, and broad interpretation of, European peace and security as an aim that must be pursued along the most diverse lines*. Strictly speaking, this constituted the third group of problems examined. Mention should be made of the proposals aimed at removing all artificial barriers to economic and trade relations between the socialist countries, and the restoration and promotion of mutually advantageous trade and scientific, technological and cultural contacts.

It is not only a matter of overcoming the various restrictive and discriminatory measures left over from the height of the cold war, but primarily a matter of a search for new ways of promoting general European cooperation at a higher level, corresponding to the requirements of the times, of the scientific and technological revolution. In this connection wide opportunities are opened by the proposals concisely formulated in the speech of Leonid Brezhnev, head of the delegation of the CPSU, concerning the possibility of all-round cooperation in nuclear research, use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, combating the pollution of the European rivers and seas, and close scientific cooperation in the sphere of public health, in particular in fighting the most fearful diseases of our century—cancer, cardio-vascular diseases, etc. The possibilities for promoting joint actions on a general European plane are indeed considerable. Such joint efforts could range from the construction of a trans-continental gas pipeline to the organization of a common system of color television for all Europe. Every step in these areas would carry us forward towards a turn in the relations between European states and facilitate the solution of a number of socio-economic problems concerning all European peoples.

Both the speeches and the Conference documents were marked by a striving to approach the problem of collective security not only as one of inter-state relations, but above all as a matter of unity of action among all political and social forces capable of barring the way to imperialist aspirations and bringing about a radical turn in European development. The view expressed in the Karlovy Vary documents accords with the vital interests of the masses in the European countries; it is an expression of their aspirations and facilitates the search for new ways of building contacts with all who are interested in ensuring progress in Europe.

The Communists consider it their task to

work persistently and patiently to overcome—through principled confrontation of views, comradely dialogue and constructive quests—the anti-communist prejudices still existing in the Socialist and Social Democratic parties, tendencies traceable to the Atlantic policy. This presupposes utilization of all opportunities to achieve unity of action with those Left trends in the parties of the Socialist International in whose activities new positive elements have been asserting themselves in recent times. The experience of the Communist parties in building contacts with the Social Democrats and Socialists confirms the correctness of this approach. It points to the need to draw on all factors making for united action in the fight for collective security on the part of the entire European Left. The Communists are prepared to display active solidarity with all steps taken by the Social Democratic and other Left forces to achieve this unity of action.

Although the philosophical and spiritual concepts of Communism and Catholicism differ fundamentally, a number of speakers at the Karlovy Vary Conference spoke of the tangible possibility and necessity of searching for ways and means of achieving joint action of the two in the fight for peace and social progress in Europe and throughout the world. The growing contradictions in the Catholic movement, and the instances of criticism of imperialist policy and capitalist exploitation on the part of Catholics, make it possible for the Communists to strengthen their contacts with them by taking steps promoting joint struggle for a world without war and without exploitation.

New possibilities are making their appearance also as regards the trade unions, other public organizations, scientific institutions and diverse social groups in the European capitalist countries. By taking these changes into account and properly differentiating the activities of the Communist parties, a broad base can be built for the democratic, anti-imperialist struggle, on the effectiveness and scale of which success and victory in the fight for collective security in Europe depend. A number of speakers supported the idea of convening a congress of European peoples. Hence, too, the call issued by the Conference to all the Left forces in Europe and diverse social groups to make their contribution to the common cause of building a new Europe enjoying the fruits of peace and security. This call is by no means a platonic one; it is a realistic political concept aimed at ensuring further success for the forces of peace, democracy and social progress in Europe.

IV.

The representatives of the European Communist and Workers' parties made it plain that the Communists do not lay claim to any monopoly in charting the line of struggle for European security, that they consider their proposals merely a contribution to a general discussion, to the common cause, in the interests of which they are prepared thoroughly to study all opinions and suggestions directed at a constructive solution of European problems, and that they are prepared to meet half way sincere initiative regardless of its source. To the reactionary ideology of "pan-Europeanism," which served imperialist expansion and the whipping up of anti-communist hysteria in cold war conditions, the Communist parties counterpose a program of European unity seeking to promote peaceful progress, democracy, social justice and the security of the peoples.

These are the lofty principles underlying the complete, principled ideological and practical unity of all the participating parties, which was so cogently manifest in Karlovy Vary. The Conference demonstrated the vital power inherent in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in proletarian internationalism. Once again the axiom was confirmed that the main factor enhancing the international weight of the Communist parties is their unity of action, that the yardstick of their political maturity is ability to combine defense of the interests of their respective peoples with awareness of their international tasks and work to perform these tasks, with a correct understanding of unity and its realization.

Although not all European Communist parties attended the Karlovy Vary Conference—for participation in such meetings is something which each Party has a sovereign right to decide for itself—this in no way impedes the continued all-round development of fraternal contacts and cooperation between all parties and at all levels in the form of bilateral or multilateral meetings devoted to building a system of collective security. This conclusion can unquestionably be drawn from the speeches which were permeated with a resolve to deepen and develop, through mutual exchange of experience, unity of action in the fight for the triumph of peace and communism.

Exchange of experience between the Communist parties of the socialist and capitalist countries is extremely useful. It enables each party, while independently shaping its own policy, to arrive at joint conclusions. This Communist logic is something the enemies of communism refuse to understand; witness

their speculations on who it was that set the tone at the Karlovy Vary meeting, whose viewpoint prevailed and whose was rejected.

In reality, the viewpoint which predominated at the Conference was a common one, the synthesis of the collective and individual experience of the parties participating. As Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, told a *Rudé Pravo* interviewer, "this conference shows that on questions of common interest discussion, exchange of views and agreed decisions are possible. Hence, the Karlovy Vary Conference was a contribution towards the realization of unity of action in the world Communist and working class movement. The Europe which gave rise to the organized working-class movement could not but declare its stand on the cardinal problems of preserving peace and implementing the principles of proletarian internationalism."

The same assessment of the atmosphere of the conference was given by the Italian Communist paper *Unità*, which described it as a free, sincere exchange of views in which each Party independently expressed its opinions, and stressed that this made the unanimous conclusions arrived at all the more valuable.

The independent contribution of each of the parties, which took an equal part in elaborating the line of the Conference, is embodied in the program for European peace and security it advanced. The entire work of the meeting was subordinated to a common aim which the final statement formulated as follows: "The European peoples are capable of deciding themselves the questions of peace and security on their continent. Let them take the destinies of Europe into their own hands!" In this respect, too, experience has confirmed one of the fundamental premises of Communist strategy—that the fight for peace does not run counter to, but facilitates, the fight for socialism.

The Karlovy Vary Conference was the first big international action undertaken by the Communist parties in this jubilee year of the October Revolution which demonstrated their international unity in the spirit of Lenin's teachings. The European Communists are resolved to do everything in their power to ensure that the joint initiative embodied in the Karlovy Vary meeting should lead to new actions giving expression to the ever vital internationalist mission of the October Revolution, and that these new initiatives and actions should be accompanied by still greater success for a creative Marxist-Leninist policy reaffirming the vibrant message contained in the watchword "Workers of all lands, unite!"

The October Revolution and the national liberation movement

J. B. MARKS

MODERN WORLD history began on November 7, 1917 (October 25 according to the old Russian calendar) when the working people of Russia, organized in their Soviets and led by Lenin's Bolshevik Party, took power into their own strong hands and ended for ever the rule of the capitalists and landlords in this vast territory, covering one sixth of the land surface of the earth.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was like a mighty explosion, shaking the edifice of imperialism to its very foundations, opening up vast cracks in that structure of oppression, mass slaughter, brutal exploitation and misery — cracks through which the oppressed and toiling millions of the earth could for the first time discern the clear sky of their hopes for a future of freedom and human dignity. And the thunderous reverberations of that explosion have continued, with ever-increasing power, to echo through the corridors of history over the past fifty years.

I.

To the teeming millions in the vast continental areas of colonial domination, oppressed by a double yoke of exploitation and national oppression, and to their liberation movements, the October Revolution had a most profound significance.

It meant that the handful of imperialist super-powers which had hitherto dominated the whole world, rudely seizing African and Asian countries by force of arms, ruling them from far-off European capitals by terror, looting their wealth and enslaving their inhabitants, no longer stood unchallenged. On the ruins of the tsarist empire, a new, socialist state had arisen, whose voice was raised immediately against the innumerable crimes of

the imperialists and whose vast potential strength, mobilized and harnessed with incredible speed by the new system of socialism, was soon to overcome the heritage of backwardness and to advance the Soviet Union to the front ranks among the world powers. For the first time ever a great power, armed with all the resources of the most advanced technology, appeared not as the conqueror and exploiter, but as the loyal friend and defender of the world's outcasts, the hundreds of millions with bare feet and bent backs, who toil from dawn to sunset to scratch a meagre living from the soil with wooden hoes, whose children never learn to read and write, and who go to an early grave in lands ruled by foreigners.

To all of these, the new power born in 1917 spelled hope. They may not have had the opportunity to study the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin—the colonial masters took good care to see that they had no such opportunities. But the whole world was to see that in the regions of Tsarist Russia — that notorious prison-house of nations — the Communists abolished national oppression. The Soviet government not only proclaimed the right of nations to self-determination and independence, but put that principle into immediate practice. The former colonies of the Russian empire were liberated, and where they voluntarily opted to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the most energetic and generous steps were taken by the Russian proletariat, now masters of their country for the first time, to establish in the Asian territories and other areas of backwardness that powerful economic and industrial development which alone can ensure true independence and national equality.

Among the oppressed colonized people this

unprecedented and magnificent example had, both directly and indirectly, a shattering impact. It transformed our national liberation movements, both quantitatively and qualitatively. From rather small bodies of a reformist type, dominated by bourgeois intellectuals, and pleading for rather limited demands and rights, they grew into mass movements that demanded full independence and the complete liquidation of the colonial system, fighting militant battles with a real prospect of victory. And that powerful impetus, though it may have ebbed and flowed at different periods, has never halted. On the contrary, it has gone from strength to strength, until today all of Asia and nearly all of Africa have won at least constitutional independence.

To this great historical advance of the oppressed peoples the October Revolution made a contribution of incalculable significance. The Soviet state not only challenged the evil practices of imperialism and colonialism and set a glorious example of fraternal relations between nations, both within the Soviet Union and abroad. It also — more and more as its strength and influence grew — rendered practical and concrete aid to the cause of national liberation.

Of course, revolution cannot be “exported” and every people has the inescapable task of conquering its own freedom. But to those who were prepared to fight and did themselves fight, the Soviet Union has always rendered whatever aid was within its capacity. In the early days, still suffering the wounds of foreign intervention, imperialist blockades and civil war, it aided young national states as was the case with Mongolia and Turkey. The people of Africa will never forget the stern Soviet warnings which restrained the imperialists at the time of the Suez aggression and the Zanzibar revolution, or the backing given to the Aswan project and in many other fields. Nor will the world ever forget the all-out aid being given today to the heroic people of Vietnam, whose glorious resistance to American aggression is the cause of all humanity.

II.

If, prior to 1917, the development of socialist ideas among the colonial peoples was limited, this was due, in no small measure, to the hypocritical and treacherous attitude of the leaders of the majority of the European Social Democratic Parties. With pious phrases of socialism and internationalism on their lips, they nevertheless condoned, or even supported, the innumerable crimes of their bourgeois masters in the colonies. For them, the “national question” was confined to Euro-

pean nations or minorities, and even there they adopted compromising attitudes, like that of the British Labor Party towards the issue of Irish independence. Only Lenin and a small group of genuine internationalists persistently raised the demand for colonial liberation as the main issue regarding the national question.

Like their successors of today, these pre-war heroes of the Second International represented a section of the workers who were bribed by a share in the ill-gotten superprofits of colonial exploitation, became supporters of imperialism and corrupted by its disgusting ideology of racialism. Small wonder that they found few adherents among the oppressed nations, and none to mourn the inglorious collapse of the Second International that followed the disgraceful betrayal by nearly all of its leaders who supported their imperialist governments in the First World War.

But these traitors did not by any means speak for the whole of the socialist movement. In nearly every country there were groups who, even in the midst of the war, stood by the principles of revolutionary Marxism that had been abandoned by their leaders, and held aloft the banner of internationalism, peace and socialism.

Under the impact of the October Revolution, these groups and parties were consolidated and united to form parties of a new type, Communist Parties adhering to the Leninist principles of internationalism.

In the countries of advanced capitalism the Communist Parties showed in practice the meaning of genuine Marxism, genuine internationalism, in innumerable magnificent demonstrations of solidarity with the oppressed colonial peoples. We shall never forget the fight of the French Communists against the “dirty wars” conducted by their imperialist government in Algeria and elsewhere, the splendid record of the Communist Party of Great Britain in opposing colonialism, from the days of India’s struggles for independence to the British Government’s present betrayal of the Zimbabwe people, the stand of the illegal Italian Communist Party against Mussolini’s invasion of Ethiopia, or the outstanding campaigns by the Communist Party of the USA against the atrocious and criminal war to colonize Vietnam.

Through such noble campaigns of solidarity these Parties strengthened the ties of common struggle by the European and North American workers and the colonial masses against the common enemy—imperialism. These ties were further strengthened by the campaigns waged by the Communists in the metropolitan coun-

tries to end race discrimination against colonial workers and students living there, and many other fraternal activities which raised still higher the influence of Marxism-Leninism and helped to counter the ceaseless assault of anti-Communist lies and slanders—a part of the imperialists' plan for the mental enslavement of the African and Asian people, whose poisonous after-effects are still being felt even in this period of independence and national rebirth. Communist books, periodicals and theoretical journals published in the metropolitan countries increasingly penetrated the iron curtain of bans and censorship erected by the colonialists in the countries they had enslaved.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the ideas which inspired the October Revolution, the ideas of Communism, should more and more exert a magnetic influence on the most ardent patriots, the most militant workers and revolutionary intellectuals in the colonies and semi-colonies. Defying the ruthless repression and terror of the alien authorities and their indigenous agents, they came together in Marxist circles and groups, applied the science of historical materialism to the study and analysis of their own countries' struggles and problems. Thus were laid the foundations of Parties of a New Type, Communist Parties, in a great many colonial countries. These Parties were a tremendous asset to the nations striving for freedom.

If at first some of the leaders of the national liberation movements looked askance at their development, fearing they would be a source of organizational division, or of ideological diversion from the immediate struggle for independence — and we should admit that in some cases inexperience led to sectarian mistakes which strengthened these fears—nevertheless experience was to demonstrate to all honest patriots that the reverse was the truth. The Communists threw themselves unreservedly into the struggles for national liberation, recognizing that before they can embark on the socialist path the oppressed people must first be masters in their own house. Their advanced theoretical understanding, their love for and closeness to the toiling masses, and their revolutionary militance and preparedness for sacrifice, placed them in the front ranks of the sons of the soil who were fighting for national freedom. Communist participation helped accentuate the anti-imperialist trend of the national liberation movement.

Patriots of all shades of opinion had to recognize that the fact of a man's being a Communist makes him a better fighter for the liberation of his people; that the existence

of a Communist Party is a source of added strength and unity, for among all oppressed peoples the Party will strive for a firm fighting front of national unity in the common struggle; that the theoretical training of the Marxist-Leninists gives an added dimension of perception to the liberation struggle, strengthening its strategy and tactics, and broadening its outlook from the limits of nationalism to the glorious perspectives of socialism and the militant unity of the workers and oppressed peoples of the entire world.

Lenin prophesied that the working class movement in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the hundreds of millions of oppressed colonial peoples would inevitably merge into a single mighty stream of world revolution.

The victory of the October Revolution and all its far-reaching consequences have fully vindicated that brilliant prediction. This is the guarantee of the final defeat of imperialism and the advance of all humanity to a better future.

III.

Of epoch-making significance to the oppressed colonial peoples—as to the world as a whole—was the defeat of the Axis powers in the Second World War, a crushing victory in which the main part was played by the Socialist Soviet Union.

Fascist Germany and Italy were the world centers of infection of virulent theories and practices of racialism, gross national oppression and genocide. The paranoiac concept of the "Herrenvolk" with its rabid fanning of hatred and contempt towards Africans, Asians, Jews and all allegedly "inferior races" called forth an eager response among the bitterest enemies of human freedom and dignity everywhere—from the Ku Klux Klan in America, the traitor generals in Spain and the quislings of all Europe, to the chauvinist white supremacists in South Africa.

The heroic, resolute resistance of the Soviet people, led by their Communist Party, against Hitler's huge war machine aroused tremendous enthusiasm throughout the world, sweeping away encrusted layers of anti-communist prejudice assiduously cultivated by the bourgeoisie over many decades. The myth of Nazi invincibility was dispelled. A tremendous wave of resistance, of revolutionary energy, was released, culminating not only in the crushing of the Axis powers, but also, on the ruins of their short-lived empires, the construction of democracies of a new type in a number of countries.

In Europe, following national liberation, the

people rejected the bourgeois parties whose leaders had sold them into servitude under the alien yoke, and created new states which have joined the Soviet Union in a socialist commonwealth.

In *Asia*, an irresistible tide of liberation swept the entire vast Continent in a series of struggles which were often waged with arms in hand and which liquidated the huge colonial empires of Britain, France and Holland, put an end to the semi-colonial status of countries like China, and resulted in the establishment of states of national independence, some firmly committed to the socialist path, throughout this region with its enormous populations. Of particularly great importance for the development of the national liberation movement in Asia was the victory of the Chinese people.

In *Central and South America* and the *Caribbean*, whose nineteenth century revolutions against Iberian colonialism had largely been aborted and cut short by the influence of the biggest imperialist powers and by an alliance of local feudalists and capitalists and Yankee imperialism, a fresh impetus arose, reaching its culmination in the birth of Free Cuba, pioneer of socialism in the Americas.

In our beloved *Africa*, country after country wrested its independence from the British, French and Belgian colonialists—sometimes, as in Algeria and Kenya, only after long and bloody battles—until, at the time of writing only the “slave South” — the fascist Republic of South Africa and its illegally annexed colony of South West Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the Portuguese-occupied territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, remained as substantial areas overtly dominated by European countries or racist white minorities. Everywhere else the African countries enjoy at least formal political independence, and in a number of our countries patriotic leaders have advanced yet further to the winning of economic independence and the laying of the foundations for the edifice of socialism — in the last analysis our only way to realize our people’s aspirations for true independence, equality among the nations and the redressing of centuries of injustice.

All these marvellous advances, which would scarcely have seemed possible even to the most optimistic fifty years ago, have been facilitated to a tremendous degree by the famous victory of October 1917, and all that it implied. No less has our path been illuminated by the practical experience of the Soviet State in the years that followed the Revolution. The October Revolution and the epochal events connected with it—the growth of the might and influence of the USSR, the defeat

of fascism, the emergence and development of the socialist world system—vastly contributed to the rise of the African revolution and accelerated the advance of our peoples.

IV.

The great achievement of Lenin and his comrades, their unforgettable service to mankind, is that they demonstrated in practice not only that socialism “works” — but that it works *better than capitalism*, affording an infinitely more rapid and more humane method of economic and industrial development than capitalism, even in the most favorable circumstances, ever achieved.

It was socialism and socialism alone that enabled a vast, underdeveloped country of Europe and Asia, the vast majority of whose population was composed of illiterate peasants, to leap into the front rank of modern powers with highly-developed industry, agriculture, science and technology, the pioneer of space research and the vanguard of human progress.

This great historic fact is of crucial significance to the peoples of newly-independent countries who stand at the fateful crossroads, the choice of which will determine their future path of development. There are only two choices: the one leads to socialism, the other to capitalism.

Of course, there are some who tell us that we have no choice, and among them even those who use “Marxist” phrases about the alleged impossibility of skipping historical “stages.” They cite the arguments of Lenin—perfectly valid in their time — against the utopian ideas of the Narodniks who thought that, by-passing capitalism and industrialization, Russia could build some sort of idyllic “socialist” society on the basis of the communal system of land ownership which once prevailed in Russia. Such scholastic arguments are completely foreign to the creative, dynamic character of Marxism. They overlook the one great central fact, which is that *the October Revolution itself changed everything*. It modified all problems, international and local, and called for new thinking and new solutions.

Many of the young Soviet Republics, especially those in Asia, were in various pre-capitalist stages of development. So was the People’s Republic of Mongolia. But concrete historical experience proved that it was not necessary for these countries to pass through the stage of capitalism, with all its cruel exploitation, alienation, national disintegration and suffering. They could by-pass this historically obsolete stage precisely because of the existence, the protection from outside

interference, and the assistance of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat established in Petrograd in 1917.

Our people in Africa know that socialism is possible—it has been proved. They know that socialism alone can enable our countries to set out on the race to catch up with the more advanced countries — a race imposed on us by the deliberate retardation of our development by colonialism—with any prospect of success, and without the monstrous injustices and cruelties of capitalism. They know that capitalism means subordination of our economies to Western monopolies, in fact, the loss of our independence.

The African masses are for socialism. Even those among the African leaders who for personal or class reasons, or because of their close links with imperialism, prefer the capitalist road, are afraid to say so if they seek popular support. African Governments that wish to support capitalism either pretend to be socialist, relying on demagoguery and supposed ignorance among the people of socialist principles, or else they scrap democratic constitutions and resort to military coups and dictatorships by army officers brainwashed in colonialist military academies.

African Governments which seek to realize the aspirations of the masses—such as those of the United Arab Republic, Tanzania, Guinea, Mali, Algeria and Congo-Brazzaville—are carrying out deep-going socio-economic reforms which create prerequisites for the socialist path of development. Recent events in Tanzania, following the Arusha Declaration, where President Nyerere and the Tanganyika African National Union have taken decisive and profound measures to capture the keys of the economy from imperialism and capitalism, open a glorious new chapter in the advance of the peoples of East, Central and Southern Africa towards a socialist future.

Of course the precise path and forms of transitions to socialism will differ in Africa from those in the different times and circumstances of the Soviet Union after 1917. But the great main guiding lines—power of the working people, social ownership as the dominant sector in the field of industry, profound agrarian reforms—such outstanding lessons from the treasure-trove of experience in building socialism, are universally-valid legacies of the new civilization erected on the foundations laid in 1917.

V.

When the guns of the *Aurora* thundered out over Petrograd in October 1917, not many people in the world were very conscious of

the real significance of these momentous events, or even believed that the Bolshevik Revolution would long be able to maintain itself. The capitalist press throughout the world was confidently predicting the imminent downfall of Soviet power—as they continued to do for many years to come. Many people, having no other sources of information, believed them. But some far-sighted men, in all corners of the world, guided by profound confidence in the working class and knowledge of the principles of scientific socialism, thought otherwise.

Among these was David Iyon Jones, talented South African Marxist, and Editor at that time of *The International*, the organ of the International Socialist League. Already, at the time of the February Revolution which overthrew the tsarist autocracy, he wrote that “coming when the night of capitalism was far spent,” the Russian revolution could not stop at the bourgeois democratic stage reached by the 19th century revolutions in the West, but must inevitably advance to the stage of a socialist revolution.

Immediately after the historic October events he wrote again about this remarkable vindication, hailing the Revolution as the greatest in history and the dawn of a new era for all men.

He and his comrades, S. P. Bunting and Bill Andrews, were among the founders of the Communist Party of South Africa, whose 45th anniversary was commemorated last July.

Throughout the period of its existence and still today, our Party, created in the revolutionary upsurge of the October Revolution, has remained faithful to that inspiration, defending the interests and the rights of the millions of workers and oppressed masses of our country.

In a country which has become a byword throughout the world for its racial tyranny and inhuman subjection of the African majority as well as the Colored and Indian peoples, for its massacres and fascist legislation, its tortures, imprisonment, proscription and banishment of political opponents, the Communist Party boldly raised the banner of national liberation, of full democratic rights for all, of the return of the country's wealth to the people.

In the land of apartheid—the synonym for brute racialism the world over—the Communist Party set a convincing example of fraternal unity of all national groups, electing such outstanding African Communists as the late Albert Nzula and Moses Kotane to the post of General Secretary.

The Communist Party abided firmly by its policy of building a united front of national

liberation around the country's greatest mass political organization, the African National Congress, which included the Indian and Colored Congresses, the Congress of Trade Unions and the Congress of Democrats.

Driven underground by the vicious Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the Party set about regrouping its forces for illegal struggle in the South African Communist Party, as well as participating vigorously in all the great legal struggles and campaigns of the Congress Alliance.

Despite this harsh struggle in our own country, the Party has also fulfilled its internationalist duty, participating in and loyally abiding by the decisions of meetings of the world Communist movement, and maintaining the publication of the quarterly *The African Communist* now in its seventh year of publication, carrying the truths of Marxism-Leninism throughout the length and breadth of our Continent.

Unity of Communists and non-Communists in the national liberation struggle is a cardinal principle of our struggle, to which South African Communists from all national groups have demonstrated their fidelity again and again in the struggle and in the dungeons and torture chambers of the Nazi hangman Vorster, Verwoerd's sinister successor.

Only last year, Bram Fischer who led our Party's work inside the country during a year of living in hiding, disguised and under another name, stood up in Court after his capture and before being sentenced to lifetime impris-

onment, to make a brilliant defense of the principles and program of the Party, a speech filled with defiance and contempt for the criminals whose rule has subjected millions to starvation, degradation and near-slavery and brought the country to the brink of civil war.

Terror and mass repressions have not broken the spirit of our people. Inside and outside the country the struggle goes on, embracing Communist and non-Communist patriots as we approach the new rounds of struggle, embracing all forms, including armed struggle, which however long it takes will certainly end in the overthrow of the hateful regime of white minority domination and the establishment of a free South Africa, with all the glorious prospects this will unfold for South Africa and Africa as a whole.

"A new era in human history opened with the great October Socialist Revolution of 1917," declares the Program of the South African Communist Party, adopted at an underground conference in 1962. In the making of that new era, our people as well are determined to play their part.

Lenin said, "No force on earth . . . is capable of taking from us the principal gains of our revolution, for they are no longer 'ours' but have become the gains of world history."

In a very real and concrete sense, we of Africa, and all the world's fighters for national liberation, understand that those gains are ours as well, and we are standing up to claim them.

The October Revolution and the Communist movement in Latin America

RUBEN CASTELLANOS

THE THUNDER of the great revolutionary upheaval of the peoples of the tsarist empire which culminated in the seizure of power by the proletariat in October 1917 reverberated also in the most remote corners of Latin America. Millions of working men and women and the progressive intelligentsia paid homage to Lenin's genius and gave their wholehearted support to the heroic struggle waged by the revolutionary working class of Russia against intervention by world counter-revolution.

Many outstanding men hailed the Great October Socialist Revolution, among them Emiliano Zapata, leader of the peasant revolution in Mexico, Luis Emilio Recabarren, leader of the Chilean saltpeter miners, Cuba's Carlos Balino, the comrade-in-arms of Marti, and Jose Carlos Mariategui, an eminent Peruvian (the last three subsequently were the founders of the Communist parties in their countries). Under the direct influence of the world's first proletarian revolution, Marxist-Leninist parties made their appearance on our continent.

Ever since then the October Revolution has had a powerful influence on the development of the Latin American revolutionary movement. We propose to dwell in this article on some aspects of this development over the past half century and especially to discuss the tasks facing our movement today in the light of the lessons of the great Russian revolution.

MARXISM-LENINISM vs. BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

Owing to varying levels of economic devel-

opment in the different countries, not all parts of Latin America became receptive to Marxist ideas at the same time.

Marxism began to strike root in South America towards the end of the nineteenth century, as a derivative, so to say, of the struggle waged against petty-bourgeois anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism, which the founders of Marxism had subjected to annihilating criticism already in the 1860s.

The newly-formed Communist parties, too, had to combat from the very beginning diverse petty-bourgeois deviations, both left and right, which impeded the development of Marxist thinking and the growth of Communist influence in the working class, and in the course of this struggle they frequently dealt their ideological adversaries telling defeats.

The first major ideological battle of this kind was associated with the emergence in the late twenties of what became known as Aprism, a trend headed by the Peruvian political leader Haya de la Torre. At the outset Aprism was an attempt to find an answer to the problems posed by economic backwardness and imperialist domination, but the way out it propounded had nothing in common with the solutions offered by the Communists. It can be said to have been one of the earliest attempts on our continent to find a middle road acceptable to the exploiters and to the exploited — to the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and to the proletariat and the peasantry, on the other. The object was to build up a "third force" between revolutionary Marxist-Leninist anti-imperialism and the pro-imperialism of the reactionaries. Like all doctrines

of its kind, it sought to distort the facts of life, to conceal from the masses the harsh reality of the exploitation to which they were subjected, to damp down the indignation of the exploited classes in order to prevent them from taking the only road providing a way out of want — the path of revolution.

In the 1930s and forties, with the onset of the structural crisis and the growth of the mass movement against the oligarchy and imperialism, a number of new bourgeois and petty-bourgeois national reformist trends emerged which sought to win over the masses and to oust the Communist parties from the leadership of the liberation movement. Some of these trends, such as Peronism, following in the footsteps of Aprism, sought to extend their influence to the entire continent. Other trends, less ambitious, operated and still operate on a national scale. The latter include the Democratic Action Party in Venezuela, the Constitutional Revolutionary Party (formerly called the Party of Revolution) in Mexico, the Vargas movement in Brazil, the National Revolutionary Movement in Bolivia, and the Arnulf trend in Panama.

Practical exigencies impelled the Communist parties in many cases to enter into *political* alliances with these trends while carrying on an intensive *ideological* struggle against their reformist ideas and paternalist practices.

The Communists were able to restrict the sphere of influence of these groups. In particular, neither Peronism nor Aprism made any great headway on a continental scale. On the national scale, true, many of these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends registered success.

The fact that bourgeois ideology exerts considerable influence on our peoples even today, fifty years after the October Revolution which gave us Communists invaluable pointers on how to win over the masses, is due not only to the cunning and strength of the enemy. The reasons should also be sought in our own mistakes and the shortcomings in our ideological work over a long period.

DIFFICULT ROAD

Throughout the first half of the century the advance of Marxist thought in Latin America left, in our opinion, much to be desired, partly because no profound analysis had been made of the concrete situation in each country, and in some cases, no analysis whatever. In the long run this led to a pseudo-theoretical schematism which inevitably evolved into a stereotyped and sectarian attitude. Things were further complicated by the fact that the Communist movement was still relatively

young and under attack from all sides. In these circumstances it was believed imperative to wage an inflexible struggle against every, even the slightest, departure from what had become generally accepted in the Communist movement.

Beginning with 1928 the opinion prevailed for quite some time in the Communist International that Latin America was "just another" part of the colonial and semi-colonial world and that, consequently, the pattern of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27—a pattern considered "inevitable" for all Communist parties in colonies and dependencies — was fully applicable to it. It was believed that the revolution in these countries would first have to go through the stage of anti-imperialist struggle, then through the stage of anti-feudal peasant revolution, and only after a further lapse of time develop into the socialist revolution. Besides, it was considered that four classes (including the national bourgeoisie) would take part in this revolution.

This view, no doubt, was correct for China and some other Asian countries. But it should not have been automatically applied in conditions such as those of Latin America without a profound, concrete preliminary analysis which would have made it possible to draw only on that which was applicable to the given conditions.

At the Sixth Congress of the Communist International and later at the first conference of Latin American Communists held in 1929 many prominent Marxists from our continent (among them Mariategui) spoke against any mechanical application of the above-mentioned viewpoint, and especially against lumping the Latin American countries together with the semi-colonial world. In particular they cited Lenin's writings on the colonial policy of imperialism. "... Speaking of colonial policy in the epoch of capitalist imperialism," Lenin wrote in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, "it must be observed that finance capital and its foreign policy, which is the struggle of the great powers for the economic and political division of the world, give rise to a number of *transitional* forms of state dependence. Not only the two main groups of countries, those owning colonies, and the colonies themselves, but also the diverse forms of *dependent* countries which, politically, are formally independent, but in fact are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence, are typical of this epoch. We have already referred to *one form of dependence—the semi-colony*. An example of *another* is provided by Argentina" (my italics—R.C.).

Forgetting in effect Lenin's counsel and

virtually renouncing concrete analysis of concrete situations we, in one way or another, opened the doors to erroneous trends which made themselves strongly felt in the Latin American Communist movement in subsequent decades. At first (1929-34) sectarian attitudes prevailed. The Communist parties considered it their task to fight all other political parties and, concentrating their fire on the petty-bourgeois revolutionaries, to make sure that the petty bourgeoisie under no circumstances should head the revolutionary movement. The artificial establishment of councils of workers' and peasants' deputies in Chile and other countries in the thirties seriously damaged our cause. Mistakes were made at the time also in building Communist parties. For instance, in Panama the birth of the Party, a self-sacrificing but small group of consistent internationalists dedicated to the struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy, virtually caused the break-up of the country's mass labor party. Similar instances of mass democratic organizations falling apart took place in other countries as well.

Later, in the process of overcoming the sectarian trends, there emerged the tactics of the popular front, which yielded good results, especially in the southern part of the continent. But in the 1940s mechanical interpretation of the concept of the anti-fascist front (ignoring the fact that U.S. imperialism was, as it still is, the main enemy of the Latin American peoples) caused much harm to our parties and greatly facilitated the growth of a Browder Right-wing trend in a number of Communist parties in our continent.

The political line of our Party at that time is an example of an erroneous application of generally correct theses. The fact that U.S. imperialism occupies half of Panama's territory and brazenly interferes in its internal affairs makes it the main enemy of the progress and independence of the Panamanian people. Panamanian Communists should not have lost sight of this fundamental fact even though they were working all-out to build a popular anti-fascist front. At the same time, the petty-bourgeois Arnulf trend, which we fought as if it were our main enemy, concentrated its fire against the Creole oligarchy and to some extent against U.S. imperialism. Consequently, we in effect found ourselves allied with the bourgeoisie, the semi-feudal elements and to a point with U.S. imperialism inasmuch as we, mistakenly thinking this was in the interests of the anti-Hitler movement, suspended active struggle against our main adversaries. These events of twenty-five years ago are one of the reasons why Arnulfism

still continues to exercise considerable influence among the Panamanian masses.

Later, in the late forties and early fifties, a number of parties committed further mistakes, in some cases gravitating back to the "Chinese pattern" as a hang-over from the sectarian trends of the early thirties, and in others copying the slogans and forms of struggle of the West European Communist movement.

Needless to say, the Communists of the Western hemisphere were not the only ones who made mistakes of a sectarian and mechanistic order. But in our case these mistakes caused more harm, diminishing both the possibilities to wage an ideological struggle against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends and the effectiveness of the political struggle.

The fact that we draw attention to our mistakes does not mean of course that the Communist parties achieved nothing in the course of these past years. A critical examination of the record shows, on the contrary, that they have registered substantial achievements indeed in the past 35-40 years.

It was thanks to the Latin American Communist parties that the *ideas of Marxism-Leninism gained the currency* they have today on our continent. Thanks to them the vanguard of the working class and other social groups became acquainted with the experience of the October Revolution and the world revolutionary movement and were able to draw on this experience. The very fact that Latin America today has many Left groups calling themselves Marxists testifies to the prestige enjoyed by Marxist-Leninist ideas, to the growing influence of Marxism on our continent. This is tangible evidence that the ideological work carried on by the Communists has yielded fruit.

In many countries it was the Communist parties that *organized the working class* and other sections of the working people, building *trade unions* (Chile, Venezuela and Cuba) and powerful *peasant movements* (Colombia, Ecuador and Mexico).

It was above all the Communists who in the course of these decades continued and developed our rich traditions of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle, the heritage of the heroes of the first continental war of independence, of the Cuban Mambi and the Mexican revolutionaries. More than any other political movement they helped to promote the *anti-imperialist and national-liberation struggle*. The ideals of Mella find embodiment today in the achievements of the Cuban revolution. Nor should we forget the Anti-Imperialist League, that broad movement of

solidarity with the national-liberation struggle led by Cesar Augusto Sandino, the national hero of Nicaragua. The Communist parties not only exposed the policy of deception and oppression of the masses pursued by U.S. imperialism, but gave direct leadership to many militant anti-imperialist actions fought from Patagonia to the Rio Grande.

Another thing to the credit of the Communist parties is the implanting of *proletarian internationalism* in the masses. This was not a simple matter, for as we know, it is not always easy correctly to correlate internationalist tasks and tasks of the national revolution. A striking example of a high sense of internationalist duty on the part of the Latin American Communists were the campaigns of solidarity with Republican Spain in its struggle against Franco and his German and Italian fascist allies, operating in league with the so-called Western democracies. During the Second World War the Latin American Communist parties rallied the masses to resist international fascism, rallied them in solidarity with the heroic people of the Soviet Union. And if today the unprecedented exploit of Vietnam, the struggles waged by African patriots and revolutionary actions elsewhere in the world find so ready a response in Latin America this, too, is the result of the years of hard work by our parties.

CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

The fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution falls at a time when Latin America is experiencing a situation which some describe as the threshold of revolution and others as a revolutionary situation. At any rate it is clear that the countries south of the Rio Grande have entered a period of a new revolutionary upsurge, of deep-going crisis and grave upheavals.

The ideas of Marxism-Leninism are increasingly influencing the revolutionary national-liberation, anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist movement. There is a growing gravitation towards Marxism, especially among the youth. This is largely due to the victory of the Cuban revolution and the advent of socialism in the Americas. For the people of our continent the Cuban revolution is convincing proof of the justice and correctness of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of the ideas of October. For the fact is that its leaders did not begin as proletarian revolutionaries; they started out as fighters for freedom and independence guided not so much by theoretical precepts as by the practical exigencies of the struggle. But in the course of the fight they became

socialist revolutionaries and Cuba took the socialist road, for the very development of the revolution made it clear both to the leaders and to the people that this was the sole way to genuine independence and to the material and spiritual emancipation of the nation.

The new situation on our continent makes new and higher demands on the Communist parties and greatly heightens their responsibility. In this connection we should like to dwell on some of the tasks facing Latin American Communists.

The success of the political and organizational work of the revolutionary forces largely depends on the *theoretical* level on which it is conducted. For a number of reasons this problem now looms particularly large in Latin America. First, the ideological struggle now being waged, especially as regards ways out of the structural crisis, is as sharp as the situation on the continent is acute. Second, the Cuban revolution has given a powerful impulse to the development of revolutionary theory in the Western hemisphere. For one thing, it has shown how much more complex and rich revolutionary practice is than the political patterns we used to subscribe to, and this has underscored the need to deepen and concretize scientific thinking on the revolutionary process in Latin America. Third, the developments of recent years have made it incumbent on the revolutionaries to give profound thought to the problem of how to repel the reactionary counter-offensive and to give the green light to our revolutions in the new conditions since the Cuban victory.

Hence, besides day-to-day struggle against ideas alien to Marxism-Leninism, against all kinds of deviations, the Communist parties are called upon to make a deeper study of the concrete reality in order to find correct solutions to the complex problems constantly confronting them.

One of these, with each Party working to resolve it in accordance with the objective situation in its country, is the character of the contemporary revolution, the forces likely to take part in it, and, above all, the class that is or should be the vanguard and leader of the struggle, and the main enemy to be fought at home and on the international arena.

Latin American Marxists also pose new problems in the light of the experience of the past ten years which has considerably enriched their own strategy and tactics and radically changed the political line of other Left forces.

A prominent place in the theoretical discussions under way is occupied by questions

relating to the maturing of the revolutionary situation in Latin American conditions and the correlation of the national and continental factors in the revolutionary process. One of the main lines of research is study of the socio-economic structure of the Latin American societies, the nature of the present structural crisis, imperialist penetration and its consequences, and the prospects of the struggle for economic independence.

Closely connected with these questions are key problems relating to the *tactical* and *political* aspects of the theory of the Latin American revolution; the chances of peaceful or non-peaceful development of the revolution throughout the continent and in the particular countries; the possible forms of the armed struggle and the ways of going over to such struggle in the different countries; the link between armed struggle and mass work, the overall political strategy of the revolution; the best ways of combating reactionary coups and export of counter-revolution; the nature and prospects of the diverse political trends engendered by the present revolutionary upsurge, and the ways and means of achieving unity of the working class and the revolutionary movement and also the most likely forms of this unity.

These are only some of the questions facing the Communists and the entire Latin American revolutionary movement. The answers to them must be found not only through revolutionary practice but also through creative Marxist-Leninist thought, profound analysis of concrete reality together with thorough study of international experience. Hence it is not by chance that in recent years our parties have been devoting more attention to examining present-day Latin America in the light of Leninism and the lessons of the October Revolution.

What Lenin said about revolutionary theory acquiring finished form only in close contact with a genuinely mass movement fully applies to the present situation in Latin America. Hence the importance attached by the Communist parties of our continent to this aspect in their theoretical work.

Intensive study of the theoretical, political and tactical aspects of revolutionary struggle is an important step forward in developing the revolutionary movement on the continent and in eradicating its traditional weaknesses.

The parties are guided by Lenin's thesis that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, and that without revolutionary activity it is impossible to evolve a theory offering a reliable guide to action.

U.S. IMPERIALISM—MAIN ENEMY OF THE LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES

Unceasing, all-round struggle against U.S. imperialist domination is the practical task of our parties. Ever since their liberation from Spanish feudal rule the Latin American peoples have had to defend their freedom against new colonizers and above all against the USA, which since the late 19th century has taken an active part in partitioning the world among the leading imperialist powers.

Bolivar in his time pointed to the danger presented to Latin America by the "Northern Monster." For more than a century now our peoples have been subjected to constant aggression and intervention in their internal affairs. In some cases the intervention has been effected with the connivance of local reactionary governments, as, for instance, the intervention in the Isthmus of Panama in the second half of the 19th century, which was sanctioned by the Colombian oligarchy. In other cases, especially after the USA completed its metamorphosis into an imperialist power, it was a matter of direct armed aggression, of subjugating peoples through shackling treaties or pettifogging "amendments" to their legislation. This happened with occupied and colonized Puerto Rico, with Cuba early in the century, and with Panama, on whom "agreements" in effect granting the USA the right to intervene in their internal life and to control their foreign policy were imposed at the point of the bayonet.

After the First World War and especially after the defeat of German fascism in 1945, U.S. imperialism, squeezing out the other imperialist powers, established its domination on the vast Latin American market, which supplies raw materials to U.S. industry and buys its manufactures.

Growing resistance on the part of the peoples, and in some cases even of governments, compelled the U.S. imperialists to search for new forms of economic domination which would enable them to retain the Latin American countries in their economic, political and military orbit. The notorious "aid" agreements made their appearance in the late forties and early fifties. The Truman doctrine, Point Four and other similar programs were launched with the aim of maintaining the stranglehold of the U.S. monopolies on the Latin American economy and perpetuating a situation of our continent being used solely as a raw material supplier for the industry of the northern colossus.

But on January 1, 1959, ninety miles from the U.S. coast, the Cuban revolution triumphed and then rapidly developed into a socialist

revolution, the beacon and banner of all the oppressed peoples of the continent.

All kinds of "experts" on Latin America at once set to work concocting panaceas to cure the malady which challenged the very existence of imperialism and its placemen in this part of the world. And so the Alliance for Progress was devised to check the revolution and prevent Latin America from escaping from the imperialist clutches. The authors of the Alliance hoped to achieve their aim through reconstruction of the backward semi-feudal economic structures of our countries not in the revolutionary way, as in Cuba, but in a reformist way.

The Alliance for Progress, however, failed to curb the growth of the popular struggle for freedom, with the result that the imperialists fell back once again on the "Bick Stick," practised early in the century. A case in point was the criminal aggression against the people of Panama in January 1964, which was followed by the armed intervention against the Dominican Republic.

To counteract the growth of the forces of world socialism and the national-liberation movement, U.S. imperialism brazenly proclaims its "right" to intrude in any area where, in the opinion of its spokesmen, the so-called Western civilization, freedom and democracy—meaning the economic, political and military interests of the USA—are threatened. This is open advocacy of the "right" to export counter-revolution, to embark on intervention in defiance of world public opinion and without recourse even to the fig leaf of the United Nations as was done in the case of the aggression against the people of Korea. The Johnson doctrine is designed to prevent any revolution in any part of the world, and primarily in Latin America. On the pretext of either "defense of the life and property" of U.S. citizens or some "threat" to its economic interests, the USA is determined to use its armed forces to prevent any change in the status quo, to perpetuate the shameless exploitation of the peoples of the Western hemisphere.

Imperialism has always used diverse avenues to penetrate into the Latin American countries. At times it changes its garb, but its essence always remains the same—aggression, a striving to dominate and plunder the peoples under its yoke. In some cases it is traditionally colonialist, in others it puts on a neo-colonialist face. And if today it toys now and again with reformism, we would not be at all surprised if tomorrow we were to see it brandishing the "Big Stick" once again.

In the struggle against imperialist domination in all its forms a profound national anti-

imperialist consciousness is striking ever deeper root among the peoples. Beginning with isolated clashes with imperialism, their struggle develops into consistent resistance to its economic infiltration, into actions aimed at abolishing its military bases, military agreements and unfair treaties, and, in some countries, eventually grows into revolutionary armed action against the armies in the service of the monopolies and trained by Pentagon experts.

At the same time the Communists and all other revolutionaries are combating imperialist ideological infiltration, which is one of the most insidious forms of intervention in the internal affairs of the countries. U.S. propaganda seeks to undermine the national spirit of the oppressed peoples, to befuddle their thinking and to paint in rosy colors everything the imperialist aggressors bring with them. It depicts the USA as a kind of "elder brother" concerned with the future of "younger brothers" who have not yet come of age.

The overall problem of ideological struggle against imperialism requires serious, scientific examination.

THE MOTIVE FORCES OF OUR REVOLUTION

The Latin American Communist parties have always paid much attention to the problem of the *character and motive forces of the revolution*.

In Panama in particular, our Party — the People's Party, functioning in the exceptionally difficult conditions of a country partly occupied by the USA and compelled to wage an unceasing struggle against attempts by the imperialists to crush it—turned to this problem as far back as 1956. The conclusions it arrived at enabled it to emerge from a rather complicated situation. Analyzing the development of events in our country, the Central Committee pointed out at a meeting in 1956 that while in the historical sense the working class was the vanguard of the revolutionary movement in Panama, and its leadership the sole guarantee of the revolution being carried to the end, at the moment it was not actually playing the leading role in view of the existing conditions. The vanguard force consisted of certain groupings of the middle strata. This, as the Central Committee pointed out, was "not a matter of historical inevitability but a practical fact." Hence, we had to base ourselves on these forces in order to carry the popular movement forward and ensure the maturing of a revolutionary consciousness among our young working class so as to help it assume the place allotted it by history.

These conclusions were important for the subsequent development of the revolutionary struggle in Panama. They enabled the Party to establish close contact with the masses and to head their actions, all of which heightened the class struggle and weakened the political positions of the oligarchy and the imperialists.

This is only one example of how the Latin American Communist parties work out their strategic line on the basis of world and continental experience, and above all their own. Whether the parties will be able to win the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and the progressive intelligentsia for the revolution, for Marxism-Leninism, depends largely on the correct solution of this problem.

Needless to say, the Latin American Communists do not always find the fight for the masses easy. Difficulties are encountered, for instance, in enlisting the basic mass of the working class in active revolutionary struggle.

The *working class* on our continent is growing in numbers, constituting, together with clerical workers, more than half of the total labor force. The Communist parties in the southern part of the continent are quite influential among the workers. (This is particularly so in Chile and Uruguay, where the Communists head the actions of the working class.) Elsewhere the working-class movement is still weak and the proletariat, which tends to concentrate solely on economic struggle on a narrow craft basis and is very much swayed by petty-bourgeois influences, does not yet follow the lead of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

That the Communist parties do not as yet constitute the predominant influence in the Latin American working-class movement is due to a number of factors which must be subjected to profound study in order really to establish the leadership of the class-conscious worker in the revolutionary movement as a whole.

The parties are searching for new ways of winning the workers, for experience shows that without their participation under Communist Party leadership no real revolution is possible on our continent, that only under this leadership will it be possible to ensure the uninterrupted transition from one stage of the revolution to the next, from the democratic and anti-imperialist stage to the socialist.

Despite the efforts made by the enemies of our people through their agents in the working-class movement, and in particular through the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization, an agency of the CIA, the working class is gradually overcoming the division in its

ranks, intensifying its struggle for its rights, and joining the national-liberation movement.

The *peasants* as a class can play a very big role in the fight for national liberation.

In some cases the Communist parties have underestimated work in the countryside, and this has undoubtedly impeded the enlistment of the peasants in revolutionary struggle. But there are countries where the peasantry has resolutely taken the revolutionary way to liberation. In Colombia, for instance, they are playing an outstanding part in the fight against imperialism and the oligarchy. But the same cannot be said of all the countries. In some the peasants are still a reserve for the bourgeois parties which make use of them in the sham elections staged from time to time.

Poverty, land hunger, lack of rights, even of those already won by the working people in the towns, and relationships of peonage all combine to make the peasants receptive to revolutionary ideas. In many countries they are forced to wage a day-to-day fight against the oppressors in order to survive. If the Communists worked more vigorously and systematically among the peasants they could hasten the evolution of this class from a reserve for reaction or reformism into a revolutionary force capable, together with the proletariat and under its leadership, of leading the other exploited classes to the conquest of power.

How quickly we can win them over to the side of the revolution depends on how clear, anti-sectarian and anti-dogmatic a position we take towards these classes.

The *intelligentsia* is a social strata on which the ideas of Marxism-Leninism exert the greatest influence. It can be said that the young progressive intellectuals are mostly followers of Marxism-Leninism. Dissatisfied with the preachings of bourgeois idealism and the shameful retreat of liberalism in face of the attacks of the oligarchy and imperialism, Latin American intellectuals are eagerly searching for the way forward. All the experiments with Aprism, Peronism and petty-bourgeois nationalistic trends which promised our peoples liberation without communism and against it, failed precisely because a substantial part of the intelligentsia turned away from these trends after seeing Marxism in action on our continent.

Alongside the achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries in the spheres of science, the economy and culture, the Cuban revolution greatly accelerated the turn of the progressive national intelligentsia towards Marxism. The achievements of the socialist camp have given them convincing proof that Marxism is the only truly scientific philosophy

and that socialism releases the creative powers of man, channelling them to the building of a new society in which the intellectuals are called upon to play an outstanding role. At the same time, in the course of the struggle to achieve this aim, the intelligentsia comes into daily conflict with forces raising obstacles to the development of a people's culture. In this area, too, the intellectuals are increasingly becoming aware of the revolutionary potential of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxist ideas reach this group through tortuous avenues. Intellectuals often take a one-sided approach to Marxism-Leninism, and this may give rise to misunderstandings. But this is not a valid reason for alarm. Such falterings are natural enough when people gradually grope their way to Marxist positions, and do not prevent many of them from eventually becoming consistent Marxists. But this does not mean that we should not intervene in the process, for a one-sided approach to theory may at times contain the germ of political divisions. Nevertheless, as we see it, it is essential to distinguish between the *growing pains* of the movement and negative processes, elements of retreat and disintegration.

Needless to say, fragmentation of the revolutionary movement can be caused also by other than ideological factors. Tendencies of this kind can be engendered by the objective difficulties encountered by the liberation forces. In all cases, however, it is important for us to take a clear-cut and active stand which alone can win us the sympathy and support of the young intelligentsia, to show that we Communists do not fear fraternal discussion or assume that we are always bound to be in the right.

UNITY ABOVE ALL

The Communist parties know that any tendency towards national isolation, any split in the revolutionary forces, hinders the development of the liberation movement (and sometimes dooms it to painful defeat) and thereby plays into the hands of reaction and imperialism. We therefore wholeheartedly welcome every effort towards cementing the unity of revolutionaries in irreconcilable struggle against the common enemy.

This striving for unity was bequeathed to us by the heroes of our first war of independence when resolve to close ranks swept the continent from Mexico to Argentina. We still remember Bolivar's efforts to cement Latin America which culminated in the Panama Congress of 1826.

The Latin American Communists consider

themselves the heirs of the best revolutionary traditions of their great forerunners. Ever since its birth the Communist movement on our continent has striven for unity. Suffice it to recall the 1929 conference of the Latin American Communist parties to discuss coordinating anti-imperialist actions. Similar problems occupied the last conference of these parties held in November 1964. Besides, a number of bilateral and regional conferences have been held, such as the meetings of the Communist parties of Central America. The Communists stand for the unity of the anti-imperialist forces on a national, continental and world scale. Hence we took an active part in the preparation and proceedings of the first Asian, African and Latin American Solidarity Conference held in January 1966 in Havana. This conference played a big part in cementing the unity of these three continents waging a struggle for national liberation and gave new impetus to the popular movement for freedom and independence, for economic and social development free from imperialist influences.

The coming conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization scheduled to meet in Havana this summer promises to be another step in cementing the unity of the revolutionaries and peoples generally on our continent.

Latin American Communists, too, see the national-liberation movement as an inseparable component of the world-wide movement towards socialism. Experience shows that wherever the national revolution proceeds in fraternal harmony with the socialist camp it forges ahead from victory to victory. But where attempts are made to steer clear of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement, the liberation struggle is bound to suffer serious setbacks, on which imperialism is not slow to capitalize.

We believe that efforts aimed at ensuring unity and mutual understanding, and steady strengthening of fraternal ties between the Communist parties of Latin America are of great significance constituting an important component and an essential condition of the struggle to cement the unity of the entire camp of the revolution. Better coordination of the actions of the Communist parties and the liberation movement as a whole is a prerequisite of the victory of the revolution in Latin America, an urgent need stemming from the dictates of life, from the march of events and the experience of recent years. Moreover, this problem has been entered on the order of the day by the actions of imperialism and its lackeys in our own countries.

As we know, the imperialists have been working for years to bring about more cohesion among the reactionary regimes of our continent, and, it seems to us, not without some success. The reactionaries have been coordinating their counter-revolutionary efforts step by step, proceeding from the unification of diplomatic action and repressive bodies to military and economic integration in an inter-American system headed by Washington. It is therefore important for the Communist parties to make a thorough examination of every manifestation of unity in the reactionary camp and to step up their own efforts by drawing on the experience of the exploiting classes in finding forms and methods of joint solution of problems.

New, more complex and difficult tasks are now coming to the fore, tasks to which the Latin American Communists must offer concrete, clear-cut solutions.

As the most conscious contingent of the forces of progress, we must tackle these problems with the urgency they merit. We believe that a good way to go about this is through the convocation of conferences of the Communist parties. Such meetings and con-

ferences provide an excellent opportunity to discuss the fundamental problems of revolutionary struggle on the continent, to make a thorough analysis of these problems one by one. Such discussions would make it easier to understand the specific national feature in the context of continental unity which can be neither ignored nor overrated without impeding concentration of efforts on the decisive sectors.

We should not expect to achieve at the first conference of this kind all the things we have not been able to accomplish in fifty years. What is needed is to press forward steadfastly, engaging in serious and business-like examination of the problems, making a concrete and objective analysis of the new features which have appeared or are likely to appear in the development of our revolution. Only through joint quests of unitary solutions according with the real state of affairs can we achieve our common aim—unity and coordination of the practical activities of the Latin American Communist movement and the revolutionary, democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movement as a whole.

The USSR today

Facts and Figures *

4. SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

THE SOCIALIST reconstruction of agriculture, one of the major gains of the October Revolution, was initiated by the Land Decree, one of the first legislative acts of the first Russian proletarian government, which expropriated the big estates, the land held by the church and the crown, and turned over 1,500,000 hectares to the peasants for free use. "In this peasant country," Lenin wrote, "it was the peasantry as a whole who were the first to gain, who gained the most, and gained immediately."

The moment the Civil War ended, Lenin drew up what is now known as *Lenin's cooperative plan* for the reconstruction of the Soviet countryside, which, however, was not destined to be carried into effect until after his death.

By 1927, agriculture had regained the pre-revolution level. However, the demand for food and raw materials had increased due to the industrialization and the consequent steep growth of the urban population, while the differentiation of peasants into rich and poor became more pronounced and the kulaks gained considerable ground.

Relying for support on the poor and middle peasants, the Communist Party set its sights on integrating the small peasants in producer cooperatives and on extirpating exploitation in Soviet farming. This completed the second phase in the revolutionary reconstruction of agriculture.

The spread of the cooperative movement saw the socialist mode of production win once and for all, transforming the peasants' way of life, for the big socialist farms (collective and state) were able to use machinery and the latest farming techniques.

CROP AREAS BY CATEGORIES

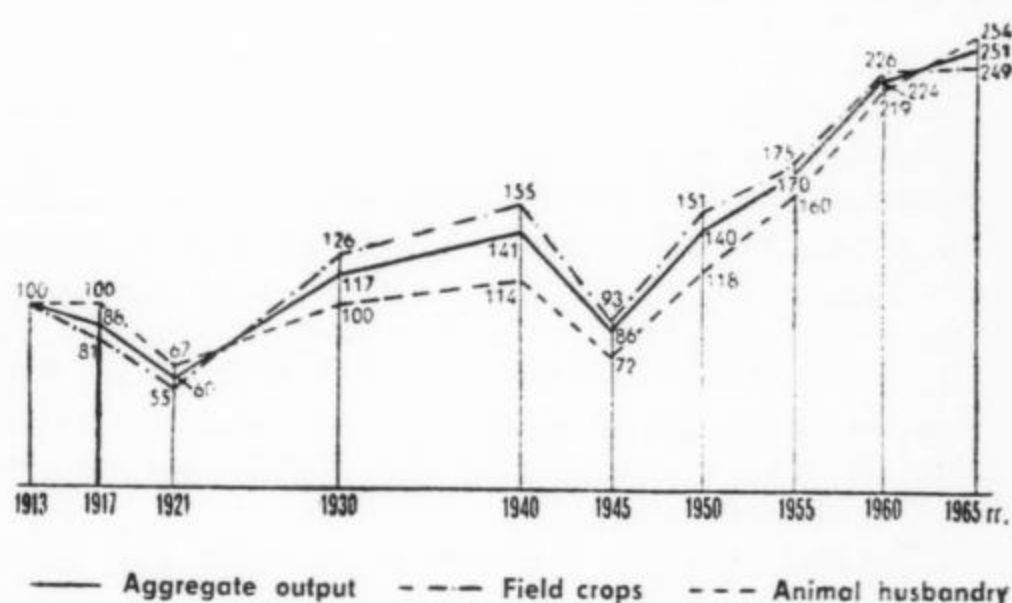
Total crop area	1928	1940	1965
(million hectares)	113.0	150.6	209.1
Distribution in percentages:			
State farms and other state-operated farms	1.5	8.8	46.6
Collective farms	1.2	78.2	50.2
Personal plots of collective farmers, workers, employees and other population groups	97.8*	13.0	3.2

*Continued from No's 3, 4, 5, 1967.

Public ownership of means of production has predominated in the country's agriculture ever since. By the end of 1965 there were 36,900 collective farms each averaging over 6,000 hectares, about 1,000 head of cattle and 38 tractors, and nearly 11,700 state farms with an average of 24,600 hectares, 2,098 head of cattle and 114 tractors.

Since the Revolution, the rate of agricultural development has been fairly rapid. The sown area increased by nearly 80 per cent (91,000,000 hectares) between 1913 and 1965, with the 36,000,000 hectares of virgin land developed in 1954-56 making the biggest single contribution to this expansion.

OUTPUT GROWTH RATES (Percentages)



The head of livestock has grown, too. By 1967, the number of cattle had grown by 70 per cent, pigs 150 per cent and sheep and goats 50 per cent against 1916.

These developments yielded a substantial increase in farm output.

In 1966, agriculture made a fresh advance: overall output was 10 per cent greater than in 1965. The grain harvest amounted to nearly 171 million tons, registering a 12 per cent increase over 1964. The cotton harvest, too, totalled a record 6,000,000 tons.

*Incl. independent peasant households and households of other population groups, which amounted to 96.3 per cent.

AVERAGE ANNUAL FARM OUTPUT

	1909- 1913	1936- 1940	1961- 1965	1961-1965 in % of 1909-1913
Aggregate, 000 million rubles (in comparable prices)	20.9	23.5	52.4	250.7
Grain, million tons	72.5	77.4	130.3	179.7
Cotton, million tons	0.68	2.5	5.0	735.3
Sugar beet (industrial), million tons	10.1	17.1	59.2	586.1
Potatoes, million tons	30.6	49.4	81.6	266.7
Meat (slaughter weight), million tons	4.8	4.0	9.3	193.8
Milk, million tons	28.8	26.5	64.7	224.7
Eggs, 000 million pcs.	11.2	9.6	28.7	256.3
Wool, thousand tons	192.0	129.0	362.0	188.5

Socialist reconstruction of the countryside went hand in hand with technical re-equipment and the emergence of a new material and technical base.

Today, the farms are equipped with a large variety of machinery. By the end of 1966, they had 1,700,000 tractors, 540,000 grain harvesters and 1,013,000 trucks.

In 1965, the mechanization index was 73 per cent for potato sowing, 60 to 97 per cent for inter-row crop cultivation, 98 per cent for grain harvesting, 96 per cent for grain cleaning, 79 per cent for hay mowing, etc. Ninety-nine per cent of the state farms and 95 per cent of the collective farms had electric power. Between 1960 and 1965 the mineral fertilizer supply in-

creased 140 per cent, amounting to more than 27,000,000 tons.

Machinery, electrification and chemicalization have raised the productivity of farm labor more than fivefold against 1913.

Despite the strides made, agriculture is still lagging behind demand. The decisions of the Plenary Meeting of the CC, CPSU in March 1965 and those of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU were turning points in farm development. In the current five-year plan period average annual output is to rise 25 per cent as compared with that of the previous five years. Production on a scale adequate to secure an abundance of farm products is one of the basic tasks facing Soviet society today.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

ON JUNE 7, 1917, the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik) took cognizance of the increasingly obvious inability of the Provisional Government to cope with the economic, social and political problems of the country. The Central Committee noted the failure of the policy pursued by the Coalition government, which was promising Russia peace while preparing for another offensive in total disregard of the rapidly approaching economic collapse.

Throughout the country discontent ran high among the workers and soldiers. The First All-Russia Congress of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies convened on June 16, attended by 1,090 delegates, of whom only 105 were Bolsheviks. The overwhelming majority consisted of Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who were intent on preserving the bloc with the bourgeoisie. Tsereteli, the Menshevik leader, maintained that no political party in Russia was able to assume power by itself. Lenin replied: "There is a party that can!" He took the floor and described the Bolshevik program, demanding the transfer of all power to the Soviets.

On June 21 the Central Committee decided to give the mounting popular discontent an outlet in an orderly peaceful demonstration, which it scheduled for June 23.

However, on June 22 the Socialist-Revolution-

aries and Mensheviks, who were in control of the Congress of Soviets, passed a resolution prohibiting the demonstration. To go against this decision meant going against the Congress, and the Bolsheviks cancelled the demonstration.

Then, on June 25 the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks changed their minds. They decided to hold a demonstration on July 1 under their own auspices in order to back up the Army offensive that was to begin that day on the Southwestern front.

On June 27, the main Bolshevik organizations throughout the country received the following telegram: "Central Committee of Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik) has decided to take part in demonstration. Our slogans are: 'Down with the tsarist Duma and State Council, revise the declaration of soldiers' and sailors' rights, repeal repressive measures against soldiers and sailors, all power to the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies'."

On July 1 (June 18, Old Style) in Petrograd 500,000 workers and soldiers ranged themselves behind the Bolshevik slogans. Demonstrations and meetings also took place in Moscow, Helsingfors, Riga, Kiev, Kharkov, Samara, Voronezh, Vladimir and elsewhere.

In an article entitled, "The Eighteenth of June," Lenin reviewed the results of the demonstration. "The demonstration," he wrote, "in a

few hours scattered to the winds, like a handful of dust, the empty talk about Bolshevik conspirators and showed with the utmost clarity that the vanguard of the working people of Russia, the industrial proletariat of the capital, and the overwhelming majority of the troops support slogans that our Party has always advocated. . . . Unity around the slogans, among which overwhelmingly predominated: 'All power to the Soviets', 'Down with the ten capitalist Ministers', 'Neither a separate peace treaty with the Germans nor secret treaties with the Anglo-French capitalists,' etc. . . . The demonstration of June 18 was a demonstration of the strength and policy of the revolutionary proletariat, which is showing the direction for the revolution and indicating the way out of the impasse."

An All-Russia conference of Bolshevik organizations at the front and behind the lines was held over June 29-July 6. It discussed a wide range of problems, in particular the two reports by Lenin—one on the current situation and another on the agrarian question. Some delegates called for immediate action against the

Provisional Government. Lenin firmly opposed this idea. In the resolution on his reports, the conference took cognizance of the need "decisively to combat anarchist tendencies and attempts at partial and harmful actions which, if premature, will benefit none but the bourgeoisie, which knows that a new revolutionary phase is inevitable and is therefore eager to thwart the development of it in the minds of the majority of the people; it is up to us to prepare the proletariat and the revolutionary army for the new phase of the revolution in the most energetic way and to explain as graphically as possible that nothing but confidence of the majority of the people, most of all the poorest peasants, in the organized proletariat and transfer of power into the hands of the workers can lead the country out of the impasse created by the prolongation of the war, the impending economic breakdown and the conciliatory policy of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks."

The masses soon learned from their own experience that the political line of the Bolshevik Party was correct.

At the approaches to the 50th anniversary

Progressives the world over are preparing for the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. Many fraternal parties have adopted special resolutions on celebrations to mark the big event. The socialist countries are preparing for the holiday with enthusiasm. Below are jubilee reports from the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hungarian People's Republic.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

THE BULGARIAN Communists and all working people are preparing to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. The guidelines for the preparations under way all over the country were set out in a special Central Committee resolution, published on February 21.

The resolution stressed that the October Revolution blazed the trail to social and national liberation and the abolition of exploitation, and that the fifty years' history of the Soviet Union has helped to pinpoint the objective laws common to all socialist revolutions.

"No other party and no other country in history," says the resolution, "have done as much for mankind, have made such sacrifices and have withstood such trials in the name of man's happiness and freedom as the CPSU, the Soviet Union and the peoples of the USSR."

Bulgarians, it continues, have good reason to underscore this. Their past, present and future are bound up with the socialist cause, with the struggles and victories of the CPSU and the Soviet people.

The Bulgarian Communists were brought up on Leninist ideas. Our Party ranged itself be-

hind the October Revolution without hesitation. It viewed the revolution as an event of world-wide impact and called on the masses to follow the example of their Russian brothers. The revolt of the soldiers in Vladai in 1918 was the first spark that spread to our country from the revolutionary conflagration in Russia.

Under the impact of the October Revolution, the Tesniak Party (Narrow Socialists), founded in 1891, embarked resolutely on the Leninist path. It was one of the founding members of the Communist International, espousing the ideological, political and organizational principles of Bolshevism and developing into a Party of the new, Leninist type.

For decades—during the anti-fascist rising in September 1923 and the subsequent struggle against Right and Left deviations, and in the class struggles against capitalism and fascism—the Bulgarian Party has always benefited from the influence of the Leninist CPSU, gaining muscle and sinew as a Marxist-Leninist working-class Party.

During the fascist nightmare, our people took strength and inspiration from the success of the Soviet Union. When Hitler Germany treacherously attacked the USSR, the Bulgarian Communists organized an armed struggle against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and the German occupation forces. The people's uprising of September 9, 1944 triumphed with the staunch assistance of the Soviet Army.

We owe it to fraternal Soviet aid that a powerful industry has risen so swiftly in Bulgaria. In 1965, our fixed assets in industry were 19 times greater than in prewar 1939, with assets in industries producing means of production increasing 45-fold. Aggregate industrial output is 21 times greater.

Agriculture was completely collectivized in the fifties. Coupled with intensive mechanization, this enabled us in 1965 to obtain approximately twice as much farm produce as the annual average through 1932-38 with a considerably smaller outlay of labor.

Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is one of the principal motive forces along Bulgaria's road to socialism and communism. In the modern environment, our friendship is entering upon a new and higher phase, highlighted by still closer economic relationships, specialization of production and greater scientific, technical and cultural cooperation.

Bulgarians will celebrate the jubilee as their own, Bulgarian holiday. A massive socialist emulation movement in tribute to the anniversary has got off to a good start. Factories, cooperatives and state farms are concentrating

on the tasks set by the Ninth Congress of the BCP, namely, accelerated economic development, substantial intensification and modernization of production, and greater productivity of labor and profitability in all sectors of the economy. Factories and production groups have pledged themselves to fulfil the 1957 plan by November 7.

Many scientific and cultural undertakings are scheduled for the anniversary. Research institutions and public organizations are planning a seminar on the October Revolution and its influence on Bulgaria. Another jubilee seminar, with the participation of scholars from abroad, will mark the centennial of volume one of *Capital*.

An exhibition devoted to the October Revolution and its impact on the revolutionary struggle in Bulgaria is to be held in Sofia. Similar exhibits are planned in other cities.

Many Bulgarians took part in the October Revolution and fought in the Civil War. An exhibit of documents is planned in tribute to their contribution.

The cultural bill of fare is highlighted by a ten-day festival of Russian opera and ballet, a Soviet Literature Week, art exhibits, a show of applied graphic art and a photo exhibition. In the course of about a month, Soviet Culture Days, including song festivals and theatrical performances, will be held all over the country. Paintings from Moscow's Tretyakov Gallery will be put on show in Sofia. In the meantime, Bulgarian Culture Days will take place in Moscow.

More than 100 publications, most of which are ready, are being dedicated to the anniversary. Public organizations are planning a series of lectures on the significance of the October Revolution, Lenin's contribution to the development of Marxism, and Soviet foreign policy. Among the other topics are Soviet progress in the building of communism, Soviet aid to Bulgaria's socialist construction and to peoples fighting for freedom, national independence and socialism.

The new Soviet-Bulgarian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid, signed in Sofia on May 12, a big event in Bulgaria's history, epitomizes the unity of our peoples. Our fraternal bonds have grown stronger as a result, and the friendship of the two peoples has taken another step forward. Brought together by common goals and interests, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are advancing shoulder to shoulder along the path blazed by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

N. GANCHOVSKY

HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has published a resolution on celebrations to mark the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Hungarians are preparing to celebrate the event together with the peoples of the Soviet Union and all progressives. For them the jubilee is a national holiday. Hungarian history of the past half-century, says the resolution, has been linked closely with the October Revolution, an event of worldwide historic significance. The fact that thousands of Hungarian internationalists fought in Russia during the revolution and that Hungary was the first country after Russia to form a Soviet Republic in 1919, is a matter of pride for our nation. It is a chapter in our history that gave people faith during the twenty-five years of fascism that followed the defeat of our revolution, and that inspires the builders of socialism in Hungary today.

Hungary is a country with a turbulent past. Its national existence, independence and freedom have been in jeopardy many times in the thousand years since Hungary came into existence, and the people suffered long periods of humiliation under foreign rule. This is why Hungarians took the revolution in Russia so close to their hearts. After their many trials, they found the earnest of national freedom and independence, of material and spiritual welfare, along the path blazed by the Russian working class, which they follow in close alliance with the Soviet and the other socialist nations.

It goes without saying that friendship with the Soviet Union holds a special place in the friendly relations Hungary maintains with other countries. This explains why the preparations for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution are witnessing a further expansion of Soviet-Hungarian friendship and of internationalism.

Recently, the Central Committee awarded banners and certificates to winners of the socialist emulation drive in tribute to the Ninth Congress of our Party. Before the drive ended, people suggested that it be prolonged as a jubilee campaign in tribute to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The Central Committee took note of this suggestion in its resolution and called on the people to join in the emulation. As a result, workers, peasants and intellectuals are responding to the great event with further successes in labor.

Press, radio and television have been focusing attention on the Soviet Union since the beginning of the year. The people are told of the heroic fighting half a century ago and of the Bolshevik struggle under Lenin's leadership for

workers' and peasants' power. Detailed reports are offered of the Soviet people's life, showing how a once backward country was transformed into a mighty socialist power by the Communist Party and the workers' and peasants' state.

Numerous functions are planned in the capital and elsewhere to mark the anniversary. Exhibitions show the development of the Soviet Union. Books are being put out. Outstanding Soviet films are being shown, and more Soviet plays and music are being performed. The May Day crowds in the streets of Budapest and other cities hailed the 50th anniversary of the Soviet state and sent fraternal greetings to the Soviet people.

Our people want their anniversary celebrations to measure up to the important event of half a century ago. The CC resolution notes that the victory of the Revolution and the emergence of the first worker-peasant state in the world represented the beginning of the end for the kingdom of oppression and exploitation. Marxist ideas, which only 75 years ago were "a spectre haunting Europe," became a living reality in 1917 over one-sixth of the earth and a force that has transformed the world. The October Revolution, says the CC resolution, was a turning point in man's history. It marked the decline of the rule of the exploiters and ushered in man's modern history.

The resolution dwells on the path travelled by the Soviet Union since the Revolution fifty years ago. First came the victorious proletarian revolution, from which emerged the powerful socialist world system of 14 countries. The map of the world has been changed completely, the old colonialism is in ruins, and many countries are fighting for political and economic independence.

Preparing for the holiday, Hungarians note with pride that the Soviet Union and the socialist world system, including Hungary, are the citadel of the international class struggle against imperialism and exploitation, of the fight for peace, progress, democracy and socialism.

Man's future, the CC resolution says, hinges on the battle now being fought between socialism and capitalism. In this battle we shall, no doubt, witness victories and setbacks. But the outcome is beyond question. The fifty years since the October Revolution have changed the face of the earth and provide the proof that socialism will win throughout the world. The fight will not be easy, and much effort will be needed. But one thing is certain: the dream of a socialist world nurtured by the finest minds in history will be realized.

Istvan KATONA

Changes in the class structure of Mongolian society

T SERENPILIN BALKHAJAV

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION in Russia created favorable conditions for the revolutionary reconstruction of Mongolian society. As they observe the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution the people of Mongolia celebrate also the achievements of their own country and the historic victories of the socialist camp and of all progressive forces.

The diligent labor of the people, the correct guidance provided by the People's Revolutionary Party, the close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, and the solidarity of the international revolutionary movement enabled the Mongolian People's Republic to accomplish the historic transition from feudalism to socialism without going through capitalism. At present our country is successfully completing the building of socialism.

In the process of social development in Mongolia the general laws of socialist revolution and of building a socialist society manifested themselves in a dialectical unity, displaying features specific to our country. Accordingly, the changes in the class structure that accompanied socio-economic transformations reflected, along with the general trends, the historical peculiarities of Mongolia. A sociological analysis of these changes made on the basis of historical materialism might be of theoretical and practical interest to a number of other countries.

REMOVAL OF CLASS ANTAGONISM AND FINAL LIQUIDATION OF THE FEUDAL CLASS

Prior to the revolution of 1921 there were two main classes in Mongolia—the feudal lords and the arats (herdsmen)—and a con-

siderable stratum of clergy (lamas). Feudal relations prevailed in the monoculture economy based on stock-farming. The arats were the sole producers of material values, the lion's share of which was appropriated by the feudal lords.

The feudal class consisted of two Estates—the nobility and the clergy, and among the arats there were three Estates—the serfs of the secular lords, the serfs of the clerical feudals, and the arats who were heavily taxed by the authorities.

The arat economy was predominantly a subsistence economy.

The contradiction between feudal lords and arats was basic and antagonistic, the source of centuries of irreconcilable class struggle.

The people's revolution of 1921 fundamentally changed class relationships in Mongolia. By overthrowing the rule of the feudal lords and making the exploited masses the real masters of the country, the revolution initiated the reconstruction of the class structure of society. The feudal lords were stripped of their privileges. Serfdom and the feudal tax system were abolished. The arats, inspired by the revolution, became the decisive transforming force of society deeply interested in making their country a democratic state.

Democratic elections were held, consolidating the political power of the arats both in the capital and in the localities. In 1924 the first Grand People's Assembly proclaimed a People's Republic and adopted the first Constitution, securing all the gains and rights won by the arats, now the politically dominant class.

The new rule became, in essence, the rule of the working people, performing the func-

tion of their revolutionary democratic dictatorship.

But the class contradictions between feudal lords and arats remained, for the economic basis of feudal exploitation had not yet been destroyed. In the early twenties the feudals still held in their possession more than 30 per cent of the country's livestock, whereas the poor arats, who constituted almost half of the population, owned only ten per cent.

The feudal lords had an ally in foreign merchant and usurers' capital. Although foreign debts were annulled and customs duties established, foreign capital remained an obstacle to economic progress. Almost all external trade and part of the home trade were concentrated in the hands of Chinese, British, American and foreign firms.

The condition of the arats could not be improved without abolishing feudal ownership, eliminating the feudals as a class and expelling foreign capital.

Although a peasant party in its social composition, the People's Revolutionary Party developed in cooperation with the world Communist movement and gradually took conditions of acute class struggle in which it relied for support on the poor and middle arats and on the revolutionary democratic state*, it carried out effective measures to abolish the feudal relations and to banish foreign capital.

In the mid-twenties a decisive drive was undertaken against the bulwarks of feudalism. The Party and the Government realized that the feudal class was not homogeneous, and that being so different methods should be applied to them. In the late twenties and early thirties the state expropriated the property of the secular feudal lords and of some of the biggest reactionary clerical feudals. Much of the confiscated livestock and other property was turned over to poor arats.

The drive against the positions of the clerical feudals involved considerable difficulties. There were several reasons for this. Lamaism as a Buddhist religion was not only an ideological but also a powerful political and economic force in Mongolia. In the more than 700 monasteries and temples almost half of the male population of the country was cloistered; these monasteries owned one-fourth of the country's livestock. Lamaism also exerted a very powerful influence on the people.

This called for a cautious policy towards it. Already in the first years of the republic religious freedom had been proclaimed, and the Church had been separated from the

State. Among the clergy differentiation policies were pursued with a view to isolating its counter-revolutionary feudal upper crust from the lower and middle sections. To weaken the top lamas economically, a heavier income tax and a tax for exemption from military service was imposed on them. Material support was extended to the lamas who broke with the church. The establishment of secular schools and medical aid stations in the monasteries was encouraged. Extensive propaganda was conducted to expose the reactionary nature of lamaism.

As a result of these measures, by the end of the nineteen thirties the clergy had disintegrated; most lamas, having abandoned the monasteries, had entered upon a life of socially useful labor. This signified the end of the feudal class.

The policy of eliminating the feudals as a class was closely connected with measures against its ally—foreign capital. They included the organization of a state trade and finance system, the state monopoly of foreign trade, consolidation of economic relations with the Soviet Union. Thus the economic dependence of foreign capital was ended and the country was freed from the numerous foreign exploiters.

The abolition of the feudal class and the ouster of foreign capital put an end for ever to the existence of an exploiting class in Mongolia. This victory of the Party and the people signified the elimination of the antagonistic contradiction in the country.

This is not to say that the feudals did not put up a desperate resistance, employing a wide variety of means ranging from slander and intrigue to counter-revolutionary armed rebellions. The history of the abolition of the feudal class is a history of struggle between two irreconcilably opposed classes.

The ending of feudalism was accompanied by considerable changes in the structure of the arat economy. The economic policy of the Party and government gradually turned the arats into free producers most of whom were drawn into the sphere of commodity-money relations and reached the level of well-to-do arats. This process was facilitated by the Party's class policy with regard to the various strata of the arats. Every support was given to farm laborers and poor arats, and the economic initiative of the arat households was encouraged. At the same time, a policy of restricting and ousting capitalist elements was pursued to prevent the spontaneous emergence of a new class of exploiters.

Thus, in the process of democratic change initiated by the Party the arats—the principal motive force of the people's revolution in the

*For more on this see Y. Tsendenbal. *Selected Articles and Speeches*, Vol. 2; Y. Tsendenbal. "The Revolutionary Party and Social Changes." WMR No. 2, 1966.

fight against the feudal class—became the dominant class not only politically but also economically.

The arats, however, were not the only class that existed during the completion of the democratic stage of the revolution. In that period (1921-1940), thanks to the economic policy of the Party and the all-round aid and cooperation of the Soviet Union, consumers' cooperatives were organized and a system of state credits, finance and trade was established; a national currency was introduced, the foundations of state-owned and cooperative industry laid, and modern means of communication and transport created. This resulted in the formation—chiefly from among the arats—of a working class, a new social force called upon to spearhead further socio-economic change along socialist lines.

The emergence of the working class in Mongolia had its specific features. Our working class came into being under a people's democratic system, on the basis of public ownership of the means of production. It never suffered from capitalist exploitation. Initially, it consisted for the most part of former farm laborers and poor arats. It enjoyed the support of the Soviet working class and drew upon its ample experience of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism. Emerging as the real master of social production and as the collective force of new, creative labor, it evolved its own working-class outlook.

The rise of a people's intelligentsia is another major achievement of the Republic. Our intelligentsia was formed primarily from working people, arats. It also comprises those who have engaged in practical revolutionary activity in the social and political institutions of the country. In the years when the Party and government experienced an acute shortage of personnel, the revolutionary process advanced many able people who later on supplemented their practical experience with theoretical grounding. The broad access to culture given to the working people, the establishment of public education and health systems, the beginnings of revolutionary literature and the arts were another important source of the new intelligentsia. It should be added that the people's intelligentsia was joined by many officials of the old regime.

Another feature of our intelligentsia is that ever since its emergence as a social group its members were with the people and with the Party.

As we see, the successful accomplishment of the democratic tasks of the revolution led to a radical change in the class structure

which favored development along the non-capitalist path.

BUILDING CAPITALISM AND THE NEW CLASS RELATIONSHIP

The revolutionary reconstruction, the gradual development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, the growing momentum of socialist construction proceeded hand in hand with the growth of the role of the working class and the consolidation of its alliance with the arats, an alliance which has enriched the content of the relations between these two classes. These were friendly relations, for, although the working class was connected with socialist property and the arats with privately-owned property, both were classes of working people with common interests.

But in order to build socialism and to advance agriculture, it was necessary to do away with a situation where different types of property existed side by side, to pool the small private livestock farms into large socialist enterprises. For this purpose a series of measures was carried out by the Party and Government between 1930 and 1960.

The positions of the working class were constantly consolidated. In 1964 factory and office workers, with their families, numbered 167,700. In 1966 the number of workers in industry was seventeen times greater than in 1940. Important structural changes also took place. With the appearance of new branches, including heavy industry, industrial workers, practically non-existent before, began to predominate in the working class. The rapid industrialization raised the concentration of workers in the large modern enterprises.

The ranks of the working class were constantly augmented with former herdsmen. Taking this into account, the Party never slackened its efforts to educate the workers in the spirit of socialism.

The social reconstruction considerably changed the spiritual life of the workers. As their ideological and political level rose they began to understand more deeply the class essence of the social processes. Their social activity and participation in developing the national economy, coupled with the active political and ideological influence of the Party, helped them to comprehend their class interests and their social and political role in the life of the country, to evolve traits of a vanguard in the struggle for socialism.

Recent years have witnessed rapid social and professional changes in the working class. The relative share of unskilled workers has

decreased sharply, while the number of skilled workers has grown 25-fold in the past ten years. At present skilled workers account for 44 per cent of the labor force.

Technological progress is changing the character of labor and the functions of the worker. Moreover, replenishments for the working class come now from the secondary and higher schools.

Hence the increasingly important role played by the working class which is expressed, specifically, in the consolidation of its alliance with the arats, in which the workers are the leading force.

As the material base of socialism expands the working class is rendering important direct and indirect aid to the rural population, helping to increase the supply of manufactured goods, farm machines and implements.

The working class, being the spokesman for the social interests of all working people, accelerates the development of the new socialist relations. Its high degree of organization and political consciousness, its close association with technological progress and centralized production serve as an example to the other strata of the population.

The working class is the force behind socialist emulation, this effective means of realizing the initiative of working people, and the movement for socialist labor in all areas of the life of the country. Almost all factory and office workers are taking part in the emulation. Between 1962 and 1966 the number of members of teams participating in the movement for socialist labor grew by 76 per cent. At the beginning of the year there were more than 2,100 socialist labor teams in the country and 2,500 teams were emulating to qualify for this title.

The transformation of the arats with their private-property outlook into a socialist class of cooperative cattle breeders is one of the most characteristic features of the radical change in the class structure of Mongolian society. The achievements of the working class and its leading role constituted the basis for this process.

The socialization of agriculture, the merging of hundreds of thousands of small private households into large cooperatives was the culmination of a long process. The work done by the Party to develop the productive forces, its consistent policy of promoting the cooperative movement and encouraging the arats' efforts to increase the head of cattle, to restrict and squeeze out the exploiters, the all-round support given by the state to the agricultural associations laid the groundwork for the victory of socialism in the countryside. In the late nineteen-fifties the voluntary

large-scale entry of herdsmen into cooperatives completed the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Cooperatives were formed also by artisans and shopkeepers.

Thus socialist ownership came into its own throughout the country. Lenin's idea that for peasants and artisans cooperation is the most accessible road to socialism proved correct also in our conditions.

The cooperative system changed the class nature of the arats and artisans.

Now, instead of the hundreds of thousands of small proprietors, we have an entirely new, qualitatively different class free from the shackles of private property and exploitation, a class committed to social production and social interests, a class actively building socialism in the country.

The cooperative stock raisers are shedding their old private-proprietor outlook and acquiring the traits of members of the new society interested in collective labor, in building up the commonly-owned property and raising their living and cultural standards.

Although industrial workers and the agricultural cooperators differ in the methods of sharing in the social wealth, the bulk of the income of the latter comes from participation in collective labor. This income is steadily growing. In 1965 every arat cooperator received for his work on the farm almost three times as much as in 1960.

The cooperative system has considerably raised the standard of living in the countryside. Each agricultural association has its own primary or secondary school, medical facilities, hotel, kindergarten, club, film projectors, electric power plant, bakery, and so on. Most arats now regard their cooperatives as a school of labor and culture, a guarantee of growing well-being.

The rise of the intelligentsia from the ranks of factory workers and stock farmers has changed its composition, the social trend of its activity and has accelerated its numerical growth. This has been made possible by the rapid development of the secondary and higher education system in the past twenty-five years.

In the early forties our intelligentsia consisted primarily of small numbers of school-teachers, medical personnel and civic officials. Since then they have been joined by thousands of engineers, architects, economists, agricultural experts, veterinary surgeons, doctors, geologists, physicists, chemists, writers, journalists and art workers. In 1940-65 the number of doctors grew 14-fold (from 108 to 1,511), and that of junior medical personnel, almost seven-fold. We now have about 100 students per 10,000 of the population. In

1961-66 agriculture alone received 1,200 specialists with a higher education and about 2,000 with a secondary education. These are impressive figures, considering the size of our population.

As a consequence of the growth of the working class and the intelligentsia and the socialization of agriculture, the social composition of the population has changed as follows (in percentage to total population according to the 1963 census):

	1956	1963
Factory and office workers (including the intelligentsia and members of their families)	25.9	46.52
Arat cooperators and artisans and members of their families	11.3	53.30
Non-cooperated arats and artisans and members of their families	62.8	0.18

The above-said shows that we are making good progress in completing the building of socialism.

FRIENDLY CLASSES AND THEIR PERSPECTIVES

The Mongolian People's Republic is a socialist state based on the alliance of the working class with the arat cooperators and working intelligentsia. Today our society consists entirely of people who work in a single system of socialist society. The growing unity of the friendly classes and the intelligentsia on the basis of identical aims and interests is the chief factor in completing socialist construction.

The abolition of the feudal class, the removal of the causes of exploitation of man by man, the rise of the working class and the intelligentsia have resulted in an entirely new society free from class antagonisms and developing through the joint effort and comradely cooperation and mutual aid of new, socialist classes and intelligentsia. The community of the two forms of socialist ownership—public and cooperative—has brought workers and arats closer and has cemented their alliance.

There are of course distinctions between the working class and the arats, but these are not the same as the fundamental differences that existed before the victory of socialist production relations. There are no classes today based on different economic formations. The distinctions exist within the single framework of socialism.

The social nature of these distinctions be-

comes clear from an analysis of the principal characteristics of the classes. As far as their relationship to the means of production is concerned, these classes work in state-owned and cooperative enterprises which in their social essence are similar in type. We cannot say that the arats have shed all the traits historically inherent in the peasantry. As regards the organization of social labor, the role of the cooperative members is, on the whole, narrower than that of the industrial workers, due primarily to the nature of cooperative property. Furthermore, the workers receive wages paid out of the national consumption fund, whereas the cooperative members share in the income of their cooperative in cash and in kind.

These distinctions reflect certain contradictions between the working class and the arat cooperators.

The population engaged in socially useful labor is divided as follows: 47 per cent work in agricultural cooperatives and 53 per cent in state-owned and cooperative industrial enterprises and organizations.

Class distinctions, primarily of an economic nature, are inseparable from the differences between the town and the countryside, between mental and manual labor.

As regards the political life of our society, the new class structure serves as the social basis for socialist democracy. The country is governed by the two friendly classes and the people's intelligentsia, which participate on an equal footing in deciding economic, political and cultural matters.

In the current Grand National Assembly industrial workers make up 21.6 per cent of the deputies, cooperative members 28.6 per cent and representatives of the intelligentsia and office employees 49.8 per cent. In the local councils, the proportions are 17.5, 42.2 and 40.3 per cent, respectively.

The social base of the People's Revolutionary Party is broadening out. The Party consists of the politically most alert people, the finest sons and daughters of Mongolia. Workers make up 29.6 per cent of the membership, cooperative members 21.5 per cent and office employees and intellectuals 48.9 per cent. The initiative of the masses, irrespective of the class distinctions, is growing. People take an active part in discussing problems of nationwide importance, plans for economic and cultural development, draft laws, etc.

In the spiritual life of society, the new class structure is reflected in the fact that socialist ideology, the ideology of the working class, has become the ideology of the entire people. Culture is now the common possession of all.

And the spiritual values of our society are enriched by the development of the national and international cultural heritage.

We can say, then, that the social unity of our people is the basis for the growth and improvement of socialist social relations. In the program adopted by the 15th Congress of our Party last year we read: "The Party regards it as its prime duty constantly to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the arat cooperators, the close cooperation of workers by hand and brain, in order to prepare, through all-round expansion of the productive forces and improvement in the relations of production conditions for the gradual elimination of the distinctions between town and countryside, between mental and manual labor."

An important role in implementing these

tasks will be played by development of the state sector which is the highest form of socialist ownership, along with steady growth of the cooperative sector in agriculture.

Our grand ultimate aim is to complete the building of socialism and the building of a classless communist society. Therefore the Party and the entire people are working for the gradual elimination of the class distinctions between workers and arat cooperators, the socio-economic and cultural differences between town and countryside, the distinctions between the two classes and the intelligentsia, the distinctions between mental and manual labor, as well as some intra-class distinctions — a process which will lead to complete social homogeneity. The Party and the people are firmly convinced that they will realize this ultimate aim.

The family under socialism

(The new family code in the GDR)

HILDA BENJAMIN

I.

THE PROGRAM of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, adopted by the Sixth Congress in 1963, states that "socialist law . . . is based on the objective laws of social development and is aimed at giving effect to these laws." The victory of socialist production relations and the big social changes following therefrom, and from the full-scale building of socialism, are laying the groundwork for new legislation in the most diverse spheres. These revolutionary transformations are also changing the outlook of people, their attitude to work and to the family.

Below we shall examine some of these changes, and how they are reflected in the new Family Code which went into effect a little over a year ago. Elaborated by a drafting committee appointed by the Council of Ministers, the Code was nearly two years in

the making. To a certain extent this reflected the development of the family and family rights in the GDR after the liberation from fascism.

When the German people turned to the job of building the new life it was the women who were often in the forefront although this was not easy for them, owing to the shortage of institutions designed to ease the conditions of the working woman.

However, as the socialist system took shape, particularly after the formation of the GDR in 1949, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party and with the active participation of the women themselves, the situation gradually changed. Full equality for women in all spheres is essential, for their active participation is indispensable for the development of socialist society; only such participation can help lay the foundations of the new, socialist family code. The first step in this direction

was the introduction in 1946 of the principle of equal pay for equal work. In 1949 the GDR Constitution repealed all laws that denied women equal rights. However, more than juridical equality, which is recognized also under bourgeois democracy, was needed to secure fundamental changes in the relations between the sexes.

We shall therefore show, first of all, the headway made in drawing women into production, into economic and government management, on the one hand, and in lightening the burden of household work, on the other, in the two decades preceding the adoption of the Family Code.

In 1965 women accounted for 46.7 per cent (the highest ever reached) of the total number of gainfully employed. This was all the more significant since the percentage of women in the total adult population had dropped to 51.7 per cent in 1965, i.e., the normal level. Thus, 63.6 per cent of all able-bodied women were employed, as against only 52.2 per cent in 1955.

However, as long as men still have, on the whole, higher skills than women the latter's employment in production does not as yet spell economic equality. In the GDR the gradual introduction of a socialist system of education, legalized in February 1965, has for many years now ensured all citizens, irrespective of sex and social origin, equal educational opportunities. True, the realization of these opportunities is still hampered, though not so strongly as before, by the old concepts regarding the woman's place in the family. This notwithstanding, in 1965, 44.8 per cent of the total number of apprentices in industry, 48 per cent of all pupils in the 12th classes of secondary schools, and 30 per cent of the total number of pupils in vocational schools, were women. The number of women students in universities and colleges rose from 6,510 in 1950 to 28,134 in 1965, i.e., by nearly four-and-a-half times. In addition, women are given every facility for vocational training. However, by and large, women were still employed on less skilled jobs than men. This state of affairs is, naturally, gradually being remedied. Although the proportion of women in the total number of persons who took vocational examinations in 1964-65 was 43.1 per cent, it was only 31.1 per cent of the total number of graduates with a higher or specialized secondary education that were employed in the national economy.

Parallel with their growing participation in production women are beginning to play an ever bigger role in the socio-political life of the republic. Thus, in 1965 they constituted approximately 45 per cent of the trade union

membership (in 1952 it was 37 per cent), and 43.7 per cent of all elected trade union officials in the enterprises. At present 26.4 per cent of the deputies to the People's Chamber, 31 per cent to the municipalities and 25.2 per cent in the representative bodies of the communes are women. Three ministerial posts in the GDR government are held by women.

This progress has been made possible by the extensive system of mother and child care, the material support given large families and the respective measures to lighten the burden of domestic work. Under this system, which came into force with the Law on the Protection of Mother and Child and Women's Rights, all expectant and nursing mothers and children up to the age of three receive free medical care. The paid maternity leave for a working woman is 14 weeks, and in some cases up to 16 weeks. When she returns to work she is given time off to feed the baby. In 1965, some 96.7 per cent of all expectant mothers used the free services of the state-run maternity homes. For every 1,000 children of working mothers there were 148.7 places in creches (for children up to three), 550 places in kindergartens (for children from three up to pre-school age), and 206 places in after-school classes. In addition, a network of dining rooms offering high quality and cheap meals was opened in factories and schools, and measures were taken to broaden the network of general services, to facilitate shopping and the purchase of household equipment.

Thus, much has been accomplished on the way to achieving full equality for women. And although much still remains to be done it can be said that by and large the economic factors that sometimes compelled women to marry or to continue a union that had become senseless, have been done away with. Now they can choose, as Engels put it, "by mutual inclination." This, naturally, greatly influences the relations in married life and in the family. Of course, we still have to contend with some deep-rooted habits as a result of which men do not always carry out their obligations towards the family, obligations dictated by the principle of equality.

Thanks to the fact that marriage no longer rests on economic dependence but on human relations, and thanks also to the socialist system of education, the family is coming to play an increasingly important role in bringing up the younger generation as conscious builders of the new socialist society. This is the view not only of sociologists and, more particularly, of teachers. It is the consensus of all our citizens. That the interests of the individual and society coincide in the socialist state is understandable. Parents and the state are equal-

ly interested in children being brought up to be healthy, happy, industrious and educated people.

II.

The new Family Code reflects the multi-form evolution of the family in the GDR. It corresponds to the present level of our social relationships and, consequently, differs not only from the old German Civil Code, which is to be expected, but also from our own earlier drafts.

Proceeding from the fact that family relations of a new type have taken shape in the GDR in the course of socialist development, the Preamble to the Code states: "Free creative labor, comradely relations between people based on it, the equality of women in all spheres of human life, and educational opportunities for all citizens are requisite for strengthening the marriage bond, for making it happy and lasting."

The provisions of the Code were conditioned by a number of factors: the moral and political unity of our people, socialist ethics and the implementation of the principle of equality for women.

The new Code does not focus on legal conflicts in the family, such as dissolution of the marriage, property disputes, deprivation of parental and educational rights. Proceeding from the premise that the family is stable, it merely indicates what is expected of it. To this end, it includes moral standards, pointing out that these standards, which have become law, can take root only through persuasion and least of all through coercion. It replaces the demand for equality of women, a correct one in its time, with the demand for equality of men and women.

The drafting committee drew on the earlier experience accumulated in this sphere, and on the scientific studies made of marriage and the family, the results of which were generalized, in particular, by the Academy of Science. A series of studies was also made with a view to substantiating the scientific basis of the Code, particularly the section dealing with the acquisition of property in working-class and intellectual families, and with divorce and the status of divorcees.

Already in 1955 the question of alimony had been settled in the event of divorce; the law stipulated that with the dissolution of marriage mutual claims to maintenance became invalid. However, it contained the proviso that if one of the divorced couple was not fit to work and unable to provide for himself or herself after divorce, alimony could be claimed for a period of up to two years,

and in the event of prolonged invalidity, indefinitely. When the new Code was elaborated it was necessary to ascertain whether this way of regulating alimony claims did not lead to a certain callousness, particularly in respect to elderly women. Subsequent investigations showed that this was not the case, that only in very few cases did divorced women claim alimony for an indefinite period; that the bulk of divorced women had found their place in life, that they were working and were financially as well off as before their divorce.

A study was also made of the circumstances and causes of divorce, on the basis of the debate in the press, a debate sparked off by a rise in the divorce rate, particularly among young couples.

A sociological study showed a high marriage rate in our republic. According to an international statistical review for 1963, for the number of marriages per 1,000 of the population (8.7) the GDR ranks third after the Soviet Union and Rumania, and is ahead of the USA, Greece, Hungary, Italy and Denmark. The average marriage age for men dropped from 24.6 in 1955 to 24.1 in 1964, for women from 23.2 to 22.9. The age difference between husband and wife in the new families has decreased from 3.2 to 2.5 on the average. As far as the size of families is concerned, most have one or two children. The average annual income of families is rising steadily. The study also showed that parents and children alike are anxious to acquire skills and to improve them. It was also established that where the family relations were unsettled the children usually made poor progress in school; that the reverse was the case where both parents worked.

The number of divorces has steadily declined since 1950 (the highest level reached). It is now approximately 15 per 10,000 inhabitants as against 23 in the United States and 8.8 in West Germany. The pre-war divorce figure in the areas that are now the FRG, where the population is predominantly Catholic, was usually half the figure in the areas that are now part of the GDR.

A detailed comparative study was, of course, also made of the family codes of the other socialist countries and of West Germany.

III.

The drafting committee included men and women, lawyers, teachers, doctors, economists and other scholars. After the draft had been approved by the Council of Ministers, it was submitted in April 1965 for public discussion, organized by the National Front. Close attention was paid to preventing the

discussion becoming a purely "female debate." A special group, which included many lawyers, was set up under the Ministry of Justice, to poll public opinion. In order fully to take into account and evaluate the diversity of views expressed by different sections of the population, meetings were arranged with workers in the bigger enterprises, with members of socialist work teams and with intellectuals. These meetings showed that there was no great difference in viewpoints.

In all, 33,973 such meetings were held with 752,671 people participating. Actually a much larger number participated, for the draft was also discussed in the branches of the Democratic Women's Union, by the teachers of nearly every school in the republic, and also by the public in residential areas. Special attention was paid to proposals concerning family matters. A total of 23,737 proposals were submitted, as a result of which some 230 amendments were introduced into the draft.

The discussion showed that the principal provisions in the Code, and particularly those relating to moral standards and family upbringing, met with practically unanimous approval. Many young couples declared that they were building their family life along the lines of the Code. Its humanism was recognized also by Church circles.

There was a lively exchange of views on the provision that the marriage age should be fixed at 18, the general civic majority in the GDR. The provision that the bride and groom could retain their pre-marital surnames met with considerable objection. The demand that the property rights of women be protected was particularly stressed.

Another question discussed was whether to restore the old practice of the court ruling which is the guilty party in a divorce suit, which had been annulled by a decision of the Council of Ministers in November 1955. Lastly, there was serious objection to the way the draft formulated the question of visiting rights.

IV.

A feature of the new Family Code is its brevity. Unlike the Fourth Book of the old German Civil Code which contained 628 paragraphs the new Code consists of 110 paragraphs. It is prefaced with a Preamble which begins with the words. "The family is the smallest cell of society. It is based on life-long marriage and particularly on the intimate bonds of feeling between man and woman, on mutual love, respect and trust between all members of the family."

The Preamble then stresses the relations

between the family and society and focuses "the attention of citizens, socialist collectives and public organizations on the personal and social importance of marriage and the family, and on the duty of each individual, and of society as a whole, to protect the family and promote its development." The first paragraphs outline the underlying principles of some of the propositions contained in the speech made by Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council, on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the GDR: "Now that the new economic system of planning and management has been elaborated . . . the legal foundations of the German people's state are being laid in the form of a long-range plan covering the period up to 1970, and also in the form of a new system of socialist education, a new Criminal Code, a new Family Code and a new Civil Code."

From beginning to end, the Code reflects the idea that the family has the support of the state and society, that socialist conditions release the family from all abnormalities and ensure its all-round development. It proceeds from the principle that both husband and wife work, bring up their children and together build a happy family life. This principle is formulated as follows: "A marriage between man and woman forms a lifetime union, based on mutual love, respect and fidelity, on mutual understanding, trust and help. Marriage creates a family based on joint living and companionship, promotes the development of parents and children alike to the level of all-round educated persons."

It might seem unusual that the Code should speak of love. But we believe that if it is to reflect real life it is only natural that it should call by its proper name this deepest of sentiments that constitutes the bedrock of the relations between husband and wife.

One of the criticisms made against the Code in West Germany is that it allegedly compels women to work, and that this is bound to prejudice family relations. The provision dealing with the material and cultural requirements of the family disproves this criticism: "If one of the couple has no income or means of his or her own, he or she must make his or her contribution by helping to keep house and bring up the children. If one of the couple is not in a position to contribute his or her share to the family budget, all expenses must be covered by the other partner." Church circles highly evaluated this provision.

The family is built on the community idea, which determines the relations between husband and wife and also between the parents and their children. This idea is reflected in different provisions as, for example:

—the family must bear a common name;
—house-keeping must be done together;
—all matters relating to the family must be decided by mutual consent;

—both husband and wife must help to bring up and take care of the children;

—the parents and their children must jointly earn the means for satisfying the material and cultural requirements of the family;

—all property acquired by one or both during their marriage on their jobs or other earnings, the right to this property and also the family's savings, belong to both.

The provision that *both* husband and wife have to make their contribution to running the house and bringing up the children, expresses the equality of men and women and the need to rectify the incorrect correlation still existing between the free time of the woman and mother and that of the man and father. The provision that children have to make their material contribution to the family budget in accordance with their proficiency and income is aimed not so much at improving the economic position of the family as at stressing the moral factor, the idea of family participation.

This very broad and not always fully attainable participation in family life is, naturally, conditioned by individual inclinations. If either husband or wife has not worked before, decides to acquire a profession, or to improve proficiency, or to engage in social work, the other should give comradely support and assist his or her partner. Further, it was the consensus at the discussion that neither of the partners should retain their pre-marital surname, that the surname of either the husband or the wife should be the common name. However, there is the proviso that the partner whose surname did not become the common surname may attach his or her pre-marital surname to the family name.

Relations between parents and children are governed by the parents' right to give them an upbringing. This expresses the humane idea of the Code: "The upbringing of children is an important civic duty of parents, fulfillment of which gains them the recognition and respect of the state and society.

"The purpose of upbringing is to raise spiritually, morally and physically sound people who consciously participate in the development of society. By doing their duty, by making their behavior an example and acting in agreement, parents bring up their children in the spirit of a socialist attitude to learning and to labor, in the spirit of respect for working people, of observance of the rules of socialist human relations, solidarity, socialist patriotism and internationalism."

For all the importance of bringing up children in nurseries and kindergartens, in the school and other educational institutions, a large share of the responsibility devolves on the family. Agreement among all the people involved is highly important. It goes without saying that both parents exercise their right to their children's upbringing jointly, that all their decisions are made jointly, unless for some reason or other one of the parents is deprived of this right.

The Code rules out the concept of "child out of wedlock." The provision in the section "Parents and Children" which opens with the words, "If at the birth of a child its parents are not married . . .," consummates in effect, the process the beginnings of which go back to the following provision of the Constitution: "Birth out of wedlock does not entail any loss whatsoever either to the child or to its parents. All laws and provisions contradicting this are repealed."

Discrimination against children born out of wedlock has been done away with. But this does not mean that marriage has lost its significance. The Code does not provide for the formal application of provisions concerning children brought up in a normal family to children of unmarried parents. Their legal relations are regulated in accordance with the realities of life, just as are those of children whose parents have been divorced.

One of the favorite arguments, especially in West Germany, made against the Family Code, is that it allegedly allows the state to interfere in the intimate sphere of marriage and family. It is quite true that the Code states definitely that "the upbringing of children is the most important task of parents. At the same time, the upbringing of children is the task and duty of society as a whole." The above provision also expresses the recognition by the state and society of the obligations of parents. However, while stressing the responsibility of the state and society for the welfare of the family, the Code deliberately rules out all administrative interference. It allows the married couple to form their property relations at their own discretion and does not bind them to any obligatory form. It does not prescribe any common approach in respect to property. It proceeds from the concept that in the event of differences between parents concerning the upbringing of their children they will ultimately arrive at the right solution without juridical intervention. As we see, state bodies and society do not interfere in the affairs of the family; their purpose is to facilitate happy marital relations and to help parents bring up their children without family conflicts. The Code, therefore,

makes it incumbent on state bodies to maintain in all districts consultation centers on questions of marriage and family to which anybody can turn for advice.

The Code recommends parents to avail themselves of the assistance of pre-school institutions, public health bodies, welfare organizations, schools and parents' councils, state and public organizations with complete trust in the event of difficulties arising in the education of their children.

The Code recommends parents to broaden the knowledge needed in bringing up children and caring for them, to make the most of all the facilities furnished by the state and society.

Divorce is a matter that is often raised, and we must note that the interest in it is much greater abroad than it is in the GDR. It is often asked whether divorce will be made more difficult by the new Code. We are asked whether we support the principle of divorce, or whether we object to it. The provision which says that marriage is a "life-time union" has already been quoted earlier. This is an expression of the moral appeal to married couples to respect each other and uphold marital fidelity. However, it is not a dogma implying that the marriage cannot be dissolved.

The Code makes provisions for divorce in the event of a court of law finding serious reasons for decreeing the marriage null and void. It is up to the court to investigate whether divorce will prejudice the interests of the children and whether the consequences will be too painful for either husband or wife. There are no formal reasons for divorce, and no formal provision on the strength of which the blame for the divorce may be placed on one of the partners. Between these two poles—the moral appeal that marriage is entered into for the rest of one's life, on the one hand, and the dissolution of a marriage that has lost all meaning, on the other—there are many other provisions designed to promote the stability of marital relations. There is the provision that a responsible attitude to marriage and the family should be cultivated in children. Among other things, this provides for an engagement period during which both parties have the opportunity to make up their minds whether they are suited to each other. The minimum marriage age has not been changed since 1955. As noted earlier it is still 18 years. But we consider proper preparation for marriage a more crucial criterion than the formal age limit. Last, but not least, the very procedure of divorce is designed to discourage divorce: a fixed period is provided

for to give time for possible reconciliation. The point at issue, as we see, is not the formal side of the matter—to dissolve or not to dissolve marriage. The all-important thing is to make provisions preventing people from entering into hasty marriages, to make marriages lasting and happy.

V.

As we have said, the Family Code is, we think, in keeping with the present level of our development and with the foreseeable trends. This does not mean, however, that all the possible tendencies in the further development of marriage and the family have been taken into account. Painstaking research still lies ahead in this sphere in order to reflect the new developments legislatively. A number of problems still need to be examined. True, we have looked into the methods of a number of marriage and family advice bureaus. Recommendations have been worked out on the strength of available experience for such bureaus to be opened everywhere. The future will show how they will function, particularly, how the population will react to them. So far, no all-embracing research has been launched to study the family problem—the dynamics of family relations, the matter of female employment and, especially, the inter-relation of woman's professional standing and the family. This will have to be started on the basis of the Family Code. A precise method will have to be worked out to go into the causes of divorce. It is particularly important for us to have exact data on the ratio of the number of people entering into marriage and the total population, and about the average marriage age.

We are also interested in how relations are regulated between the child in a divorced family and the parent not given custody of the child. This is important from the human angle. On the strength of the public discussion and despite the original draft, the Code stipulates that the parent not given custody of the child retains the right to associate with it. However, the Code does not establish the time which the child must spend with the parent deprived of custody. The human terms in the interest of the child must be settled by the divorced parents.

Judges and assessors are obliged to deepen their knowledge in the sphere of marriage and family. Not only must they know the law, they must also be conversant with matters pertaining to psychology, pedagogy and sex.

It also appears necessary to consider enlisting the aid of the public in studying the

matter, and to look into the role that it can play in the harmonious development and consolidation of the family.

The Code has ushered in a new stage in pertinent public and legal work. This is bound

up closely with moulding the man of socialist society, with the full-scale building of socialism in the GDR. Moreover, we feel that it will also influence certain aspects of development in West Germany.

25th anniversary of the Polish Workers' Party

THE FOUNDING 25 years ago of the Polish Workers' Party, predecessor of the Polish United Workers' Party, was marked recently by a nationwide press, radio, and television campaign elucidating its role in modern Polish history.

The anniversary built a bridge between the nation's heroic past and the constructive labor of the people today. Veteran revolutionaries and Party functionaries related the story of the Workers' Party to young people at meetings, seminars and lectures.

The basic aspects of its political and ideological record were examined in articles by Zenon Kliszko and Ignacy Loga-Sowinski.*

It fell to the lot of the Workers' Party to carry out the historical mission of Poland's working class. The country's liberation from the Hitler enslavement, the founding of an independent peoples' state and the social reconstruction that followed were accomplished under its leadership; it also initiated the building of socialism.

The PWP, a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, was heir to the finest traditions of its glorious antecedents — the Great Proletariat Party, the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, the Left Socialist Party, and the Communist Party (CPP) which, without warrant or justification, was dissolved in 1938. Starting from where its predecessors had left off and imbibing its strength from the battle-tempered Communist Party, the Workers' Party was, nevertheless, a new party, which set about solving issues of the day in a new way.

Better than any of its predecessors it succeeded in its program and in its practice in blending the national and social tasks of the Polish people. It did not fall back on Marxist-Leninist teaching for ready-made prescriptions. In the specific conditions of the Second World War, the Marxist method enabled it to grasp the state of the nation and of war-ravaged Europe, and to define the tasks facing the

working class and the people. First and foremost, it succeeded in compounding the national and revolutionary social objectives, the struggle for national and social emancipation, patriotism and internationalism.

The decision to found the new Party was made by the Polish Communists at a critical time on the eastern front when many believed that nothing could stem the Nazi flood-tide surging towards the Urals.

The discussions among Polish Communists in the USSR in 1939-41 and, above all, those of the burgeoning Left resistance groups in occupied Poland, coupled with the gradually accumulating practical experience, paved the way for reconstituting and, in the politico-ideological sense, renovating the Polish Marxist-Leninist working-class party.

Numerous anti-fascist underground organizations sprang up in occupied Poland during 1940 and 1941. The Communists were the moving spirit in these groups, but their membership included Left socialists and peasant radicals, and it was essential in the objective situation to unite the anti-fascist groups round an ideologically sound Marxist-Leninist party with a centralized leadership, able to chart the plan of battle for an independent people's Poland.

And the new Polish Workers' Party, founded in January 1942 along the general theoretical and organizational lines drafted by the Polish Communists, was destined to perform this mission.

Its first declaration called for the broadest possible national front. "The Workers' Party," the declaration said, "will go along with all those fighting against the Hitler invader, and will wage relentless war against traitors, against all the loathsome Hitler agents, against all who are dividing the national front." The national front was open to all except collaborators and agents of the occupation authorities. This broad concept was what the nation needed in the fight for survival and freedom. It epitomized a new ideological approach and was distinguished, as was the entire concept of the PWP, by initiative and flexibility.

* See Zenon Kliszko, *The 25th Anniversary of the Polish Workers' Party*, *Z. Pola Walki*, No. 4 (36), 1966; Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, *The Party in the Van of the People's Struggle for Freedom and Socialism*, *Nowe Drogi*, No. 1 (212), 1967.

The same declaration noted that "a national front without traitors and defeatists will not emerge, let alone triumph, until the united and close-knit working class stands in its van." Working-class unity, it went on, had to be forged by a militant workers' party championing the interests of the people and bent on liberating the nation from the capitalist yoke—a party, in other words, closely linked with the people and cherishing the interests of the nation.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee, headed successively by Marcelli Nowotko, Pawel Finder and Wladyslaw Gomulka (November 1943 to 1948), the PWP grew rapidly. Its network of branches, their work and influence, brought to fruition the program of active national-liberation struggle.

The existing underground Communist unions and groups formed the nucleus of the basic committees of the new Party. There were seven territorial committees and 21 regional ones in 1942-44. In June 1942, the Party had 4,000 members, and double that number a year later. By July 1944 the membership had climbed to 20,000.

The Hitler terror and the armed struggle exacted a heavy toll. Some 5,000 members fell victim to arrests and wholesale executions, or gave their lives in action against the enemy.

A new concept of underground warfare was worked out. The main objective was to build a massive resistance movement, to gain the support of all sections of the people, to impart a radical democratic orientation to the movement, and to tie it up with the liberation movements in other occupied countries.

For this the Party needed a body that would coordinate the spontaneous acts of resistance and raise the armed struggle to the highest level. This body was the Gwardia Ludowa. This was neither the first nor the sole military organization in Poland at the time, and it was not the first to mount armed attacks against the enemy. But it was the first and the only Polish organization that carried on a regular country-wide partisan war.

By December 1942, the Gwardia Ludowa had 27 partisan detachments. By the end of 1943 their number had increased to 80. Soon, they were integrated in partisan battalions. They attacked and destroyed enemy munition trains, railway stations and bridges, raided offices of the occupation authorities, and postal installations, cut telegraph lines, attacked isolated military units and fought off punitive SS troops and the police.

Reactionaries, who looked for leadership to the emigre government in London, scorned the PWP's idea of armed struggle. They dreaded the possible effect of a people in arms and preached a passive wait-and-see attitude until their slogan was utterly disgraced and replaced by a call for "restricted struggle."

The PWP looked to the Soviet Union not only as to the major military power strong enough to break the back of Hitler Germany. It was also aware of the impact which the fight put

up by the socialist state against fascist Germany would have on the national and social destiny of the Poles and of the other peoples overrun by the enemy.

The reactionaries rejected the PWP view that the Soviet Union was Poland's natural and most dependable ally in the liberation struggle. They nursed the "theory of two enemies," even though, up to a time, the emigre government maintained diplomatic relations with the USSR.

Intent on building up a broad national front, the PWP was willing at first to come to terms with the "Londoners." But the Party rejected the emigre government's right to act in the name of Poland after it endeavored to align the PWP with its anti-Soviet and anti-democratic program, and after its reckless policy led to a rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in April 1943, jeopardizing the interests of the Polish people.

"We demand a government established by the will of the working people," a PWP declaration said, "a government consisting of workers, peasants and intellectuals." The Party acted on the belief that the consistently democratic forces, headed by the working class, should assume full responsibility for the country's future, and set out to forge a *democratic* national front with the peasant and socialist movements or, at least, with their left wing. This approach was put down in the PWP program Declaration (November 1943), drafted essentially by Wladyslaw Gomulka.

The Declaration said that social reconstruction in the future free Poland should in the very first stage provide for two basic steps—agrarian and reform and nationalization of industry. The democratic blueprint envisaged not just formal powers but real powers for the people. It projected peaceful transition to socialism in a country governed by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, supported by broad sections of the people.

The consistently democratic political structure harmonized with the Party's concept of a People's Poland, of its frontiers and its foreign policy.

The Party called for close relations with the Soviet Union, which it described as the "most important and crucial factor in buttressing Poland's defense capacity, economic potential and overall position in Europe."

Polish Communists in the USSR, the nucleus of the Union of Polish Patriots organized in the spring of 1943, considered their work in exile as part of the liberation struggle fought by the people under the leadership of the Party. On their initiative and with the support of the Soviet government the 1st Kosciuszko Division, which later grew into the 1st Polish Army, was formed in USSR territory and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army all the way to Berlin.

The Union of Patriots was, distinctly, one of the forms of the anti-fascist national front promoted by the Party in occupied Poland.

The persevering efforts of the Party leader-

ship to build up the broadest possible people's democratic front, its negotiations with the Left socialists and the radicals in the Peasant Party, culminated on New Year's Eve 1944 in the establishment of the Krajowa Rada Narodowa, a democratic national underground organization, the embryo of the people's state.

The Gwardia Ludowa formed the nucleus of the Armia Ludowa, which absorbed all the other democratic military organizations, thus translating the national front slogan into practice.

The Krajowa Rada Narodowa assumed supreme command over the Polish Army in the USSR, incorporating the two democratic military organizations — the 60,000-strong Armia Ludowa and the 100,000-strong Polish force in the USSR—into a newly-organized Polish Army.

The Armia Ludowa, enriched by the experience of partisan warfare accumulated by the Gwardia Ludowa, multiplied the organizational and military achievements of its predecessor. In less than a year, it carried out something like 900 operations.

The birth of People's Poland was an important signpost in the worldwide process of liberation from capitalism. The fact that the decisive blow against the Hitler war machine was delivered by the socialist Soviet Union and that the Soviet Armed Forces operated jointly with the Polish Army in liberating Polish territory, cutting short the designs of foreign and domestic reaction, greatly stimulated the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces of Poland.

Poland owes her revival as a genuinely democratic state solely to the fact that a democratic camp, ranged behind the working class and its revolutionary party, was formed in the grim underground struggle against the fascist invader.

The political and social concept of the PWP harmonized with the true interests of the nation. This platform, carried to fruition by virtue of the historic Soviet victory over Hitler Germany, delivered Poland from fascist slavery, restored the country within new frontiers and brought into being the new social system.

Assumption of power by the National Liberation Committee in the liberated part of Poland on July 22, 1944, was a turning point in the thousand years history of the Polish state, ushering in the socialist, fundamentally new, socio-economic formation.

The Workers' Party was the principal motive force behind people's power in Poland. The Party, which had furnished leadership in the underground struggle for liberation, now assumed leadership over the affairs of state and people.

The Polish soldiers who fought alongside the Soviet Army to liberate all Polish territory, secured the Western Polish lands for the people's state. An immense organizational effort was made through 1945-48 to settle and rebuild these areas, creating a foundation for their socio-economic and cultural integration in the mother country.

Deep-going revolutionary social changes were effected under PWP leadership in 1944-48. The big landed estates were abolished, an agrarian reform was carried out, and the factories owned by big and medium-sized capitalists were nationalized. The people gained control over the nation's finances and the large and medium-sized trading establishments, or, briefly, over all the key sectors of the economy.

The foreign policy of the people's government followed an entirely new course—that of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other progressive forces. This consolidated the independence and security of People's Poland and gave momentum to her all-round development.

The Workers' Party always considered itself a contingent of the world Communist movement, to which it was bound by proletarian internationalism and by its Marxist-Leninist ideology. Always, it upheld the Leninist principles in its relations with other Communist parties and promoted the Party's political independence and its right to adapt Marxist-Leninist principles to the specific conditions of its country.

The work done by the PWP after liberation, the establishment and consolidation of people's power and the defeat of the reactionary camp, followed up by deep-going revolutionary social reconstruction—all this paved the way for the building of socialism.

"If Poland today is free and independent," said Wladyslaw Gomulka on the 20th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, "and if her independent and sovereign existence, and her security have a sounder foundation than ever before, if she has turned from a backward and weak country into one with a rapidly growing industry and economy, there is every reason to say that she owes this vast progress entirely to the correct and far-sighted political thinking which guided the Polish Workers' Party in all its work, and which it cultivated among the whole Polish people."

The fraternal cooperation between the PWP and the rebuilt Polish Socialist Party grew (despite temporary difficulties) in the battle against the reactionary camp and in laying the foundations for people's power. The united front of the two parties paved the way to organizational unity. In December 1948 the two parties merged on the basis of Marxism-Leninism in the United Workers' Party.

* * *

Study of the history of the Workers' Party proceeds chiefly at the Institute of Party History. About 40 works on the history of the Party have appeared in the past 15 years of which special mention should be made of *The Polish Working-Class Movement During the War and the Nazi Occupation, 1939-1945*, a general survey of the PWP against the setting of the nation's history.

The Institute timed the issue of a catalogue of the PWP underground press for the Party's 25th anniversary, and this will be followed by

Volume III of *PWP Underground Publications, Orders and Regulations of the High Command of the Gwardia Ludowa and Armia Ludowa*, and a collection of articles put out by the Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR. A recent work is a book on the activity of the PWP in settling and developing the Western territories.

Long-term comparative studies have been begun of the wartime national fronts in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Regional conferences held in Warsaw and

Katowice to mark the Party's anniversary yielded fresh facts for the study of local Party work. The conferences were attended by veteran PWP members active during the occupation, as well as researchers and historians.

Later this year, the Institute is planning to conduct a symposium of historians from all Polish study centers to examine the political, ideological and organizational histories of the Polish Workers' Party.

A. N.

The coup in Greece

PANAJOTIS MAVROMATIS

ON APRIL 21 Europe and the world were awakened by the news that during the night a small group of ultra-reactionary U.S.-trained Greek officers had, on the authorization of the King, torn up the Constitution, abolished the parliamentary system, banned political parties and arrested their leaders, abolished freedom of the press and installed a royalist-military dictatorship. This came at a time when a general election had been fixed for May 28. A hunt was started immediately for all the more or less politically active democratic leaders of the country. Thousands of people in Athens, Salonika and elsewhere were forced out of their beds in the small hours of the night and carried off, first to provisional prison camps. Later, most of them were taken to the uninhabited, barren island of Yaros. At the same time a dozen military courts were set up to decide the fate of the prisoners. The lives of thousands of the finest sons of the Greek people are in danger, including the life of Manolis Glezos.

* * *

To many in Europe and throughout the world the news of a dictatorship in Greece may have come as a complete surprise. But those who during the last two years had kept careful track of developments in the country, chained to the United States and NATO, found the news less surprising. Throughout that period, the Communist Party of Greece had repeatedly warned the people that the reactionaries were, with American help, clearing the decks for a military coup to counter the growing mass movement and the fight for democracy. At a meeting of the Central Committee in March the Political Bureau report stressed that the plutocrats, the King and State Department officials were preparing to falsify the will of the people by holding elections un-

der a reign of terror. Pointing out that the partisans of a dictatorship had not given up their plans, it called on the people not only to campaign for immediate free elections but also to be on the alert, to stand by to ward off the danger of a dictatorship.

The installing of the dictatorship understandably alarmed all the peoples of Europe. This alarm found expression among other things in the Declaration adopted by the Karlovy Vary Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and also in the powerful protest movement in all countries. And the alarm was justified, for the coup is closely bound up with the economic, political and military plans of the U.S. imperialists and their chief ally in Europe, the Bonn government.

Just as in December 1944, before the end of the war, the British imperialists assisted by the United States chose Greece to bring reaction back to power by force of arms and at the same time to establish a bridgehead for themselves in Southeastern Europe—against the Soviet Union, so today, twenty-two years after the crushing defeat of Hitler fascism, the U.S. imperialists have again chosen Greece to call fascism back to life in Europe and to carry into Europe the methods used in Latin America, in Africa and in Southeast Asia.

It is common knowledge that the evolution of the Greek situation in recent years was not to the liking of the American imperialists. They saw in it a grave menace to their positions in Greece, and they resorted to force to bring about a radical solution. For this purpose they used the palace camarilla and the puppets they had trained well in advance.

Neither the Royal Court, the Greek reactionaries, nor the Americans had become reconciled to the fall of the Karamanlis government in the summer of 1963. This had ended the eleven-year rule of the reactionary

Right controlled by the Americans, and had set the country on a democratic course, which was confirmed by the complete electoral defeat of the Right-wing ERE Party in November 1963 and again in February 1964.

It was then that the sinister forces began preparations to reinstate the pro-imperialist Right. A military coup in the making was detected as early as the summer of 1964, thus forcing the government to take certain measures. The Right's next bid for power came with the palace coup on July 15, 1965, when the King removed the lawful government of the Center Union, which had an absolute majority in parliament, and substituted for it a puppet government leaning for support on the reactionary ERE Party. Since then the King has repeatedly and openly meddled in the political affairs of the nation. The last time before the coup he did so was on April 3, when the government was delivered entirely into the hands of ERE, and was entrusted with holding the general election on May 28. But since the belief was wide-spread that the democratic parties were almost certain to win the election, it was decided to carry out the military coup.

* * *

The U.S. imperialists' special interest in Greece is nothing new. It is in keeping with their plans for world supremacy, and with the role of world policeman they took upon themselves after the war. But realization of the dream of world domination, frustrated by the existence of the socialist world headed by the mighty Soviet Union, cannot be attempted without a third world war. The establishment of the three intertwined aggressive military blocs—NATO, CENTO and SEATO—and of a chain of nuclear-missile bases around the socialist world serves precisely these nefarious plans. In connection with this, the important geographical and strategic situation of Greece was enough to draw the attention of the American imperialists.

We have said that the British armed intervention in Greece from December 1944 to January 1945 was launched with U.S. support. Then two years later, in March 1947, when Greece with Anglo-American aid was dragged into a bloody civil war, President Truman announced his notorious doctrine. The idea of this doctrine was, in particular, to bolster up the tottering Greek reaction with American money and military aid and to save it from the people who were storming its positions, and then, after crushing the democratic forces to turn Greece into an appendage to the U.S. economy, an armory and bridgehead of the

U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Eastern Europe. Washington made no secret of this. Leading American newspapers frankly admitted it. On April 6, 1947, three weeks after the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed, the *New York Herald Tribune* commented that America had chosen Greece and Turkey not because they needed aid nor because they were shining models of democracy and freedom, but because they formed America's strategic gateway to the Black Sea.

The money put up by the Truman Doctrine and by the Marshall Plan somewhat later, and the "aid" funds made available after the Marshall Plan, were used to finance the monarchist-fascist civil war against the Greek people. After the civil war the same sources subsidized the organization and arming of the present reactionary state and armed forces of Greece, the same armed forces with whose aid the latest coup was carried out. It is revealing that two months after the announcement of the Truman Doctrine (March 12, 1947) the *New York Herald Tribune*, commenting on the Greek Army, said the United States was going to equip, train and advise it with a view to making it an army of monarchist reaction. We can now say that the effort expended in this sense was certainly not in vain.

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It is worth noting that the Truman Doctrine made certain political and economic stipulations and implied appropriate commitments by the Greek government.

According to official statistics, the United States has spent \$4,166 million in Greece in the postwar years, in addition to expenditure on equipping the Greek Army with heavy weapons—according to official sources this expenditure is in the region of \$100 million a year; about 15 per cent of it came in the shape of loans, the remainder as a "gift." The reactionaries "reciprocated" by turning Greece into a U.S. vassal.

The United States did not at all confine itself to the positions secured in Greece through the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. It took steps to entangle Greece in every way in its imperialist policy. Early in 1952 Greece was admitted into NATO. Eighteen months later, in October 1953, a U.S.-Greek military treaty was imposed on the country. According to the terms of this treaty U.S. armed forces can at any time use for their own purposes the entire area of Greece—land, coastal waters, air space, railways and motor roads; the treaty entitles the U.S. to have military installations on Greek soil and to use them

for carrying out military measures approved by NATO.

Besides, Greece is bound by a number of separate agreements, such as the one providing for a nuclear-missile base in Crete camouflaged as a NATO missile training-ground (this base will be operational by the end of this year). American and Greek, West German and other military units will be stationed and trained there. Greece is literally dotted with all kinds of U.S. installations—airfields, bases for the Sixth Fleet, constantly cruising in the Mediterranean, the ships of which call at Greek ports almost daily, especially when political events develop in the country that might endanger the position of the imperialists.

What is more, the Americans and NATO have ruled that Greece shall constantly keep under arms, ready for action, an Army that is enormous compared with the country's manpower and economic resources. According to the annual report of the Institute of Strategic Studies (London) entitled "Military Balance 1965-1966," Greece has 160,000 troops under arms, including 119,000 in the Army, 17,500 in the Navy and 23,500 in the Air Force. Add to this the 30,000-strong gendarmerie and police. Eight Greek divisions, one armored, equipped with modern missiles, are under the direct command of NATO and are stationed, ready for action, along the borders of the socialist countries. These data fully square with those announced by the Americans.

The result is that Greece is over-burdened with military expenditure which swallows a substantial part of its national income and retards economic progress.

Greek military spending in recent years has grown as follows:

	(m. Drachmas)
1962	5,300
1963	5,690
1964	6,000
1965	6,300
1966	7,000 estimate

These figures relate solely to the published (official) data for military expenditure.

It should be recalled, for comparison, that in 1964 investment in industry, including power, totalled 6,349 million drachmas, a sum that approximates to the military expenditure for the current year. And this in a country which is just in the process of becoming industrialized.

The Americans and NATO assign to Greek territory the role of a region where the so-called forward strategy is to be applied in the event of an imperialist attack on the

socialist countries. The military maneuvers held by NATO along the northern frontier of Greece every year serve this purpose. The latest of these large-scale maneuvers took place last summer and involved Bundeswehr units. They had the code name of Summer Express, and the so-called NATO mobile force took part in them to test its preparedness.

The object of these maneuvers, adapted to the likely conditions of an atomic war, is invariably and monotonously the same: to repel an enemy allegedly threatening Greece from the north. But in the north Greece borders on socialist countries only. The inference is clear—all these maneuvers, which are often of a downright provocative character, are directed against the socialist countries and, in the final analysis, the Soviet Union. This means that they fit in completely with the Pentagon long-term plans for an anti-communist crusade. It means that Greece has been turned into a war base and a bridgehead of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies, primarily the neo-Nazis in Bonn. The dangers to which this fact exposes the Greek people are incalculable. In the event of war Greece would be threatened with nuclear disaster.

Greece is also regarded by the USA and NATO as a Middle East base. Hence the effort to involve Cyprus, along with Crete, that is, Greece, in the NATO system of nuclear-missile bases in the Mediterranean. Hence also the effort to settle the Cyprus question within the framework of NATO, that is, against the interests of the Greek and Cypriot peoples. The military coup in Greece serves this purpose as well.

* * *

Washington has completely shackled Greece; nor are military and political treaties the only shackles. U.S. monopoly capital has its economic interests in Greece. A law passed a mere three weeks after the signing of the U.S.-Greek military treaty, that is, in November 1953, granted—and this has the force of a constitutional provision—a number of colonial-type privileges to foreign capital in Greece. On the basis of this law the sum of \$711 million could be imported and invested in Greece before the end of 1966. A good third of this amount is made up of U.S. capital invested in a number of important branches of the Greek economy.

Nor is that all. U.S. finance capital not only supported the association of Greece with the EEC but urged it directly to take the step, so as to secure extra U.S. access to the Common Market. It is clear, therefore, that by interfering in Greek affairs the United States

further and upholds, in particular, the economic interests of the American monopolies. The military coup is also expected to serve these interests. It was not accidental that the new dictatorship hastened to declare that the law protecting foreign capital in Greece would be extended. This means that foreign capital, chiefly American, will be granted additional privileges.

It will not be pointless to note that of late West German monopoly capital has, likewise, shown a growing interest in Greece. And together with their capital, the neo-Nazis in Bonn are displaying an increasing interest in all Greek affairs.

The manifold interests of Washington and of NATO could not be defended without an appropriate reactionary and pro-imperialist regime in Greece. This explains the direct or indirect interference by the United States and its allies in Greek affairs and the installing of pro-American governments with their help. It is worth mentioning that in the weeks preceding the military coup the U.S. Ambassador in Athens was engaged, partly with his British colleague, in feverish activity which lasted right up to the last minute. The *Sunday Times* (London) and the Italian newspaper *Tempo* reported that on the night the dictatorship was established the two ambassadors had an interview with the King and urged him to head the coup.

Until the summer of 1963, U.S. interests in Greece were faithfully upheld by the Karamanlis government. When that government fell the Americans in collaboration with the Greek reactionaries and the palace tried to help the overthrown ERE back to power. The removal of the lawful government on July 15, 1965, by the arbitrary act of the King which plunged the country into a political crisis was a product of these efforts. The Greek people, who have patriotic and democratic traditions of struggle, refused to submit to the will of the Americans and the King under any circumstances. The fight for a democratic way out of the crisis gathered momentum. Never in postwar Greece has the fight of the people for their immediate demands and for democratic freedoms, with the working class in the van, surged so high as in the past two years. Hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, took part in it. The feeling was that the reactionaries would be soundly defeated in the elections. The influence of the Communist Party and of the democratic Left (ERA) was on the rise. The crisis was going from bad to worse. And just when the people expected that the forthcoming general election would show the way out of the crisis, the Americans

and their puppets struck and installed the military dictatorship.

* * *

Another and no less important reason why the Americans joined the Greek reactionaries in the desperate venture of installing the dictatorship was the obvious crisis of NATO. This crisis has added to the importance of NATO's southeastern flank and, consequently, has heightened the Pentagon generals' interest in Greece. Hence their all-out effort to strengthen their strategic positions in Greece. Cleveland, the permanent U.S. delegate to NATO, said during his latest visit to Athens that from now on Greece would be regarded not as the flank of NATO but as its center, and that it was therefore being assigned new strategic tasks. This means that Greece is to play more than ever before the role of a bridge-head should the imperialists begin a war of aggression in Europe. It explains everything—the coup on July 15, 1965, and the U.S. Ambassador's interference in Greek affairs ever since, the increased pressure to "solve" the Cyprus problem, and the latest military coup, which is expected to complete what the 1965 coup failed to do because of the popular resistance.

All the other "reasons," which the dictatorship is at pains to think up to justify the coup after the event (there is, for example, the "argument" about preparations for a "Communist revolution," alleged to have been "simply forestalled"), are so much eyewash, shabby excuses to which not a single person inside or outside Greece gives the slightest credence. The actual reasons are, together with the growing difficulties encountered by the United States in Vietnam, the reasons examined earlier.

But the Greek coup is aggravating the situation in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean, and in general is heightening the threat to European and world peace. It reveals the ominous designs of the warmongers and serves as a warning to the peoples. Hence the spontaneous action of people in Europe, of peace-loving men and women throughout the world, against the conspirators, for the safety of the thousands of arrested Greek democrats.

However, the coup has a number of other instructive aspects worthy of study. It shows the new forms and methods used by its organizers. It was executed according to a well-prepared operational plan, in keeping with the rules of war. The first step was to secure all the key posts in the armed forces by thoroughly purging the officer corps of all unreliable elements.

The preparations for the coup were carried out with the utmost secrecy and the coup, therefore, had all the advantages of a surprise action. To remove all suspicion the authorities announced the general election a few days before the coup. Moreover, the Greek national holiday was used for massing in Athens reliable troops from other areas. For example, an armored division from the north of the country and other units were transferred to Athens on the pretext that they were to take part in the holiday parade. This made it possible to mislead the democratic forces, to take them by surprise and seize thousands of people in their beds; and this was done despite the fact that the democratic Left had never dismissed the likelihood of a military coup.

Mention should be made of the fact that the game of the imperialists, the Greek reactionaries and the King was made easier by the Center Union's policy and attitude, both when the party was in power and afterwards. Unable to break free from its anti-communism, the Center Union rejected cooperation with the democratic Left. When it formed the government it refused, contrary to the recommendations of our Party and of EDA, to clear the fascist elements out of the administration and the armed forces; by its refusal to do so it paved the way for its downfall; it refused to repeal the emergency laws passed under the fascist dictatorship of Metaxas and during the civil war. Characteristically, the dictatorship announced the dissolution of EDA under law No. 509 enacted in 1947, which outlawed the Communist Party. We say this not for the sake of criticizing the Center Union but in order to draw lessons for the present and the future. Only by joint effort can the democratic forces lift the country out of the present crisis, overthrow the dictatorship and pave the way for normal democratic development.

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The coup has created a new situation in Greece. The struggle between the forces of reaction and those of democracy and progress, which has characterized the political climate

in the country in recent years, especially since July 15, 1965, is entering upon a new stage, and from now on will have to be waged in much more difficult conditions.

Thousands of democrats have been removed from active political struggle and locked up in concentration camps. Thousands more have gone underground. The democratic press has been banned. In addition to the Communist Party there are now other outlawed parties and mass organizations, such as EDA, some trade unions and the youth organizations of all three big political parties—EDA, the Center Union and the party of the Right (ERE). However, all these difficulties and adverse factors at the same time provide favorable conditions for rallying these forces, from the Left, Center and Right—in short, all who say NO to the dictatorship—in a broad anti-dictatorship front. Never before has a government been so isolated from all the political forces of the nation, from the entire people, as the present dictatorial government, a fact which objectively makes it easier to forge this front.

The people, who are beginning to recover from the initial shock, will under no circumstances stop fighting. The first leaflets against the dictatorship have already been passed around in Athens and in other cities. Problems will pile up day by day and call for solution through struggle. The new regime has already betrayed its anti-working-class character by prohibiting strikes and dooming the workers to ruthless exploitation by the home and foreign monopolies. These everyday problems, added to the general problems facing the country, will act as an increasingly strong factor for rallying the masses.

The Greek Communists will be at the head of the working class and its allies, at the head of the people, as they always have been, in order to organize and head the fight against the dictatorship. The Communist Party of Greece in its first statement on the military coup called on the people to form democratic resistance groups and anti-dictatorial committees of action.

After the French general election

FRANCOIS BILLOUX

THE GENERAL election held in France over March 5 and 12 marked a new important stage in building up a force strong enough to free the country from monopoly domination. This force is the unity of the working people and other democrats around the Left parties that have rallied together to uphold their interests. The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party pointed out in its statement on March 13 that this force "can become a majority force in the near future and bring about a really democratic replacement of the Gaullist regime."

This prospect derives from the intensification of four interdependent trends in the elections: a Communist gain—in votes, percentage and number of deputies—which confirmed that the Communist Party is the main democratic force in the country; the general advance of the Left parties; a decline in the influence of Gaullism, which lost seats and the absolute majority in the National Assembly; the miscarriage of the reactionary attempt of "Centrism."

MILLION VOTES MORE

The present electoral law is based on the so-called uni-nominal vote, taken in two rounds. The first round goes to the candidate with an absolute majority in the particular constituency. In the second ballot, the winner is the candidate who has polled the greatest number of votes. Candidates who have collected less than 10 per cent of the votes in the first ballot are dropped. The other candidates can either step down or withdraw in favor of others. Only those candidates who have won the first round can take part in the second.

Thus the first ballot is decisive, and the Communist Party, putting forward its candidates with its own program in all constituencies, could gauge its influence in the country by the number of votes it had polled.

On March 5, the Communist candidates polled a total of 5,029,808 votes, 1,026,255 more than in the 1962 election, or 22.46 per cent against 21.84 per cent.

Elected in the first round were eight Communists, including Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the Party, and the total number of Communist deputies rose from 41 to 72.

A study of the results by constituencies shows that an increase in both absolute figures and percentage was achieved not only in the major industrial centers but also in rural areas. This success is due to the fact that a larger number of middle class voters expressed confidence in the Communist Party, as did an appreciable number of the young voters going to the polls for the first time.

The unevenness of the voting in some places while it merits the attention of the Party, particularly of the members and organizations directly concerned, stressed nevertheless the general trend which even reactionary commentators described as the "Communist landslide." In only four out of the 95 departments did the Party fail to reach its 1962 vote, and in five others the retention of the vote or its increase failed to prevent a drop in percentage.

By giving the Party candidates over five million votes and by bringing us a gain of a million votes compared with 1962, wage and salaried workers in town and country, in the new residential areas and in the areas left out of the economic planning voted against one-man rule and reaction, for genuine democracy. They turned out en masse for the realistic program set forth and explained by the Communists and their organization at thousands of big and small meetings and during the "door-to-door" canvassing. They supported the Communist Party's unflagging effort for unity.

The Communist electoral success was due first of all to the correct policy of unity laid

down at Party congresses, a policy making no concessions on principles but is willing to take into account every new development and to improve its methods in keeping with the changing and complex conditions of France's home and foreign policy.

GENERAL ADVANCE OF THE LEFT

This success of the Communist policy of working-class unity and democratic alliance stands out against the background of a general advance of the Left.

Whereas in the first round of the 1965 presidential election the joint candidate of the Left polled 32 per cent of the votes; on March 5 last, the Left candidates polled over 43 per cent, or 1,300,000 more than the Gaullists.

This is the answer to those who affirmed that in 1965 the Left had won the greatest number of votes it could ever hope for, and used this arithmetical argument in support of their attempt to catch a section of the Left in the trap of a "Centrist" alliance.

However, the same people have often contended that any Communist advance could take place only to the detriment of the other Left parties. Yet the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (FDSL, which comprises the Socialist Party, the Radical Socialists and the Convention of Republican Institutions) on March 5 polled 548,000 more votes than in 1962 and the United Socialist Party, 79,000 more.

The quantitative aspect of this comparison should be viewed in connection with the qualitative aspect. In 1962 there was no national agreement between the Communist Party and other Left organizations. It is likely, therefore, that at that time certain candidates of the non-Communist Left obtained the votes of those who wanted to vote against the Communist Party and its policy of unity, that is, against the progress of the democratic movement and the unity of the entire Left.

Conversely, to vote for the non-Communist Left on March 5 meant in most cases help in strengthening the alliance of all the democratic forces without exception. Unlike the 1965 presidential election, it no longer meant simply agreeing to add one's vote to those of the Communists. It was a commitment to cast one's vote in the second round for the Left candidate who had been placed well enough in the first round to defeat the candidate of the regime and of reaction, and who, being the joint candidate of the Left parties, could be a Communist.

THE DISILLUSIONMENT OF THE REACTIONARIES

The expression of the people's will in the

first round shattered the vicious circle whereby the "magicians"—certain opponents of republican unity—sought to contain the Left.

The second round, which confirmed the power of attraction of the democratic alliance, completely disillusioned the reactionaries and splitters of all hues who had hoped that the agreement signed by the Communist Party in December with the Left Federation, on the one hand, and the United Socialist Party, on the other, would remain a dead letter. Looking at the world through the glasses of their anti-communism and their contempt for the people, these gentlemen, while willing to admit that in the second ballot the Communists would loyally vote for the other Left candidates, ruled out reciprocity, that is, they refused to believe that most non-Communist voters of the Left, if not all of them, would vote Communist on March 12. They misunderstood both the reason for and the deep meaning of the December agreements, seeing them merely as a deal between what they called the "general staffs" over the head of the "little man" in town and countryside.

In reality, however, these agreements are indicative of our people's earnest desire for an effective and fruitful unity of the Left. While in the first part of the joint communiqué the signatories commit themselves to urging electors to ensure the success of the Left candidate best placed in the first ballot, this in no way reduces the importance of the agreements to a mere electoral arrangement. Quite the reverse. The working people and democrats generally were not mistaken; in the second part of the December 20 communiqué which expressed the common views and objectives of the Communist Party and the Left Federation and defined the basis of the joint action for common aims, against one-man rule and for genuine democracy, they saw reflected their own preoccupations and a means of putting their own interests through.

Hence the voters upon seeing a wide-open prospect of which almost a year of evasions after the presidential election had given them only a glimpse, translated the agreements into reality on March 5 and 12. And hence, to the chagrin of those who had indulged in wishful thinking, the application of the agreements met with no major difficulty. The few isolated cases were dealt with already on March 6, and those responsible for the Left Federation, specifically for the Socialist Party, really saw to it that the relevant commitments were honored. The results show that the reciprocity was wholehearted, and that those voters who in the first round had stayed away from the polls or who had voted for a Center

or even for a Gaullist candidate, joined the democratic camp in the second round.

DECLINE IN GAULLIST INFLUENCE

The further shrinking of the mass base of Gaullism—a corollary of the massive republican approval of the agreement reached by the Left parties—was a feature of the election campaign.

A comparison of the results of the first ballot which those of 1962 shows that the Gaullists polled 1,508,420 more votes and registered a slight percentage loss, dropping from 37.88 to 37.75. But these figures cannot be appreciated without taking into account a number of circumstances.

To begin with, some of the outgoing deputies, particularly from the MRP, ran in 1967 as Gaullist candidates, which was not the case in 1962.

Even more important, the aggravation of class antagonisms led to a more pronounced polarization of the electorate—around the signatories of the December 1966 agreement on the Left and around the Gaullist candidates on the Right. Significant in this respect was the defeat of the fascist Tixier-Vignancour, who tried hard to exploit the resentment of repatriates from North African countries. As these people become absorbed in the everyday life of France the preoccupations stemming from their respective class positions gain the upper hand over their memories of the past. Also significant, and in greater measure too, is the noticeable weakening of "Centrism," to which we will return below.

One could hardly exaggerate the range of means which monopoly rule brought into action immediately after the presidential election with a view to attracting the votes of all the reactionaries, to retaining among some sections of the public the confidence acquired in the past by cashing in on the divisions among the Left. Since the mass media—press, radio and television—are controlled chiefly by the monopolies and their regime, the enormous imbalance between the Gaullist propaganda machinery and the propaganda facilities of the democratic opposition will be obvious. What is more, after the official close of the campaigning, that is, at the last moment before polling in the first round, de Gaulle made a speech in which he threw the full weight of his prestige behind the candidates of the "Fifth Republic," thus carrying to the limit the plebiscite character the government had imparted to the election from the outset.

In the first round of the presidential election in 1966 43.7 per cent of the votes went to de Gaulle. On March 5, 1967, his candidates

barely secured 38 per cent. This drop, which lays particular emphasis on the minority nature of the Gaullist party, expressed itself, despite the unfair system of voting designed to promote the regime's candidates, in a heavy loss of seats.

Before the election there were 264 Gaullist deputies in the National Assembly (230 from the UNR/UDT and 34 independents belonging to Giscard d'Estaing's party), to whom we must add 12 deputies of the Democratic Center and eight more unattached to any of the parliamentary groups and who had been nominated or supported by the Fifth Republic Committee of Action. In other words, one-man rule had 284 deputies in the former National Assembly.

After the election their numbers fell to 242, including 12 deputies elected in overseas "departments" and territories still under colonial domination.

Of the 470 seats in France proper, only 232 are held by the "Fifth Republic," which is certainly not the majority and far removed from the 301 seats which was the goal of the Gaullist leaders at the outset of the campaign.

This general failure was accentuated by the defeat suffered by four ministers and a number of prominent Gaullists, such as Louis Valon, who had made the main speech on the budget and who had authored the draft of the association of labor and capital.

In Paris, where they had held all the seats since 1962, the Gaullists lost 10 seats, seven of them to the Communist Party. In the Paris area—Paris and the six neighboring departments, including the former departments of Seine and Seine-et-Oise—the number of Communist deputies rose from 14 to 29.

This further decline of confidence in Gaullism throughout the country bespeaks a growing condemnation of its policies, above all in the economic and social spheres, a growing concern and indignation over the reactionary substance of these policies and the undemocratic forms in which they are applied.

The will to end the regime manifested itself on so vast a scale because the gains of the working-class and republican alliance are showing to more and more people the ways and means of replacing the regime by a fundamentally new power capable of really following a policy of peace and social progress.

FAILURE OF CENTRISM

After the election French reaction found itself greatly weakened. Attacked frontally, as it were, by the retreat of the "Fifth Republic," it was also set back by the further losses

inflicted on Lecanuet's Center. To counter the advance of the Left, de Gaulle, acting over the head of the former reserve candidate of reaction for the Presidency, addressed the "Centrist" forces directly, calling for their support. The Right-wing voters must have heard his call all the better because Lecanuet himself repeatedly voiced his willingness to do so after the elections.

On the other hand, that section of the electorate with moderate incomes and tending by virtue of religious belief or family tradition to follow the MRP and the so-called "moderate" parties, turned to the Left to express their opposition to one-man rule and their desire for progress. This is a lesson that should prove very useful to those who, refusing to appreciate the significance of the elimination of Lecanuet in the first round of the presidential election, persisted in their search for an alliance between a section of the Left and the reactionary "Center," and in their more or less open stand against a genuine alliance of the Left. And while they had succeeded for the time being in evading elaboration of a common government program, they were unable to halt the movement which made this inevitable.

What is most important is that the Democratic Center, which aims at becoming a reactionary substitute for the Gaullist regime and which is essentially oriented toward subservience to the American imperialists, was condemned by the electorate. This is not to say that those interested in maneuvering towards a "third way," that is, in a reactionary succession, have abandoned their goal. But their chances have considerably diminished. The same holds true for the out and out reactionaries.

FOR WORKING-CLASS AND DEMOCRATIC UNITY

The political resolution adopted by the 18th Congress of the Communist Party in January contains this evaluation: "The agreement between the Communist Party and the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left is an event of the greatest importance, it is a victory for the policy determined by our 17th Congress and of the tenacious effort for unity steadfastly pursued by our Party, a success for those who aspire to a democratic alliance and who are acting accordingly."

The resolution noted that the "agreement does not signify any renunciation of our fundamental political positions. The Party abides by its proposals for a common program and will continue to work for their realization. . . ."

Lastly, the resolution specified that the De-

cember 20 agreement on unity "will greatly contribute, during the election campaign and after, to the development of joint Communist-Socialist action and an alliance of all the democratic forces. Congress regards this agreement as an important stage in the ascent to an indispensable concord."

The Central Committee meeting held at the end of March put on record that the facts, including the results of March 5 and 12, had borne out the estimate made by the 18th Congress.

The task of the Party now is to promote the cohesion of the Left parties and organizations in joint actions both inside and outside parliament, utilizing for this all opportunities that have appeared with the general election.

FOR A COMMON GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

Since the objective of the democratic forces is to end monopoly power and replace it by genuine democracy, the Central Committee at its meeting restated the fundamental proposition that the best way to unite the democratic forces constituting a majority is agreement among the Left parties and democratic organizations based on a common program.

Before the first ballot Waldeck Rochet, speaking on behalf of the Central Committee, proposed to the Federation of the Left a meeting to draft a government program that would be the program of the majority of the morrow. Renewing its proposal, the Central Committee stressed in its resolution that "the Communists are ready to assume all their responsibilities, including those at government level, for this effort for democratic and national renovation."

After its meeting on April 13 the Executive Committee of the Left Federation issued a communique saying that the Executive, considering it useful to continue the talks with the Communist Party, confirmed the delegation appointed for the purpose last December.

In the National Assembly, where Communists were elected to its Bureau (Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier becoming Vice-President and three comrades, secretaries), a deputation of the Communist group in parliament meets with its counterpart of the Left Federation (which has been joined by four deputies from the United Socialist Party) to coordinate their joint action.

The Communist Party pointed out that this joint action could be taken along the lines specified in the December agreement. This applies to "support of movements for economic demands, in particular for higher wages, salaries, benefits and pensions."

The same goes for the demand that "the

U.S. bombing of North Vietnam be stopped and that peace in that area be restored by returning to the Geneva agreements."

THE TASK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The success of the Left enhances the importance of parliamentary activity. The Communist deputies in the National Assembly have therefore taken steps to become, as soon as parliament convenes, "defenders and advocates of the more pressing demands of all the social strata affected by the current policy."

"We must," the Central Committee resolution stressed, "take into account both the more favorable situation that has developed since March 12 and the fact that the Gaullist regime will try to continue, in one way or another, the anti-social and anti-democratic policies of the capitalist monopolies."

The political resolution of the 18th Congress said: "The successful development of the working-class and democratic alliance will largely depend on the existence of a powerful Communist Party, on the growth of its influence and on its organization." In line with this the Central Committee specified the tasks of the organizations and members of the Party for the immediate future.

The Party recruited 23,000 new members between January 1 and March 31. The Communist Youth Movement has likewise increased its membership. Making the organization, propaganda, and ideological struggle of the Party more effective is inseparable from its policy of unity and from activity among the masses.

The working people express their discontent through strikes in the spirit of greater unity and militancy. In this way they take action against the worsening of their conditions at a time when capitalist profits are growing, the tax burden becoming heavier and huge sums are invested in the atomic strike force.

Some of the farmers, the vine-growers in particular, are likewise going into action.

The Central Committee has called on all members resolutely to put themselves at the head of the movements for economic demands carried on by the working class and other working people in town and country. It attaches prime importance to action in support of the following demands:

—higher wages and salaries, abolition of zonal differentiation, guaranteed employment and livelihood;

—a policy of encouraging housing construction on an extensive scale (building 600,000 flats a year, half of which should be available at moderate rents);

—a democratic reform of taxation that would provide for higher taxes on incomes ranging from 5,000 francs and upwards and lower taxes on consumer goods;

—safeguarding and improving social security seriously threatened by the regime.

The election revealed the unfairness of the present electoral system, for under a proportional system the Communist Party would have won 105 seats. Urban centers are systematically under-represented in both general elections and in departmental elections. More and more people are demanding proportional representation.

Action for peace is one of our big tasks.

The steady extension of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam calls for more vigorous action by the French peace forces to isolate the aggressors, to end the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to bring the Vietnamese people peace and independence. The Communists worked hard to ensure the success of the States General held in May on the initiative of the peace movement.

The people of France, like the other peoples of our continent, want a policy of European security. This policy implies recognition of the two Germanys, the inviolability of post-war frontiers, and the prevention of West Germany gaining access to nuclear weapons in any form whatever. It implies, as the socialist countries propose, the simultaneous abolition of the two major military blocs dividing Europe, and the establishment of a system of collective security encompassing all the European countries irrespective of their economic and social regimes. This policy should envisage measures leading to the provision of favorable conditions for the attainment of this objective, such as, for instance, the convening of a conference of all the European countries. Being inseparable from initiatives aimed at promoting peaceful cooperation between European countries, it should further cooperation with Asian and African countries without any colonialist strings.

This, then, is the policy advocated by the Communist Party, whereas the Gaullist government persists in its refusal to recognize the German Democratic Republic and in its support of the West German leaders' claim to speak for the whole of Germany, and encourages the atomic demands of the West German militarists, stubbornly building up its own atomic strike force and refusing to take part in nuclear non-proliferation talks and, more generally, in disarmament talks.

The Communist Party, which holds that collective security in Europe and mutually advantageous cooperation are in the interest of

France and the French, will work hard to ensure that the forces of peace and progress in our country unite in action to achieve this objective.

The general election held last March was a landmark in the advance of the French

democratic forces. The task now is to replace one-man rule by genuine democracy. This is what the Communist Party is striving for as it fights for working-class unity and for the victory of the democratic and progressive forces.

Marxism and modern Australia

W. JOHN BROWN

I.

CREATIVE APPLICATION of Marxism to the conditions of each particular country is one of the most urgent needs of the modern world. How correctly, how fundamentally this is done by Marxist forces in each country is a basic test on how well those forces play a vital role in the advance of their own people and how well they contribute to the general, global advance towards the great humanist goals of communism—a life of free, full flowering culture in a world where war and want have been abolished from the affairs of man.

The struggle for socialism in any particular country is, of course, part of a universal historical process. It is a process requiring an all-sided approach. It is a process demanding profound, continuing up-to-date Marxist appraisal of the specific conditions within a given country side by side with thorough knowledge and firm application of those *universal Marxist principles that apply to all countries*.

These universal principles include the need for the nation's working class, with a Marxist Party playing a basic part, setting out in one form or another to establish socialism.

A basic universal principle is the need to build the broadest possible unity of action among all sections of the working class with the farmers (peasantry in European terms), intellectuals and small businessmen—in fact, an alliance of all forces opposed to monopoly and seeking social progress.

It is essential that each nation's Marxist-Leninist Party study and know the particular conditions of its own country in order correc-

tly to apply these principles and avoid the error of trying mechanically to apply and use methods that may have been successful in other countries.

It is in this spirit of seeking an all-sided, creative Marxist approach that the Communist Party of Australia has set out to prepare for the 21st Congress of the Party to be held from June 9 to 12 in Sydney.

In its preparations, the Central Committee of the CPA has undertaken a most serious effort to develop a correct creative Marxist policy to work towards socialist transition in the particular conditions of modern Australia. The Central Committee has sought to approach the question in a basically new way in regard to certain aspects of both content and form.

As early as last November, the Central Committee published a new statement of Communist Party ideas on Australia's future. This had been the result of collective work by a number of commissions assigned to make a fundamental re-study of various aspects of Party theory and practice, political standpoints and organization in the light of actual Australian and world realities.

This opened the way for more than six months' public discussion prior to the June Congress. It was hoped that, given adequate time to develop, a new, outward-turning approach for the widest public discussion would develop. Hopes were far exceeded. Response has been unprecedented.

The planning was aimed primarily at comprehensive democratic discussion among the membership of the Party itself. However, the

discussion was expected to range and in fact has ranged very widely among people of various trends of socialist and progressive thought.

Together with oral discussion, the Party launched a special new publication, a Discussion Journal, for written contributions. To the date of this writing (early April), over 130 contributions have been received requiring publication of two 96-page editions with two more editions to appear in the near future.

Already the discussion has proved the most far-reaching and deep-probing yet conducted in preparation for a Party Congress.

Indicative of the breadth of interest, contributors include industrial workers, white collar workers, trade union officials, intellectuals, leading university figures, doctors, a clergyman, housewives, working women and many others, including members of the Australian Labor Party.

Not all contributions express agreement with the views in the Congress document. Some are critical; a small minority even express hostility. But the overwhelming majority are constructive, seeking by critical analysis to help the process of developing a commonly agreed upon path forward.

As General Secretary L. Aarons has put it: "This discussion will elucidate issues and provide centers of gravity for the line of policy to be decided by the Congress in June . . . Discussion of this character will deepen conditions for like-mindedness and for action around Congress decisions."

II.

CONGRESS BACKGROUND

What is the political and economic background against which we are preparing for our 21st Congress? Firstly, some negative aspects. Briefly, the current political situation is that progressive forces in Australia are confronted with a conservative government. For the present this government is somewhat strongly entrenched and is pursuing an open pro-monopoly policy at home and an American-orientated foreign policy which has its worst expression in full support for, and participation in, America's shameful war against the Vietnamese people.

The Liberal-Country Party coalition is actually a coalition of the parties representing big Australian industrial capital allied to big agrarian capital. This conservative coalition of big business which has governed Australia for 17 years was returned to office at the November 1966 elections with a record majority. It was able to win the elections on the basis of

unprecedented misuse of the main means of mass communication (television, radio, press) to mislead the people on the Vietnam war issue. "We must fight them there or they'll come here," became almost an election parrot-cry.

This most amoral, chauvinistic slogan sought to excuse the presence of Australian troops in Vietnam by use of a racial and political bogey. It claimed that "Asian hordes" generally and "Communist Asians" in particular plan to attack Australia. The Nazis waged wars of conquest and said so. The modern American architects of aggression and their supporters in the Australian Government resort to more oblique techniques. Cruel war is waged on this tiny country on an unsubstantiated claim that war is planned against the invaders. Exposing this lie and replacing it with the truth of the terrible crime being committed against the Vietnamese people is one of the major tasks before the peaceful, progressive and genuinely patriotic forces of Australia.

As well as the shift to the right in the Federal elections, since the elections there has been a shift to the right in the national leadership of the Australian Labor Party. In that Party, Mr. G. Whitlam recently defeated center and left-wing ALP candidates.

Whereas the former national Labor leader, Mr. A. Calwell, called for withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam and for strengthening foreign policy away from dependence on Washington, Mr. Whitlam has moved back from the demand for withdrawing troops and has reaffirmed unqualified support for the Australian-United States alliance.

A shift to the right has also occurred recently in the trade union field. The national leadership, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, has seen a strengthening of the right-wing. This trend is being furthered by the fact that the Australian Workers' Union (with well over 100,000 members) under extreme right-wing leadership, is now joining the ACTU. (Formerly, the AWU right-wing leadership, a power unto itself, stood aloof from the national trade union center.)

This trade union shift to the right was expressed with some sharp clarity recently when ACTU right-wing leaders lined up with the conservative government against the correct, courageous and principled stand of the Australian Seamen's Union when it refused to man ships carrying bombs to Vietnam.

What of positive features of the present Australian scene? In the crucial struggle for peace the extreme right-wing recently faced a severe and important reverse in the main industrial state of New South Wales. Embol-

dened by the defeat of the left in the ALP and the strengthened right-wing position in the trade union leadership, an attempt was made by the NSW Labor Party executive to ban ALP members from belonging to a broad Australian peace organization known as the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament. This organization is representative of all sections of Australian people who want peace and see the need for united action to secure it. Its members include leading university people, prominent religious figures, doctors, professional men and women, trade union leaders, members of the Australian Labor Party, the Communist Party of Australia and some members of the Liberal Party.

Blinded by reactionary opposition to peace activities, the extreme ALP right-wing made the basic error of trying to stop ALP members taking part in this movement. This extraordinary step would have placed the ALP as a Party of the labor movement in the absurd position of being more reactionary and further to the right than the Liberal Party, the party of big capital.

The move was debated in the ALP's Federal Executive and was defeated 10 votes to two. The outcome demonstrates that despite the shift to the right in the November Federal elections and the right trend in the labor movement, a powerful base for peace and progressive policies exists in Australia. It shows the existence of a potential that confirms the perspectives for building unity of action and a coalition of left forces as set out in our 21st Congress documents.

This potential was apparent in the voting in the November elections, in which some 42 per cent of the people voted against the Government. Considering that the Government itself made the central issue "for or against" on the Vietnam war question, this is clearly a vote of deep significance.

Indeed, although there has been a shift to the right in national ALP leadership there are aspects of Mr. Whitlam's policy such as on banking, education, housing, opposition to domination by overseas capital, a policy for friendly relations with Asia that differs markedly from the government and other points on which unity can be built. While raising criticism of certain policy aspects, the approach of the Communists together with the left-wing of the labor movement generally is to seek to broaden the existing potential for unity by continued, patient efforts for common action around issues of benefit to the people.

In the field of economic and social issues, the realities of the Australian scene are being submerged by the monopoly-owned mass

media with widely fostered talk of the "affluent society." The propaganda of the capitalist Establishment in Australia, (together with Establishment spokesmen to be found among right-wing leaders in the labor movement), never ceases presenting Australia as a country of high living standards in which "free enterprise" reigns supreme; where any suggestion of a socialist future for the nation is simply too ludicrous for words.

True, the objective reality of Australia today is that some sections of workers have a reasonably high living standard. This aspect of Australian reality is being taken into full action in our Congress discussion. *But it is only one aspect.*

The paid apologists of Australian capitalism point to the relatively low level of unemployment revealed in the latest available figures—76,000 in February 1967. They talk of Australia's "affluent society" but conveniently forget that of Australia's 11 million, nearly one million people (such as pensioners, Aborigines and low wage family groups) are officially estimated to be living either in or on the fringe of poverty.

They talk of Australia's high living standards. Again they conveniently forget that in order to earn a real living wage, the majority of Australian wage earners have to work many hours of overtime every week or even work two jobs, or else rely on their wives also finding employment to ensure sufficient income to maintain a decent average standard of family life in modern Australian conditions.

Perhaps most mendaciously, they speak of Australia as a land of "free enterprise" and crudely conceal the reality that some 40 per cent of Australian industry is in the control of foreign monopoly while the bulk of the rest of Australia's riches rests in the steadily tightening grip of some sixty rich families.

As for the poor and declining level of Australia's educational opportunities and a failing social service system that has fallen from 7th to 14th place in the world—this isn't even mentioned. Instead the glossy surface of alleged Australian affluence is presented in calculated imbalance.

Australia, a country of vastly rich, still untapped and too often ill-used potential, perhaps stands to gain more in full national development than some other nations by ending monopoly and replacing capitalist anarchy and "profits first" policies with the scientifically planned, superior social economic formation of socialism.

The basic truth of the current Australian economic scene is that all decision-making vital to the Australian people's destiny is being concentrated in fewer hands. Our 21st

Congress documents provide figures from 1963-64 Australian taxation statistics which reveal the remarkable polarization of wealth that lies hidden behind the "affluent society." They show that 91 per cent of Australian taxpayers earned under £2,000 a year, eight per cent earned between £2,000 and £4,999 a year, while one per cent earned from £5,000 to over £50,000 a year.

* * *

A major problem tackled by the Congress documents is the great technological changes taking place in Australia and how these will sharpen the contradiction between social production and private (mainly monopoly) ownership of the means of production. The rapidly developing background to this is shown in the fact that ten years ago Australia had only five computers. Today there are 383 in operation and 200 more on order. By 1974 it is estimated some 3,000 computers will be in operation.

Mechanization and automation are already creating social problems for the working people in various industries. Postal workers, clerical workers in many fields, miners, waterside workers (dockers), are among those already affected. In 1953-54, for instance, Australian coal production was 19,753,000 tons. It increased to 28,750,000 tons in 1964-65 with a decrease in mineworkers from 27,028 to 15,394. In 1955 26,000 waterside workers handled 25 million tons of cargo. In 1965 21,200 handled 36.2 million tons.

Australian postal, clerical and waterside workers have recently come into action in defense of their jobs and rights, signifying major battles to come as the mechanization and automotive process quickens.

Internationally, of course, the question that overshadows everything else is the fact that Australia has troops involved in America's brutal onslaught on Vietnam. The CPA is faced with the problem that on international affairs the Australian people are deliberately subjected to a steady propaganda diet of anti-communism. This takes the form of crude misrepresentation against the socialist world in general and the socialist countries of Asia in particular.

III.

CONGRESS ISSUES

In the light of the national and international background what are the main issues emerging in our Congress discussion?

The documents are divided into three main sections—

1. Towards a Coalition of the Left

2. Communists and the Battle of Ideas
3. Proposed Amendments to the Rules and Constitution.

1. Towards a Coalition of the Left:

This is a statement of the party's general concepts of the way forward for the working class and the democratic movement in the struggle for basic reforms and the transition to socialism in Australia.

As the document expresses it "unity remains the real 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 is greatly enhanced. This cooperation of action for social change would continue as the center of a coalition of different social and political groupings which would share the leadership of the new society."

Considerable discussion has centered on this question of coalition of the Left. Questions have been raised regarding the potential of groupings to lead future transition to socialism. However this is not just a theoretical question. Concrete examples of real possibilities of cooperation among left-wing and progressive forces generally constantly emerge in contemporary Australian life.

Examples can be found in broad common fronts that can be developed around such issues as the peace issue, the demand for a national Australian shipping line and the defense of Australian independence from the inroad of foreign capital. These, of course, are at the level of united action for more limited aims. They do not involve the question of basic social change. But within them can be found the kernel of class forces that could continue to develop co-operation around wider and more fundamental class issues in the fight against monopoly up to and including the end of monopoly rule itself.

Within this concept of building towards the development of a coalition of those left forces seeking basic social change, the document points out that industrial workers remain the decisive section of the working class.

Of approximately 4¼ million listed in the 1961 Census figures as the Australian "work force" over three million are workers. Of these, 2.3 million are industrial, 1.3 million "white collar," and 170,000 rural workers.

As the document states: "The industrial working class is the central social grouping in the combination of forces interested in socialist transformation of Australian society;

it is potentially the class most capable of decisive political action."

While recognizing the decisive character of the industrial section of the working class, the document also notes that non-industrial wage and salary workers "are the fastest growing part of the work force." The growth of "white collar" (clerical workers) and professional workers' strength in trade unionism is a particular feature of Australia today, and the need to build unity among these forces and industrial workers is given particular importance.

A major issue raised in both the documents and in the discussion is the impact of big technological changes in Australia. Modern monopoly capitalism with profit as its main consideration is, of course, unable to realize the great possibilities of these changes or solve the problems they present to the people. (General study of this problem has, incidentally, been considerably assisted by the article "The Scientific and Technological Revolution and Marxism," by Radovan Richta, in No. 1, 1967 issue of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*).

A very important concept the Party is placing before its membership and the Australian working class is the need to struggle for workers to press for and secure more say in the control and running of industry. Australian pilots, teachers and railworkers have already introduced this element into their particular struggles.

We are emphasizing that ways and means need to be found for democratic control to be established in privately-owned and public industries and enterprises to give directly-elected employees' representatives a share in control of introduction of new processes and automation and that workers must have a say in planning development and employment changes in industry.

Hand in hand with this, we are pressing for progressive alteration in the division of the social product in favor of workers by collective bargaining for higher wages and improved conditions, a shorter working week, equal pay for women, control of prices and profits; a new taxation system lightening the burden on working people and imposing a heavier company tax and income tax upon the wealthy.

In advancing these ideas we are setting out to explain that the Communist Party is seeking to make a still more positive contribution to the progress of the Australian working people and to full development of the nation for the benefit of the people instead of the monopolies.

We point out that Australian Communists are "both patriotic and internationalists, be-

lieving that socialist change within nations is the only sane way towards one world of co-operating nations."

A key point in the expression of our stand as "patriots and internationalists" is the emphasis laid on the issue of peace; the demand to withdraw Australian troops from Vietnam and for complete cessation of American aggression against Vietnam.

At the moment, the Australian ruling class is committing Australian policy "all the way" with United States imperialism. This is doing great harm to the nation's good name and our national interest, particularly in Asia.

In place of this, we are demanding that Australia develop its own, independent foreign policy based on peace and friendship with other nations.

While, for obvious geo-political considerations, an independent Australian policy is necessarily turned towards relations with our Asian neighbors, the great universal issues of world peace receive serious attention.

Support for nuclear disarmament, opposition to rearmament of Germany, general disarmament and peaceful coexistence of nations with differing social systems is advocated together with full support for the national liberation movement and all new social revolutions wherever the people decide for such actions.

A concept raised in our documents which is exciting particular interest is the call for "a new quality of social life." This raises the need for increased democratic participation in all community life, improvement in cultural life, better opportunities for education and for the breaking of monopoly's commercial grip on television, radio and publishing. This section calls for the opening up of communal life that would assist to pierce present anti-social trends of town-planning that sees each family tending to live largely isolated within themselves rather than as part of warm, friendly, cultural communal life.

2. Communists and the Battle of Ideas:

This document advances Communist analysis of the task of Marxist thought in the light of the modern international situation and the particular conditions in Australia.

It stresses the need for a more challenging presentation of the ideas of the Communist Party, of scientific socialism.

It calls for a deeper, more comprehensive and realistic analysis of existing capitalist society in Australia and of the experience of the socialist societies.

Giving examples, it shows that wages as a percentage of the value of production in Australian factories declined in Australia from 59

per cent in 1952 to 50 per cent in 1965. One contrast shows how Australia's potential for national development is being retarded by the present monopoly dominated economy. The growth rate in Australia is shown as standing at an increase in industrial output of 50 per cent from 1958 to 1965, (with 30 per cent of capital investment coming from overseas). In the same period under socialism, the Soviet Union's industrial output increased by 84 per cent.

3. Rules and Constitution of the Communist Party of Australia:

This statement adopts a new approach to the Rules and Constitution of the CPA which retains basic Communist Party political and organizational principles while taking into account democratic traditions and customs common to the Australian labor movement. The discussion on all documents of course, will be completed by the Congress itself, which will take decisions based on the results of the discussion and the final redrafts of documents.

All party organizations and individual members have the right to submit amendments, additions or alternative statements in writing for submission to the Congress.

The aim of the Congress documents and the preparatory discussion has been to bring out the realities of Australia. To show that we are a nation in which monopoly power is currently entrenched but one in which this undemocratic power can and is being challenged by a gathering groundswell of people who suffer the policies of war and exploitation which monopoly inevitably develops.

Development of such an analysis and the launching of wide democratic discussion around it, in itself is testimony to the basically important and distinctive role the Communist Party of Australia has to play in the

Australian people's advance to a better future.

The depth and range of discussion has brought to the surface the main political and organizational questions that the Party must clearly tackle in order to advance along the path of freedom, peace and socialism under Australian conditions.

It has demonstrated to the Australian people as never before that the Communist Party of Australia is serious about its aims of serving our people's best interests.

The Communist Party of Australia has the task of becoming a mass Party not only in the numerical sense but in broad influence among all anti-monopoly sections of the Australian community. It is not an easy task. For some seven decades the Australian labor movement has been dominated by reformist ideology. Historically, the Australian workers have given and still give their main support to the Australian Labor Party, a reformist social democratic party.

While holding a number of full time trade union posts, the Communist Party at this point has only 5,000 members. However, for 47 years the party has given selfless, unswerving service to the Australian working people and has won a place of high prestige among advanced sections of the labor movement for its contribution to the gains won by the working class and progressive forces over the years.

Always, the Communist Party of Australia has been a dynamic factor in Australian political life. With this particular pre-Congress discussion it has injected new dynamism into the political scene. Already it has received comment in the daily press and attracted interest far beyond Communist Party ranks.

Providing our post Congress work is done well it can serve as a vital prelude to the progress that our Party can undoubtedly make in the period ahead.

The encyclical "Populorum Progressio"

LIBERO PIERANTOZZI

IN ADDITION TO clarifying some moot points of Catholic "social doctrine," Pope Paul's encyclical *Populorum progressio* (Development of Peoples), issued on March 28, advances some essentially new propositions.

It will not be out of place here to recall what Gramsci said (in his notes on Machiavelli) to the effect that it is not *obligatory* for the Catholic Church to have a political program since this can be inferred from its "social thinking." It also appears proper to add that elucidation of such matters has been anything but prominent among the duties of the pontifical office, although in the case of recent Popes, particularly Pius XII, John XXIII and now with Paul VI, "temporal" problems did receive considerable attention. Moreover, it should be stressed that the latest encyclical letter reflects the deep-seated misgivings in the Catholic world, misgivings articulated, at times even dramatically, at the Second Vatican Council. Despite the "typically intermediary" posture of the present head of the Catholic Church, Paul's encyclical does reflect the state of the world today. Its approach, *inter alia*, to the relationship between believer and the modern world, especially that part of it which is capitalist, is distinctly new and interesting.

The latest "social" encyclical was preceded by three others issued at different times and in different situations during the past eight decades, to which the basic tenets of the Catholic "social doctrine" are traceable — *Rerum novarum* of Leo XIII on May 15, 1891, *Quadragesimo anno* of Pius XI on May 15, 1931, and *Mater et magistra* of John XXIII on July 14, 1961. (It may be in place here to note that for many years the Vatican endeavored to make May 15 a holiday for Catholic work-

ers as a kind of counterweight to May Day. The scheme was only moderately successful, and for some time now Catholics have been celebrating May Day together with other workers.)

As the Catholics themselves admit, the Roman Church turned to "social matters," or, to use the term of *Rerum novarum*, the "worker problem," somewhat late in the day. The Vatican only became aware of the exploited when they had become a force making their mark in history. Marx and Engels published the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. The first volume of *Capital* was completed in spring 1867. The Paris workers had their first glorious experience of power in 1871. Yet, preoccupied with the Italian *Risorgimento*, with the collapse of papal temporal power and with the crisis that followed the proclamation of papal infallibility (by the First Ecumenical Council, which broke up in July 1870), the Roman curia took but little notice of what was happening in the social sphere within the Catholic camp of the more industrially developed countries. Belgium's Catholic workers had been relatively autonomous for some years; in France, repeal of Le Chapelier Law paved the way for a legal trade union movement; Ketteler, Bishop of Mainz, wrote his *The Labor Question and Christianity* in 1864, and a religious organization, *Arbeiterwohl* (Workers' Welfare), was founded in 1880. In Italy, the encyclical *Rerum novarum* appeared a few months after the founding of the Socialist Party.

Apart from the traditional exhortation to enjoy in common the goods of the world, the encyclical of Leo XIII contained admissions of the grim realities of the "worker problem." Its strictures on bourgeois and liberal

innovations betrayed a nostalgia for the old guilds of artisans and craftsmen. But the spearhead of the polemics was aimed against socialism.

The "new doctrine" affirmed the "right of property" as an immutable natural right, which, the encyclical said, distinguished man from beast and was sanctified by human and divine laws. Since it was impossible to eliminate social inequality, it said, the cause of the Socialists was sterile and contrary to nature. Labor, it said, was expiation of the original sin, and suffering was the lot of Man. The recompense for labor should provide the worker with but a frugal livelihood; abuse and fraud had to be uprooted to ensure class collaboration, but public authority was to concentrate primarily on *reducing the commoners to obedience*, "because, though justice may recognize that they are striving to better their lot, neither justice nor the common weal can tolerate damage to the property of others or seizure of the goods of others on the pretext of an anonymous equality."

For all its soothing tenor, in the final count *Rerum novarum* was based on a *private-property* concept. "The right to private property," it said, "derives not from human, but from natural law; public authority cannot destroy it; all authority can do is to mitigate its operation and bring it into harmony with the common weal; to extract under duress more than is due from private persons is unjust and inhuman."

Years passed. The workingman asserted himself more and more in public and political affairs. The world's first state based on public ownership of the means of production came into being in 1917 and withstood the counter-offensive of the national and international bourgeoisie. A disastrous crisis beset the capitalist world in 1929. Lack of confidence in the existing system spread far and wide, while the Soviet Union launched out on its first five-year plan.

Such was the environment in which the second Catholic social encyclical, *Quadragesimo anno* (issued on the fortieth anniversary of *Rerum novarum*), was drawn up (reportedly with Salazar's assistance). This pontifical letter was in many respects clearer and more thorough than its predecessor. Though it contained strictures on liberalism, it was chiefly devoted to anti-socialist and anti-communist polemics, and made a distinct appeal for corporative class "collaboration." It frankly recognized the system of coercion imposed on Italy by fascist legislation in 1926 and 1927, and extolled more than ever the ban on strikes, frowned on all forms of united action by Catholic workers not only with the Com-

munist, but also with "moderate" Socialists and "educators," who, Pius XI declared, were fathered by liberalism but would be succeeded by bolshevism.

The natural right to private property and inheritance was still the dominant postulate. This right, the encyclical said, "must be preserved intact and inviolable." But its approach differed somewhat from that of its predecessor in its treatment of the right to property and the use to which it is put, and of its private and public nature. The function of public authority was not confined to "police" duties only. It was evident that certain conclusions had been gleaned from the course of events. The role of labor was defined more significantly and more in keeping with the times. This was ambiguously, though meaningfully expressed in the formula, "he who does not work, neither shall he eat," borrowed from one of the epistles of St. Paul. The wage problem, carried beyond the primitive concept of merely providing a livelihood (as in *Rerum novarum*) was linked up with productivity and technological progress, and, more broadly, with the economic system, price equilibrium and unemployment.

Dozens of Catholic experts, theologians and economists helped to draw up the encyclical *Mater et magistra*, the third important document of Catholic social doctrine, issued by John XXIII in the early sixties. *Mater et magistra* reflected the much changed picture of the world: newly-independent peoples had stepped on to the stage of history; in many countries radical changes had occurred in the relation of industry to agriculture; such problems as uneven development, hunger zones, emigration, urbanization and over-population had gained urgency. The encyclical betrayed a distinct inclination to camouflage—but not rebut—the point made in *Rerum novarum* about the right to property being a natural right. The wording was more flexible and glossed over some of the outdated formulas of *Rerum novarum* and *Quadragesimo anno*. A new point made its appearance, epitomized by an analysis of the mixed economy. The term "socialization" was used, perhaps even over-used, to denote extension and development of social relationships within the multiplicity of the forms of life, collective endeavor and juridical institutions.

The new in Pope Paul's encyclical is understandable in the light of the above-mentioned developments and, chiefly, in the context of current world affairs. To be sure, the encyclical does not break with the traditional tenets. Yet it betrays a desire to refurbish the approach to the "social question" and to link examination of problems with the newer con-

cepts of John XXIII and the progressive wing in the Ecumenical Council.

Here note should be taken of the contributions made by such scholars and priests as Dominicans Lebreton and Chenu, Jesuit De Lubac and, partly, Maritain, some of whom in the recent past suffered fairly intense persecution at the hands of the Holy See.

Study of the document is greatly facilitated by the commentary published by the Jesuit, Georges Jarlot, in the influential journal, *Civiltà Cattolica*.

"When the encyclical *Mater et magistra* proclaimed in July 1961 that the problem of relations between economically developed and economically developing political communities was perhaps the basic problem of our time," Jarlot wrote, "many were surprised and even dismayed. Was not the Communist threat to the West and to Christian civilization the most urgent of all problems? Russia possessed atomic weapons. She was poised to overtake and surpass the United States in space exploration. China with her vast manpower was entering the technological race. Defense of the West was defense of Christianity."

The reply, Jarlot said, could be that *development was the new name for world peace*, and he added: "This is what Paul VI said somewhat later. *Pacem in terris* was a reminder that peace is now based on a balance of terror, which is a dangerous thing and must be supplanted by something more dependable."

The policy of a crusade, the demented visions of an atomic holocaust and the "rolling-back" theory of Dulles, Pius XII, Adenauer and De Gasperi are no longer acceptable to the religious community, which cannot afford to lose contact with the modern world depressed by the atomic nightmare and the terrifying disproportions that condemn 60 per cent of mankind to malnutrition and hunger. The previous issue of *Civiltà Cattolica*, it is true, carried an article by Messineo, a follower of Pope Pius XII, which denounced peaceful coexistence for buttressing and, in effect, legalizing the socialist regimes stemming from the anti-fascist war and the revolutionary struggles of the nations. Be that as it may, the change of tenor in Pope Paul's encyclical is a fact of the first magnitude.

Populorum progressio proceeded from the basic statement, formulated in the spirit of John XXIII and the Ecumenical discussion, that the social problem is now worldwide in scale. Accordingly, the examination centered on the conditions in which people live today and which make illusory their legitimate striving to end poverty, to affirm their dignity, to be better educated, to gain worldly possessions and to expect improvements. This ap-

plies mostly to countries recently liberated from colonialism.

This general formula is followed by the discouraging picture produced three years ago at the Vatican Council by Norris, the American lay Catholic, who based himself on figures released by FAO and other international organizations. The group of formally Christian North Atlantic countries inhabited by 16 per cent of the world's population, he pointed out, control 70 per cent of the world's goods. In the United States, average annual income per head of population is in excess of \$3,000, whereas in India it is barely \$90, and a mere \$50 in Burundi. Every year, thirty-five million people die of starvation. Average life expectancy in the United States exceeds 70 years; in India it is below 35. In Latin America, holders of big estates, who comprise 1.5 per cent of the population, own more than half the cultivated land. In South Africa, the indigenous population, 70 per cent of the total, owns less than four per cent of the cultivated land.

The main section of the Pope's encyclical noted that in most of the newly-free countries, and in others as well, spontaneous development tends to increase, rather than diminish, the gulf in living standards: the rich nations are making rapid progress, while the poor advance but slowly. Thus, the imbalance is growing. There are food surpluses at one pole and tragic shortages at the other.

Once done with this description of the state of the "third world," the encyclical goes to the root of the matter. It cannot help recasting the view on the institution of property sanctified by Catholic social doctrine for nearly a century as the basic natural law and the pivot of social order.

To be sure, from time to time this "dogmatization" of the right to property was criticized in the Catholic camp itself. Recall, for example, the impassioned polemics of Emmanuel Mounier and the recent plea of Cardinal Lercaro, Archbishop of Bologna, that "as a natural right the right to property" stems from Roman law rather than from biblical texts.

Yet, as we have endeavored to show, the propositions concerning private property made in *Rerum novarum* had not come under criticism, not even in the encyclical of John XXIII.

Today, falling back on a quotation from St. Ambrose, Paul VI is compelled to say that "the earth was given to all, not just to the rich," meaning that "private property is not an absolute and unconditioned right for anybody" and that "wherever a conflict arises between acquired private rights and the cardinal needs of society, it is up to the public

authority to resolve the conflict with the active participation of persons and groups." The encyclical says further that "the public good invokes expropriation of some possessions if—by virtue of their size, partial or complete disuse and the consequent poverty of the population and damage to the interests of the country—they present an obstacle to collective prosperity."

The traditional and conflicting anti-liberal polemics, too, is more incisive and specific; despite compromises, both recent and old, a departure is proclaimed from the system of views "which regarded profit as the essential motive force of economic development, competition as the supreme law of economics and private ownership of means of production as an absolute and unlimited right without any corresponding social obligations."

The reaction to this of the monopoly Press was so violent and threatening that an unsigned article in *L'Osservatore romano* on April 5, 1967, under the headline "Re-read the Encyclical," pointed out that the "encyclical makes no pronouncements against industrialism as such. It recognizes its indisputable contribution to development and does not condemn profit, accumulation, freedom of trade and free initiative. It only condemns the abuses of the present system which treats these realities and these blessings as absolute values or creates unrestricted rights inhibiting social progress from keeping abreast of economic progress, which upsets the harmonious coexistence of men and peoples and brings on all the consequent violent reactions." In the popular mind, however, the purport of the encyclical amounts to fundamental criticism of capitalism, which the progressive labor movement has been exposing since the time of the *Communist Manifesto*.

Another interesting and moderately novel element in the encyclical concerns the traditional Catholic concept of the family* and the dramatic population explosion. The consequences of this explosion have provoked grave differences among the clergy and the episcopate in countries where Protestant competition is strong or the birth rate is very high. Furthermore, they have led to a deep-going controversy among the faithful and have prompted numerous Catholic clergy to make "silent departures" from the dogma. The well-known paper on this subject by Jesuit T. D. Roberts, ex-Archbishop of Bombay, published in *Objections to Roman Catholicism* (London, 1964), cost the author his office.

The encyclical *Mater et magistra* of John

*The main purpose of marriage, proclaimed by Cardinal Ruffini at the Vatican Council as the sole moral justification of marital ties, is procreation.

XXIII touched on the population problem, but offered the traditional answer: "The means and methods of plants and animals in transmitting life cannot be employed."

The dispute at the Ecumenical Council served to attenuate the old formula and, as a result, Paul VI took the matter of contraceptives into his own hands, promising to make a declaration to clear up the issue. *Populorum progressio* does not furnish a conclusive answer, but contains two concessions which are sure to provide food for further debate. The role of the family with all the attributes concerning its structure, the upbringing of children, the relationship of husband and wife, the woman's participation in productive activity, etc., is reaffirmed as basic. However, it is admitted that, depending on place and time, this role "may be excessive" if it prejudices the basic freedoms of the individual. The rapid and chaotic growth of population is recognized as a cause of complications in development, and it is therefore said to be justifiable for the public authority to intervene with "appropriate information" and "suitable measures," provided the freedom of husband and wife is duly respected. Lastly, the Pontiff drew the attention of married couples to the responsibility they bear for national family planning.

Paul VI devotes the second part of his encyclical to remedies he thinks are necessary to "develop the solidarity of mankind." He refers, first and foremost, to "urgent" proposals concerning the work of international organizations created to combat hunger. Also, renewing an appeal made during his 1965 visit to Bombay, he calls on all countries to put into a "world fund" money taken from their military budgets and contributions to assist the needy. Bilateral and multilateral economic aid agreements may still be beneficial, he said, but an aid plan "in the context of worldwide cooperation" would be above all suspicion, for the recipients would have less reason to mistrust the financial and technical aid which at present, all too often, disguises relapses of colonialist policy.

The other aspect of "urgent" intervention concerns the equity of trade agreements between "rich" and "poor" or newly-independent countries. Applied to parties in highly unequal circumstances, the traditional theories of "free exchange" only serve to worsen the plight of the weaker. "Free exchange," the encyclical says, "is unjust if it is not subordinated to the demands of social justice," meaning that prices "freely" formed in the market are liable to cause injustices.

When Paul VI goes from specific proposals to general solutions of a broader sweep after

stating that excessive economic, social and cultural inequality generates tension and discord and imperils peace, his discourse loses lustre and the formulas become vague, bordering on utopia and conflicting with the realities of history. One senses the influence of the ideas of Jacques Maritain, the French neo-Thomist and one of the Pope's favorite authors, whose typically Proudhonist inflections are reproduced almost to the letter in some passages of *Populorum progressio*.

The myth of an "effective world authority" is another thing out of Maritain's *Man and State*, an echo of the universal "ideal society" nurtured largely by medieval visions and an attempt to reduce the complex and different histories of peoples and classes to the artificial and unrealistic idea of supra-nationality that has already fostered many sad illusions during the inter-war period in the League of Nations and elsewhere.

What is also striking is that the Pontiff's encyclical veers sharply from the predominant and more realistic concept set out in *Pacem in terris* of John XXIII, who accepted the plurality of a world created by the endeavors of nations and therefore legitimate and positive, whatever the ideologies that inspired the political movements of modern history. This acceptance is the result of a consistent and objective study of reality; it amounts to recognition of the fact that before mankind can find a radical solution to the problems of peace and justice it will have to travel an unexplored and by no means straight road beset by trials and errors.

As for the encyclical of Paul VI, it appears to be centered predominantly on the typically "catholic" desire of gathering in a single worldwide fold woven of the paternal "sanctity" ever present in Maritain's nostalgia highly dissimilar social, political and historical entities. Mediation, theoretically elevated above the concrete workaday realities of our time—be it even in the name of universally accepted ideals—is liable to lead to a fresh, still more subtle negation of everything the working class has attained or accomplished through its struggles. In the broad practical sense, it may degenerate into an illusion far removed from the original purpose of loosening the dramatic knots that entammel the life and future of modern man and likely to confuse and complicate the problem.

The very essence of peaceful coexistence and competition is distorted in the name of a "common denominator" postulating a withdrawal from positions already conquered by a third of mankind not merely to "rectify" or to denounce "abuses," but to abolish exploitation of many by man, the real cause of all

the inequalities, of the starvation of two-thirds of the human race and of the agonizing menace of atomic extermination.

Still, *Populorum progressio* is more than a document recording the problems of our time and more than a working "hypothesis" elaborated by an authoritative organ formally dissociated from the main political and social groupings. It has the weight of a "manifesto" calling on all men of goodwill to face up to problems of common concern. In this sense, it is decidedly a biased and clumsy tendency to deduce from the encyclical that the "third world" stands opposed to the industrially developed countries irrespective of their social system and to reduce its entire content to an appeal for large-scale charity through the distribution of "surpluses" and easy credits.

The appearance of Pope Paul's encyclical, its manifest effort to keep abreast of the times and the identification—by the Church, too, at long last—of problems essential to human progress, the response to it in the Catholic world, coupled with the new forces it will generate in that world, permit an extension of the dialogue already under way between influential forces, above all in Europe and Latin America, to the point where it will actuate convergent, decisive and concrete action.

Such convergent action on many of the issues in capitalist countries may even now, on the strength of the encyclical and its very contradictions, lead to joint acts of a more profound nature and of greater significance. It goes without saying that Communists cannot stop at merely stating that the social problem has gained worldwide dimensions. They know that the class struggle, too, has worldwide dimensions. It follows that the world cannot be divided into "rich" and "poor" peoples who do not communicate other than through exchange. If this were so, it would suffice to replace exchange based on plunder and exploitation with the charitable aid of the "rich" to the "poor" in order to attain welfare and equality throughout the world.

We are faced with the entirely different problem of what alternative should be invoked against the further degradation of human existence in the capitalist countries, and what kind of development, different and autonomous, should be adopted by the newly-free countries. These are two sides of one and the same problem confronting mankind, oppressed in the capitalist and the developing countries alike by the same mechanism of political, economic and technological domination.

The encyclical of Paul VI provides an ambiguous answer. In our opinion, it will evoke a dual, diametrically opposite response—a re-

volutionary and a neo-capitalist one—in the Catholic world. In this encyclical both progressive and reactionary Catholics will find substantiation for their respective attitudes. Those who think that the rich countries should aid the poor countries and those who think that the system of exploitation should be destroyed and that underdeveloped countries should follow the non-capitalist road, will have to go their separate ways in the practical sense, in concrete political actions.

There is yet another contradiction. *Populorum progressio* says that “the technocracy of tomorrow may become the source of evils no less terrible than the liberalism of yesterday,” because “economy and technology have no sense unless they serve man.” This is a clear denunciation of that neo-capitalist technocracy of which Italy’s Demo-Christian rulers are zealous champions.

The progressive Catholic wing is again constrained to speak about a different road for the capitalist West, which, moreover, is a precondition for the economic development of the “third world.” That is a problem of history-making importance and immense complexity. The difficulties encountered by the world Communist movement, the main force that can, despite temporary hitches, find the right solution, show that the problem is a grave one.

It is on this ground that Communists and Catholics should show mutual interest, meet and compare views and, on this ground, too, that a collision is inevitable within the Catholic world itself, between progressives and reactionaries, because here the encyclical again contains an obvious contradiction. The independent progress of undeveloped countries can be secured only by planned economic and social policy. To be sure, this policy must not substitute capitalist economic and technological management for the traditional methods of life and labor. It must be directed towards the development of the traditions of produc-

tion in these countries and go hand in hand with the removal of the forces of oppression and exploitation. Briefly, the producers there must have an opportunity to create the conditions for progress and to determine its tempo and direction.

Populorum progressio furnishes two possible but conflicting solutions of the problem. On the one hand, it says that capitalist development must not recur in the countries concerned, because “the developing peoples must know how to choose: to criticize and extirpate the falsehoods that debase the human ideal.” On the other hand, it brings forward the old Catholic doctrine of the “surpluses” that the rich countries should turn over to the poor—which contradicts the previous proposition. All this bears out the fact that the inconsistency of the Catholic doctrine of class collaboration stands out in clear relief in the sphere of concrete solutions.

The monopoly Press has levelled sharp criticism at some of the points in the encyclical. For their part, the present leaders of the Christian Democratic Party are also trying to minimize its impact, treating it as an ordinary renunciation of capitalism in the phase of competition and as a laudation of planned neo-capitalism and of charity. But the millions of Catholic workers who from their own daily experience are acquainted with the problems of our time, must decide whether the encyclical is the compilation of common-places that the Christian Democratic leaders would have us believe. If that is so it does not harmonize with its professed universal intent, which was the purpose of its appearance, and loses all political, moral and cultural weight—or whether it is active by virtue of the really new element contained in it, in which case the Catholic militant may, for the first time in history, overcome the limitations of the society in which exploitation of man by man prevails and abandon class collaboration in order to take his place alongside the Communists in the class struggle.

South Korea: supplier of cannon-fodder

VASSAL OF U.S.

IN SOUTH KOREA the United States still maintains some 60,000 troops in addition to Hawk and Nike-Hercules guided missiles and other weaponry. Whereas in North Korea the people are successfully building socialism, their compatriots in the south live under the military dictatorship of the U.S. puppet Chung Hee Park. A former officer in the Japanese army who took part in the aggression against neighboring countries, and later a U.S. intelligence officer, Chung Hee Park was installed with the help of U.S. bayonets. Park is one of the few accomplices the U.S. has managed to scrape up for its war against the people of Vietnam. South Korea is under the complete political, economic and military control of the U.S. invaders. It is they and not the Chung Hee Park puppet regime who are the real masters of the country. All the actions of the Seoul clique are directed from Washington.

The Seoul regime figures prominently in Washington's design for a coalition of puppets to cover up its aggression in Asia with the flags of Asian countries. The entire foreign and domestic policy of Seoul is geared to facilitating this imperialist plan.

It was precisely with this aim in view that the relations between Japan and South Korea were "normalized" in 1965, following which, at Washington's bidding, steps were taken to build a new Southeast Asian military bloc. The essence of Chung Hee Park's message to the South Korean "national assembly," delivered last January, boils down to three points: "speedier creation of the community of Asian and Pacific countries" (meaning active participation in setting up an anti-communist military bloc of U.S. Asian satellites), "maintenance of fighting ability in Vietnam" (the dispatch of more South Korean soldiers to South Vietnam), and "active contribution to the Vietnam pacification plan."

15 UNEMPLOYED PER 100 EMPLOYED

To achieve these ends, the Seoul regime is militarizing the country. Its 600,000-strong army has been modernized and equipped with U.S.

aid. Direct military spending last year increased by 25 per cent. In addition, large sums are being spent on the construction of naval ports, airfields and other military installations. Direct and indirect military expenditures make up 70 per cent of all budget allocations.

The militarization, which undermines the national economy, weighs heavily on the working people. The so-called second five-year plan (1967-71), announced late last year, spells ruthless plunder of the people and complete dependence on foreign capital. It envisages, for instance, almost doubling taxation, increased railway fares and other devices for extorting money from the people.

Foreign capital, chiefly American, is to provide almost 40 per cent of planned investment. The terms imposed by U.S. monopolies guarantee them domination on the South Korean market and investment in branches connected with militarization and the war in Vietnam.

The result is economic disintegration and the impoverishment of the working people in town and country. Even the *Wall Street Journal* admits that wages and salaries in South Korea are among the lowest in Asia. Millions of peasants cannot maintain their families, and every year a quarter of a million of them leave for the towns. Unemployment is rife: seven million fully and partially unemployed out of a population of 28.4 million. There are fifteen unemployed per 100 employed.

TRADE IN HUMAN BEINGS

The way out, as seen by the Chung Hee Park clique, is to sell cannon-fodder. Anxious to use the opportunities provided by the market of the Vietnam war, it has already sold 55,000 soldiers to Washington, thus becoming the biggest supplier of cannon-fodder to the U.S. imperialists. During his visit to Washington last March Chung Il Kwong, Prime Minister of the puppet government, declared outright that the South Korean army would continue to participate in the U.S. war in Vietnam. According to reports from Seoul, another 30,000 soldiers are to be sent to South Vietnam this year.

Another 10,000 South Koreans are building strategic installations in South Vietnam, and

these will shortly be joined by a 10,000-strong "labor corps" and 7,000 skilled workers. The South Korean Overseas Development Corporation plans to send this year 500 engineers and technicians to the Pacific islands where they will work under contract to the U.S. military authorities. A thousand South Korean miners are to go to Canada, and 1,500 trained nurses to West Germany. Farm laborers are "exported" to Latin American countries, and negotiations are under way with Australia, Japan and Scandinavian countries.

The Seoul rulers claim that the exodus of South Korean workers to other countries is "the highway to happiness" which "gives hope of a better life to poorly dressed and hungry people."

The export of human beings is highly profitable for the ruling clique. According to the official South Korean news agency, last year the rulers of South Korea earned 65 million dollars on the war in Vietnam.

REACTIONARIES AGAINST REUNIFICATION

The U.S. colonial occupation and the reactionary policy pursued by the Chung Hee Park government prevent the unification of the country, which is national problem No. 1.

The government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea has been doing its best to bring about reunification in the interests of the nation. It stresses that this problem can and must be solved by the Koreans themselves. "The unification issue, an internal question of our nation, should be solved on the principle that the unification should be brought about by us Koreans tolerating no outside interference, in a democratic way, and by peaceful means.

"The basic measures we have invariably suggested for the unification of the country are: to establish a unified, democratic, central government by means of free North-South general elections following the withdrawal of all foreign troops," Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the PDRK Cabinet, wrote last January in his message to Yong Jeung Kim, president of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington.

A general election in the South and in the North can be held only when freedom of action for political parties and the freedoms and rights of the people are ensured, Kim Il Sung stressed in the message. There are no foreign troops in North Korea at present, and what is needed is the withdrawal of the U.S. troops which occupy South Korea as a "United Nations force." Stressing the independent policy of the North Korean government in the struggle for reunification, Kim Il Sung noted that if an independent political regime is established in South Korea as well, or if South Korea is made neutral, reunification could easily be achieved by the Koreans themselves.

North Korea is ready to discuss any proposal and to work for achieving identity of views regarding reunification.

The PDRK government has also suggested the setting up of a North-South confederation as a step towards restoring national contacts prior to complete reunification. During this period a supreme national committee consisting of equal numbers of representatives of the North and South would coordinate economic and cultural development and promote contacts between the two parts of the country. These and many other proposals were reaffirmed in Kim Il Sung's message.

In contrast to the PDRK government's independent attitude to this issue, the South Korean authorities have taken the road of relying on external forces, not the road of national independence. They are not in the least interested in national unity and reunification.

Chung Hee Park's puppet regime, wholly dependent on the U.S. imperialists, takes its orders from Washington and therefore cannot be regarded as spokesman for the people of South Korea. Ignoring the striving of the people for reunification, it propounds "reunification through victory over communism." *Nodon Sinmun*, organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labor, commented that the Chung Hee Park clique are concerned solely with "mustering forces in order to gain preponderance over the North." It has postponed discussion of reunification until the late 'seventies, when "the preparation for victory over communism is completed." This tactic of the occupants and their puppets is explained by the deepening crisis of U.S. imperialism in South Korea, the growth of the revolutionary forces and the weakening of the reactionaries' positions in the country.

Obedient to the will of their Washington masters, the South Korean rulers are doing everything to perpetuate the division of the country. In the meantime, U.S. troops are stepping up the provocations against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. The Korean Central News Agency reported that in the first week of April U.S. troops opened artillery and machine-gun fire across the border on twenty-two occasions, firing more than 9,000 rounds. The obvious aim is to divert public attention from the South Korean puppets' direct complicity in the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, from the proposals of the PDRK government which open the road to peaceful reunification, for they envisage an end to the U.S. occupation of South Korea.

South Koreans are forbidden even to talk of reunification. Offenders are promptly put behind bars, charged with violation of the "anti-communist law." Last December a sentence of two years imprisonment was passed on Suh Min Ho, leader of the recently founded Social Democratic Party and its nominee for the forthcoming presidential election. He was condemned for having spoken out in favor of North-South postal contacts, North-South tourism and sports contests, and for holding talks with PDRK leaders on peaceful reunification. He had also opposed the sending of South

Korean soldiers to South Vietnam. The Seoul clique did not spare even a candidate for presidency, an anti-communist, a man who had but recently been chairman of the "national assembly."

However, despite the repressions, more and more voices are heard in South Korea denouncing the participation in the U.S. aggression against Vietnam and insisting on the withdrawal of the U.S. occupation forces from South Korea as a requisite for peaceful and democratic reunification.

The people of South Korea, becoming more and more aware of the progress being made by their fellow-countrymen in the North, of the peaceful attitude of the PDRK to reunification

and the enthusiasm with which the people in the North are working for the good of their country, are joining the struggle against the U.S. occupants and their flunkies.

The working people of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea denounce the South Korean puppets who are trying to perpetuate the division of the country and the military occupation of its southern part by the United States. The government of the PDRK has declared repeatedly that the people of Korea will support with might and main the just struggle of the people of Vietnam against the U.S. aggressors and their accomplices, the reactionary Chung Hee Park clique.

D. POSPELOV

Some aspects of the Syrian situation

MAURICE SALIBI

SEVENTEEN MONTHS AGO, on February 23, 1966, the struggle in the Syrian Baath Party culminated in the expulsion of its Right-wing. Among the expelled were those who, opposed to the country's progressive development, turned for support to the reactionaries.

Power was assumed by the Left, which pursues both national and socialist aims. The government formed after the expulsion of the Right included one Communist and a number of independents, and was augmented some months later by representatives from other progressive groups. Today, Arab Socialists, Socialist Unionists and Social Democrats are represented in the government by one minister each, although all the main ministries are in the hands of Baathists.

In agreeing to participate in the government the Communist Party was guided by its basic aim at the present stage of Syria's development, namely, to effect progressive economic and social changes and secure the preconditions for building socialism in Syria.

Now, seventeen months later, it is clear that the general trend has been a positive one—both in terms of home development and in some aspects of foreign policy.

Syria has succeeded in pulling down the wall of isolation erected by the Baath Right. Relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have greatly improved. Close contact, highlighted by mutual aid and solidarity, has been established with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Korean People's Democratic Republic has opened a diplomatic mission in Damascus.

The past year has been most fruitful in economic and cultural agreements and in exchanges of delegations between Syria and the socialist countries.

Solidarity with the liberated Arab states has grown stronger. A joint defense treaty was concluded with the UAR to counter Israeli subversion along Syria's borders. The two countries have undertaken to help each other in combating the reactionary activities of the rulers of Saudi Arabia and Jordan, the imper-

ialist and Zionist plots and the project for an Islamic Alliance.

Damascus has been the scene of numerous demonstrations of solidarity with the Arab liberation movement. An international trade union conference of solidarity with the working people of Aden helped towards making for closer relations between the Arab workers and labor movements in other countries.

The Syrians are firmly determined not to give way to imperialism and the oil trusts. The Iraq Petroleum Company has been told to abide by the terms of the agreement signed with Syria in 1955, whereby the country is entitled to half the profits derived from the oil piped across its territory. The Company has been doctoring the figures since 1955, so much so that in the one year of 1966 Syria found herself swindled out of £4,700,000. And although the Company admitted the falsifying of accounts, it preferred to shut down the pipeline rather than seek a just settlement. The British imperialists seized on the situation to worsen relations between Syria and Iraq and to pressure the Iraqi government into granting them new concessions.

But Syria's firm stand, coupled with the manifestations in Iraq against the Company, frustrated the imperialist designs, and the Iraqi government, too, adopted a firm stand in its dealings with the IPC.

The Communists and the other progressive Arab forces, and the socialist countries too, backed Syria in her just struggle. The Company knuckled down, paid the sum required by Syria for 1966 and agreed to resume negotiations concerning sums due for 1955 and the subsequent period.

A Communist Party manifesto characterized the outcome as a big victory, signifying a new stage in the Arab peoples' fight against the oil monopolies.

More recently, Tapline, a U.S. company, has been notified that its terms of operating on Syrian territory are in need of revision.

Syria has signed a number of economic agreements with the socialist countries. A dam on

the Euphrates to irrigate 600,000 hectares of land will be built with Soviet aid. The power station will generate three times more electricity than is presently generated in Syria. Spade-work on the project has begun. The Soviet Union and Bulgaria are helping build a railway to link the grain and cotton growing area of Djesire and Aleppo with the Mediterranean. A nitrogen fertilizer plan is also going up, and Czechoslovakia is aiding in the construction of a third sugar refinery and a second oil refinery.

In April 1968 Syrian oil will begin to flow to harbors. For the first time, Arab oil will be extracted by Arabs without imperialist middlemen.

Agreements have been concluded with Poland and Rumania to develop the recently discovered phosphate deposits, and the agrarian reform, for all its deficiencies, is being carried out.

These developments are the fruit of the arduous battle fought against the reactionaries who are resisting progress. Once these objects are completed, Syria will take on a new look.

Like the imperialists, the reactionary Arab rulers are obviously irked by the developments in Syria. The Jordan and Saudi Arabian radio, and imperialist-subsidized Beirut newspapers indulge in daily tirades against the Syrian regime. The Israeli government, prompted by the imperialists, provokes armed incidents on the Syrian border. (On April 7, for example, a massive Israeli attack was mounted across the Syrian border, which the Syrian army repulsed.)

Though they have lost many of their political and economic levers, the home reactionaries, still influential, are bent on regaining power. They have secret political organizations and have agents in the administrative machinery. Baath Rightists, backed by the imperialists, local sheikhs and reactionaries, tried, but failed, to bring off a coup in September 1966. After their failure, thanks to the vigilance of the progressive Army officers and the armed workers, the plotters fled to Jordan, where they publicly admitted their opposition to the Government's progressive policy and discarded all their disguises.

But the imperialists and the reactionaries are still bent on subverting the progressive experiment, on restoring the anti-popular regime. Aware that the progressive trend in Syria derives from the cooperation of the progressive forces, they are at pains to disrupt their alliance and the budding mutual aid. The numerous reactionary agents in the administrative apparatus, especially in the economic sector, have picked on the nationalized enterprises as the prime object of their nefarious activities. They are also exploiting the mistakes made due to lack of knowledge and experience by people in authority.

It is therefore essential to seek out and study the flaws and deficiencies, and to find solutions ensuring the country's normal advance, in order to thwart the reactionary sallies, safeguard and

extend the gains and carry through the scheduled economic projects.

Economically, the situation is favorable for further progress. Most of the commanding heights in the economy are controlled by the state. The nationalization program, the latest phase of which was legislated more than two years ago, has elbowed out foreign capital and private ownership from large-scale industry, banking and, to a considerable degree, in foreign trade. But, inevitably, difficulties arise.

The absence of scientific planning is one drawback, with the result that the economy lacks clear-cut objectives and purposeful guidance. The development plan, such as it is, consists of just a few pages of figures indicating budgetary revenue and the expenditure envisaged for the five years 1966-70; in effect it is a list of contemplated investments in major projects.

Banking still functions along capitalist lines. Private persons may, as before, obtain from the banks fairly large sums. The bank managers have not brought their work into line with the new tasks—financing the development projects, promoting industrialization and assisting agricultural and other producer cooperatives.

The nationalized factories have no plan and no centralized administration. Some of the managers are opposed to the progressive changes and maintain contact with the former owners. The big wholesalers, and sometimes even the former owners, buy the output of the nationalized factories and re-sell it to retailers, with the result that some of them earn more than they did before the nationalization. In the meantime, the workers have no say at all in running the factories, and no effective measures are being taken to combat sabotage.

The agrarian reform, inaugurated by the first reform law nine years ago, is not being enforced thoroughly enough and proceeds very slowly. Some 4,000 big landowners, while they lost land in the reform, still control one-sixth of the land. Only about a third of the confiscated land has been distributed among the peasants. They are given land, but not the title deeds to it. The other two-thirds are let for rent. What this amounts to is that for a number of years the state has merely replaced the dispossessed owners.

One reason for the slow distribution of land is that those handling the reform refuse to let peasant representatives have a say in it. Everything is in the hands of the bureaucratic machine.

Recent amendments to the reform law are designed to speed matters up, but other amendments enable owners of up to 300 hectares to retain their title provided they irrigate the fields at their own cost or if their land comes under one of the government irrigation schemes, such as the Euphrates dam project.

Syria has a permanent class of farm laborers and landless peasants. The farming cooperatives are little more than groups of peasants who help each other get loans from the agri-

cultural bank. None of them can be described as a producer cooperative.

The economic policy of the Communist Party is centered on preventing the rise of new groups to replace the dispossessed big bourgeoisie. The Party is against confiscating the property of the small and medium size proprietors in industry, agriculture and commerce. It is not calling for any more nationalization in industry. Yet it says that conditions in which a new big bourgeoisie could develop should be ruled out. The Party holds that it is possible gradually to restrict capitalist production relations and to go over to non-capitalist relations of production. This, it holds, can be done without further nationalization, by extending the state sector in industry through genuine economic planning, public control of production and distribution, abolishing the system of private middlemen in dealings between state-owned enterprises, retailers and consumers, and by a gradual elimination of private capital in state-sponsored building projects.

In agriculture, capitalism can be avoided through a radical agrarian reform; all the land in the possession of the feudal beys and big landowners should be confiscated without compensation and turned over to the peasants through producer cooperatives, which the peasants would be encouraged to join of their own free will.

The task of the progressives is to consolidate and expand the economic and social reforms, to frustrate the plotting of the imperialists and reactionaries, to improve economic management and rally the working class and all working people to realize these goals. This will not be an easy matter. Above all, it necessitates an enduring alliance of all the progressive forces, and a correct attitude to the working class. True, the progressive forces are represented in the government, but the ministers are restricted in the use of their democratic rights. Some Baathists want them to do nothing but extol the work of the government. They are blind to the balance of forces in the country, blind to the fact that the reactionaries still possess economic resources, secret political organizations and agents in the administrative machinery and, moreover, that their resistance has not lapsed. On the contrary, it is being stepped up; they engage in sabotage and, making the most of every mistake, incite the people against the regime, against its progressive measures. It is not enough to hold power; reactionary designs must be thwarted. What is needed is political and economic work by all progressives, especially those who sincerely espouse socialism.

By virtue of Syria's historical background, the progressive forces are divided into several parties and groups. Wishful thinking will not change this. It is necessary to examine the relationship of forces, and we must learn how to extend the base of power in order to win the active support of the people for our gains. The progressives should make the most of their democratic rights and build a common front in

which each forward-looking group could play its part and bear its share of responsibility for safeguarding the nation's development. To be more precise, any manifestation of anti-communism on the part of a member or members of a progressive group can be taken as stemming either from an anti-socialist class bias bent on turning Syria into a land of kulaks and middle bourgeois, or from the effects of reactionary propaganda and intimidation by sheikhs and imperialists.

A meeting of the Party's Central Committee held in February discussed home and international problems. Among other things, its communique pointed to the importance of cooperation by all progressives. It called on the members to fight on against the intrigues and sallies of the imperialists and other reactionaries who are seeking to subvert Syria's progress and disrupt the cooperation—limited though it is—that prevails at this time between the Left Baathists, the Communists and the other progressive groups, to injure Syria's relations with the friendly socialist countries and to obstruct the development projects, particularly the Euphrates dam.

Work for broader and deeper cooperation with the object of making it a genuine and just cooperation, says the communique, cooperation in all political and economic affairs, in work among the people and in the mass organizations—such cooperation is essential to safeguard the progressive national regime and ensure its further advance.

"Establishing a broad national progressive front against imperialism and reaction and the survivals of feudalism and big capital," the communique continues, "a front capable of rallying all the national progressive forces of the people and of becoming the mainstay of the regime—is the best and most effective way to promote political and economic independence, to deepen and extend the socio-economic reforms, safeguard the gains of the people and meet their basic material and cultural requirements. The establishment of a national progressive front will be a guarantee of advance along the road of democracy and social progress, to socialist objectives and genuine Arab unity based on equality and brotherhood."

On the Syrian scene today, the working people are the mainstay of the social reconstruction. The small and middle bourgeoisie have not been affected by the reforms. No demands are made to deprive them of their property. What is needed, however, is to wrest the small bourgeoisie from the ideological influence of the big bourgeoisie. Hence the regime should rely chiefly on the support of the working class and the poor peasants, its dependable champions. The workers hailed the nationalization. They took part in defeating the various reactionary plots. And it is essential that they should feel that deliverance from the capitalists is in their interest. No stone should be left unturned to improve their conditions and to ensure their democratic and trade union rights.

At the very least, the gains and the rights they have wrested for themselves from the bourgeoisie must be upheld, their opinions and political sympathies respected. Workers should be represented in the union leadership. This calls for free elections in which all nominees would be able to print and circulate their platforms. If our economy and production are to prosper, the repeated promises of workers' representation on factory boards must be redeemed.

The enemies of socialism are trying to distract the working class from socialist ideas.

But we are certain that our people will disappoint the hopes of the imperialists and reactionaries. Taking inspiration from Marxism-Leninism and basing themselves on the objective conditions today in Syria, the Communists will work on hand in hand with all other progressives for the solution of all the problems facing the country. The parties and people in the socialist countries, and all the patriotic and anti-imperialist forces in the Arab countries and throughout the world are with Syria's progressives.

South Arabia: the battle for independence

AMONG THE PEOPLES engaged in armed struggle to achieve national independence and to end imperialist domination are the people of South Arabia. Day by day the struggle taking place in that part of the Arab homeland is gaining momentum. It occupies an important place in the overall struggle in the Arab world between the forces of freedom and progress, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and reaction, on the other.

The Arab South, with its variety of socioeconomic conditions and its numerous political and administrative divisions and entities, includes the British colony of Aden and a great number of Arab princedoms (Emirates, Sultanates and Sheikdoms) of the Western Aden Protectorate and the Eastern Aden Protectorate.*

The total population of South Arabia is over one million, whereas the population of most of the entities scarcely exceeds a few thousand. The boundaries of some of them are determined by the location of the scattered members of the tribe in the particular area. Furthermore, the boundaries are extended or restricted in accordance with the whims of the British Governor residing in Aden. In 1959 the British, resorting to all sorts of subterfuge, succeeded in uniting part of the Arab princedoms of the Western Aden Protectorate and the Aden colony into a federation of South Arabian princedoms. The federation, which in 1962 was officially proclaimed as the Federation of South Arabia, was created by Britain as an instrument of its policy in that area.

Most important for the economic, political and social life of the Arab South is the city of Aden with its harbor at the entrance from the

Red Sea to the Indian Ocean near the Bab el Mandeb Strait. Aden is the "nerve center" of the entire ramified network of British military bases and an important stronghold of the British East-of-Suez policy. Also in the Aden area are the biggest British air and naval base in the Middle East and East Africa and a big concentration of military forces.

The British colonialists use their base in Aden mainly for two purposes: for aggressive actions against the liberation struggle of the peoples in the Arab East (as was the case, for example, during the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956), and to maintain the rule of the imperialist oil monopolies over the richest oil resources of the Arab countries—Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Abu Dhabi, Bahrein and the Arab princedoms on the coast of the Persian Gulf, which all in all account for 17 per cent of the world's oil output.

Aden also has an oil refinery, and ships bound for Southeast Asia take on fuel there.

The more than a century of British imperialist rule has brought untold suffering to the people of South Arabia. With the exception of the city and port of Aden, the development and growth of which was determined by the imperialist interests, the population of practically all the rest of the South was deprived of any possibility of progress. There are only a few primary schools in what is called the Aden Protectorate. There is not a single secondary school or college. In the whole of the Protectorate there is not even a proper hospital. The one asphalted road serves military purposes. The roads linking the coastal areas with the interior are narrow and difficult to use in winter, which accounts for the fact that the main means of transport in most desert areas

*Hence South Arabia is often referred to in the press as Aden.

is the camel, and in the coastal areas small sailing vessels.

The people have never resigned themselves to the rule of British imperialism. The history of the Arab South knows not a few examples of heroic actions for freedom and independence. In this connection mention could be made of such events as the mass demonstration in Aden in May 1956 in protest against the visit of Lord Lloyd, then Parliamentary Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office, the rebellions of the tribes in Upper Aulaqi in 1955-58, the general strike of the Aden working people in protest against the ban imposed by the British Governor-General on immigration into Aden of Arab workers from other parts of Arabia in April 1958, the revolt of Hadhramaut in 1961, and many others.

In the course of the liberation movement various patriotic parties and organizations were formed in the Arab South, which headed the struggle of the masses: the Aden Trades Union Congress, the South Arabian League, and the People's Socialist Party.

An outstanding role in the liberation movement is played by the young working class in Aden. There are over 50,000 wage and salary workers in the city and port of Aden alone. Most of them are organized. The main trade union center—the Trades Union Congress—has a membership of nearly 30,000. Formed at a time of the bitter struggles between the workers and the proprietors (the latter, mostly of the foreign companies), the TUC is the recognized leader of the Aden working class.

Powerful actions of the workers and the entire population against the colonialists were organized under the leadership of the TUC in Aden: the general strike in the spring of 1956 (during which 5,000 oil refinery workers, over 2,000 dockers as well as service and transport workers demanded freedom for South Arabia and the abolition of the occupation regime); the general strike in 1960 against the attempt of the colonial authorities in Aden to push through another anti-labor law; strike actions by the workers and other sections of the working people in February, March, July and September 1962, and many others. The actions fought by the working class and other strata—office workers, students and traders—have turned Aden into a center of bitter class and national struggle for the liberation of the entire Arab South.

The demands of the broad sections of the population such as "End the occupation regime!" and "Freedom for South Arabia!" have been invariably met with unconcealed hostility by the British colonial rulers. The colonialists directed their blows primarily against the working-class movement and tried to divide its ranks. They arrested its leaders and militants. Among the best known of the martyrs is Ali Hussein Al Kadhi, former President of the Aden TUC, murdered in 1966. Other trade unionists murdered were Abdullah Al Salafi and Saleh Muhsen. Many other leaders were thrown into jails and concentration camps. However, colo-

nia list reprisals have failed to break the resistance of the workers and all other patriots in Aden.

When in 1960 the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations passed, on the initiative of the Soviet Government, a resolution calling for the independence of the colonial territories and peoples, the national organizations of Aden submitted the following demands to UNO:

1. Withdrawal of all British troops and the dismantling of the British base;
2. Annulment of the London Treaty which created the South Arabian Federation;
3. Total rejection of the restrictions imposed on the press and on public meetings;
4. Dissolution of the existing legislative bodies such as the Aden Legislative Council and the Federation Supreme Council and their replacement by legislative bodies genuinely representing the people;
5. General elections under the supervision of the United Nations and the League of Arab States so that the people may freely elect their representatives.

By a majority of votes the Special Commission of UNO approved a resolution expressing grave anxiety and concern over the situation in Aden and the Protectorates and acknowledging the right of the peoples to self-determination. The Commission recommended that the people of the area be given the chance, as soon as possible, to decide their own destiny in conditions of freedom and genuine democracy. It also called on the government of the United Kingdom to release all political prisoners, allow all political leaders in exile to return to their country and to annul all restrictions on political activity and human rights.

The problem of Aden and the Protectorates was discussed again in the United Nations in March-April 1964 and again in May 1965. The resolution adopted by the U.N. Special Commission on Aden on May 17, 1965, expressed grave concern over the explosive situation which has developed in the area and which endangers peace and security. This situation is the result of the policy followed by the government responsible for the administration of the area. The Commission held that the proper way to settle the problem of Aden was the speedy and full implementation of the U.N. resolutions, especially the resolution urging independence for colonial territories and peoples.

The Commission urged the United Kingdom to annul the state of emergency and all the laws restricting public liberties; stop immediately all repressive measures against the people of the area and especially all military operations; release all detainees and allow all political exiles to return to their homeland; arrange an immediate conference open to all sections of public opinion to decide upon the necessary measures for holding general elections to be followed by the formation of a government and representative councils for all the people of the area and thus ensure speedy implementation of independence.

The attitude of British imperialism towards U.N. resolutions and to the appeals of U.N. commissions was one of negligence and determination to maintain its rule over that part of the world. This became clear to the people of the area, and their logical answer was the resort to armed rebellion throughout South Arabia. All the organizations declared for armed struggle. Armed resistance started in Radfan, Ad-Dhala and elsewhere. Raids on British army camps became frequent. Bombs were thrown at British troop concentrations in Aden. The armed resistance gained importance with every passing day as experience accumulated.

The growth of anti-British sentiment and the upsurge of the movement for the independence of South Arabia were furthered to a large extent by the victory of the revolution in Yemen in September 1962, the overthrow of the monarchy and the proclamation of a republic. The impact of these developments on the liberation movement in South Arabia was all the greater in view of the fact that some 80,000 people in Aden (i.e., practically one-third of its population) come from Yemen. Taking an active part in the liberation movement side by side with the entire Arab population of South Arabia, they regard this area as an occupied territory of South Yemen. Not long ago, a new organization—the Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South Yemen—grew out of a merger of various patriotic national trends and headed the struggle for the freedom and independence of South Arabia.

The features of the struggle for the liberation of occupied South Arabia have crystallized clearly. On the one side, there are the masses of the people fighting for independence in alliance with the Yemeni republicans and all progressive forces in the Arab world, and on the other side—the imperialists and reactionaries who are trying by all means to maintain their domination over that part of the Arab world.

The imperialists, drawing on the Yemeni Royalists as the spearhead against the republican regime in Yemen, also count on the Sultans and Sheikhs whom they have collected in the so-called South Arabian Federation created by Britain.

The fight of the people of South Arabia for freedom and independence enjoys the sympathy of the masses in other countries. The international working class has declared its solidarity with the fight of the people of Aden. Three international conferences in support of the people of Aden were held—in Cairo in January 1964, in Bulgaria in May 1965, and in Damascus in January 1967. These meetings, attended by representatives of the trade unions of the Soviet

Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and also by trade unions in France, Somaliland, South Africa, Sudan, India and Chile, were a magnificent manifestation of the solidarity between the three revolutionary currents of our day.

Under pressure of the national-liberation movement in South Arabia, and under pressure of international public opinion, the British government has declared its agreement to grant independence to South Arabia in 1968 and to dismantle its military base in Aden around the same date. Britain has already begun to shift its base from Aden to Bahrein in order to continue its domination over the political and economic life of South Arabia after withdrawal from Aden. The Sheikhdoms and Sultanates of the so-called South Arabian Federation signed a secret agreement with the British pertaining to "defense" of their regimes after the British withdrawal. At the same time the U.S. imperialists are exerting pressure on the Wilson Government in an attempt to induce it to maintain troops in Aden and to continue its East-of-Suez policy. The Sheikhs and the Sultans, evidently mindful of this attitude of the United States, also declared in London last March that "their government" would give up their call for independence next year should the British government refuse to maintain troops in Aden and in the Protectorates. And behind the Sultans and Sheikhs are the rulers of Saudi Arabia.

Be that as it may, the political situation in South Arabia remains tense. Mass political strikes have swept the area. The patriots are using all forms of struggle against the imperialists and their agents. The armed struggle against the British is gaining momentum. The British troops, using napalm, are destroying villages in the Arab South. Assassination of national-liberation leaders and trade unionists is a common occurrence. Prisons are filled with patriots.

The people, however, are rallying more and more around the Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South Yemen. They are absolutely against any postponement of independence or intrigue by the British government. This determined revolutionary stand, which became more apparent on the day of the arrival in Aden of a special U.N. mission early in April, unmasked all the maneuvers of the British government and forced the mission to cut short its stay.

The feature of our times is that imperialism can no longer subjugate the people to its wishes and desires. The strength of the people is unlimited, be it in Southern Arabia or elsewhere.

Salem AMEEN

Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

A BUSINESS-LIKE, scientific approach, revolutionary enthusiasm, pride in the achievements, and close unity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries highlighted the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party held in Berlin over April 17-22.

The Congress expressed resolute protest against the atrocities perpetrated by the U.S. aggressors and other reactionaries, and profound solidarity with the people of Vietnam and all forces fighting for freedom, democracy and socialism.

In addition to the Central Committee's report, which had been distributed in written form, the Congress discussed a report by Walter Ulbricht on "Social Development in the GDR Prior to Completion of Building Socialism," a report by Willi Stoph on "Carrying Out the Economic Tasks," and a report by Erich Hon-ecker on "The Role of the Party in the Final Phase of the Building of Socialism."

The pre-congress discussion, in which hundreds of thousands of members and non-members of the Party took part, culminated in the Congress working out a well-substantiated perspective of a further growth of socialist society. Comrade Ulbricht said with every justification that "the reports and the decisions of our Congress are the result of joint efforts of the Party, its members and officials, of the scientists and other working people, whose labor in the areas of production, science and culture has helped towards the solution of the new problems."

* * *

The period since the previous Congress was one of all-out building of socialism during which the socialist character of labor manifested itself ever more vividly, the socialist outlook of the working people took shape, and the civic consciousness of the workers, peasant cooperators and intellectuals became an active force in socialist construction. Development of traits typical of members of socialist society was one of the most important achievements of the period under review.

The Congress noted that the national economy is developing apace, technological progress

is rapid and the quality of output is rising. In 1966 the absolute increment in the national income was three times the 1962 figure. In recent years it has maintained a level normal for a developed industrial state. Industrial output has risen 125 per cent. The Party's economic policy, the new forms and methods of economic management have resulted in more efficient production and faster development of technologically progressive branches.

These achievements, proof of the potential of the socialist mode of production, are at the same time of no little political significance. Overcoming the grave difficulties caused by the division of Germany and West German imperialism's provocative policy and economic subversion, our working people have in a short space of time built a balanced economy capable of developing in keeping with the demands of the scientific and technological revolution. The republic now has a highly-skilled cadre of workers, peasant cooperators and intellectuals educated by the Party and devoted to socialism. Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, the Party has in two decades changed the conditions of life and the thinking of millions of people, has built and consolidated the first socialist state on German soil.

Proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of what has been achieved and from scientifically-substantiated forecasts of trends of scientific and technological progress, the Congress offered guidelines for building a *developed socialist system* in the GDR.

The features of this society, as Comrade Ulbricht pointed out in his report, are well-developed and rapidly growing productive forces; stable and continuously improving socialist relations of production; a solid socialist state; all-round development of socialist democracy; a genuinely socialist community of free citizens; a high level of education for the working people and constantly improving conditions; predominance of socialist ideology and culture in social life; steady progress in all spheres of social life—education, culture, law, ideology, political work among the masses, and so on. It is precisely in this way, in the process of establishing

scientifically comprehended relationships, that a developed socialist society will be rebuilt at minimum cost and within an historically brief space of time.

Laying the economic foundation of a developed socialist society presupposes proportionate economic growth, a highly effective economic structure, the highest scientific and technological level of basic lines of production, technological processes and organization of production, a modern system of planning and management, active participation by the working people in planning and running the economy, public awareness, and efficient socialist labor.

The Congress affirmed that the scientific and technological revolution which extends to all areas of social life is an objective process in modern social production, and that therefore the principal task of the Party and of all working people is to keep in step with this revolution.

There is no other road of development today. The socialist system can prove its superiority over capitalism only by achieving a higher productivity of labor, by affording science full scope for development as a productive force. This is the task that must be tackled in the process of building a developed socialist society.

The trends of the scientific and technological progress can be ascertained only by means of scientific prediction, which thus becomes an essential element of economic management ensuring implementation of the scientific and technological revolution. It is particularly important to foresee the likely evolution of the system of economic planning and guidance of society, and the conditions and methods of ensuring harmony between public and private interests in a developed socialist society.

In the preparatory stages of the Congress much work was done by scientists, specialists and Party officials in drawing up scientific forecasts for those trends of scientific and technological progress which are important for the economy, for the growth of the productive forces and the development of the republic's regions and districts. This work resulted in the drafting of scientifically-substantiated decisions regarding economic development over a long period.

A highly effective economic structure presupposes a concentration of effort on the manufacture of the most up-to-date goods at a low production cost. Preference is to be given, naturally, to branches based on home raw-material and fuel sources. At the same time, the GDR must participate as fully as possible in the international division of labor and cooperate with all countries, and with the socialist countries in the first place.

The years between 1970 and 1980 will witness large-scale mechanization and automation, extensive use of computers, "chemicalization" of the economy, introduction of new durable materials, and application of nuclear energy.

A top-priority task formulated by the Con-

gress is to improve economic planning, which is to be based on analysis and prognosis of the basic trends in scientific and technological progress and on the basic factors of economic and social development over a long period. The long-term plans will contain only overall indices, and targets will be reached in the course of implementing short-term plans. A novel feature is that plans will be drawn up in close cooperation with the producers, whose economic independence will be greatly enhanced.

The Congress reaffirmed that both effective planning and steady development of commodity production are organic to a socialist planned economy, but the decisive role belongs to planning and the resulting scientific organization of the national economy. Congress warned against under-estimating the role of the market in the process of planned reproduction, for the market greatly helps in meeting the requirements of the national economy. Although the requirements of society are certainly broader than those of the market, "those who do not satisfy the requirements of the market cannot satisfy those of society," Walter Ulbricht stressed.

The ultimate aim of socialist production is to secure a steadily rising standard of living for the people. At the present stage of development the standard of living depends first and foremost on the ability to keep abreast of the scientific and technological revolution.

This year the minimum wage will be raised from 220 to 300 marks, with differentiated increases for workers earning less than 400 marks. About 800,000 people will benefit from the increase. A five-day working week will be introduced in September. The minimum annual holiday is extended to 15 days. Next year the minimum pension of 120 marks will be raised to 150. As from July 1 large families will benefit from increased family allowances.

These measures have been made possible by the steady economic development of the GDR.

* * *

The growing strength and stability of the GDR, its consistent policy of mutual understanding and peace, its firm alliance with the European socialist countries and first and foremost with the Soviet Union are important factors for peace in Europe. Aware of its historical mission as the first peace-loving German state, the GDR vigorously opposes the aggressive designs of West German and U.S. imperialism, thus helping to safeguard peace, prevent and frustrate imperialist aggression, promote the democratic development of the peoples and create favorable conditions for building socialism and communism.

Our efforts to ease the tension and ensure security in Europe accord with both our national interests and our international commitments.

The present government in Bonn, which, like its predecessors, pursues the old aims of German imperialism, is the only government in Europe today making territorial claims on other countries. It insists on the right to dis-

pose of nuclear weapons and on its claim to represent the entire German nation, and is seeking new ways of establishing its rule over the GDR. Since these designs have come to nought, the Kiesinger-Strauss government, aided by Social Democratic ministers, has adopted a more flexible, more "dynamic" policy which remains, however, committed to revenge and to the claim to exclusive representation. Hence, Walter Ulbricht declared, the inclusion of the GDR on an equal footing in a European security system is absolutely indispensable and is an important component of the struggle of the socialist states for security in Europe.

The Congress reaffirmed that normalization of relations between the two Germanys would not only benefit the Germans themselves, but would greatly contribute towards a détente and durable peace in Europe.

The GDR has not missed a single opportunity to advance proposals designed to bring about normalization, to organize a normal common life and cooperation based on peaceful coexistence. Comrade Ulbricht reiterated the proposals contained in the New Year's message. These proposals envisage that the two Germanys agree on normalization, renounce the use of force in their relations, recognize the present frontiers in Europe, cut their military expenditures by half, and renounce control or sharing in control over nuclear weapons in any form. The Congress proposed that the Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and the Chancellor of Federal Germany should meet and take the first steps towards mutual understanding between their states and conclude a corresponding agreement.

The consonance of these proposals with the aspirations of the peoples of the two German states can be seen from the fact that some of the demands of the democratic forces in West Germany coincide with them. The entire work of the Congress was proof of a determined effort to secure realization of these proposals, which would also help strengthen European security. Efforts should be exerted also by the democratic and progressive forces in West Germany to make their own contribution to the struggle against the atomic armaments race, against the suppression of democracy through emergency legislation and the onslaught on the social gains of the working people. A large share of the responsibility devolves on the West German working class. Comrade Ulbricht meant precisely this when he said that "the unity of the working class of the two German states is essential also for ensuring peace, for the success of the struggle for democracy in West Germany and for normalization between the two Germanys."

Accordingly, the Congress urged the Social Democrats to come to agreement with us on common interests and for joint struggle against revanchism and the claims to exclusive representation, for peace and the welfare of the working people, to be ensured through restricting the power of the monopolies.

The presence at the Congress of representatives of 67 Communist and Workers' parties and democratic parties of the new national states who followed the proceedings with close attention was an expression of proletarian internationalism and solidarity. In their greetings they highly appraised the success of the Party in building socialism and its contribution to the fight for peace and security. A call was made for joint action by the Communist and Workers' parties against the aggressive policies of the United States and West Germany, for peace and socialism. Our Party demonstrated its unity with the majority of the fraternal parties by agreeing that an early international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties was essential for stepping up the struggle against war and reaction, for democracy and socialism. "Consolidation of the political and ideological unity and cooperation of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and of the socialist countries has been and remains a central task of the policy of our Party and our socialist state," Walter Ulbricht declared.

The Congress served to strengthen friendship with the Soviet Union, a friendship which has already struck deep roots in the life of our people. To loud applause, Comrade Ulbricht expressed gratitude for the all-round aid and support which the CPSU and the Soviet Union have invariably rendered us.

The Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party showed clearly that the ideas and the impact of the October Revolution, whose fiftieth anniversary we celebrate this year together with all the progressive forces of the world, created also on German soil the prerequisites for a historical change: the emergence of a sovereign socialist German state.

Close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty states, especially with Poland and Czechoslovakia, is the guarantee not only of the defeat of West German revanchism and its aggressive policy, but also of still greater success in building socialism in each of the countries.

The message read by representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National-Liberation Front of South Vietnam were permeated with the spirit of international solidarity. In a special statement against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, our Party reaffirmed its readiness to render all-round support to the people of Vietnam and pledged to promote solidarity with them.

In the spirit of international solidarity, the Congress adopted a special resolution denouncing the military coup in Greece, condemning the terror against democrats, and demanding the release of Manolis Glezos and all other detainees. * * *

The Congress marked a new stage in building socialism in the GDR—the final stage of building a comprehensive socialist system. Its decisions equip the Party and all working people for carrying out the challenging tasks of this stage.

Helene BERG

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